Mod.
M6857

THE

# MODERN PART

OF AN

# Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XXIV.

LONDON,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, J. ROBSON, F. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T. BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, J. NICHOLS, J. BOWEN, and W. FOX.

MDCCLXXXII.

9233
24/10/99

# CONTENTS

OF THE

# TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME.

## CHAP. LXXI. Continued.

The History and present State of the Republic of Venice.

SECT. V. Containing the Rebellion of Tenedos; the Renewal of the war with Carrario and the Genoese; Transactions with the Duke of Milan; the Siege of Padua; and other Particulars, page 1

VI. Containing the Origin and Progress of the Turkish war; the Rise of the War with the Trieſtines; Death of Moro; and the Transactions which occured during the Administration of Nicolo Throno, and others of his Successors, 79

VII. Containing the Treaty with Lewis XII. and Motives which induced the Republic to this Alliance; the Progress of the War in Italy; the Accession of Charles V. and Francis I. to the imperial and French Crowns; the Rivalship, and Renewal of the War in Italy, together with its Consequences to the Venetians, 155

SECT.

SECT. VIII. Containing the pacific Measures of the Senate subsequent to the Treaty with Solyman; Death of the Doge; Disturbances in Italy; Death of the new Doge; Resignation of Charles V. Death of Doge Venieri; a dreadful Plague in Venice; a fresh War with the Grand Seignor; the Invasion of Cyprus; and other Particulars, 243

IX. Rupture with the House of Austria. Conspiracy of Bedmar; the War of Candia; the Conquest of the Morea; and Peace of Carlowitz, 315

## CHAP. LXXII.

The History of Naples.

SECT. I. Containing the Reigns of the Princes of Benevento, Capua, &c. to the first Arrival of the Normans, 354

II. Transactions of the first Norman Conquerors, till the Death of Roger, first King of Sicily, 391

III. History of Sicily, till Frederic ascends the Imperial Throne, 433

IV. Frederic is excommunicated and deposed by a Succession of Popes; Charles, Count of Anjou, receives the Investiture of the Kingdom from the Pope; defeats Conradin, and orders him to be beheaded at Naples, 460

THE

# MODERN PART

OF

# Universal History.

## CHAP. LXXI. *Continued.*

*History and present State of the Republic of Venice.*

### SECT. V.

*Containing the Rebellion of Tenedos; the Renewal of the War with Carrario and the Genoese; Transactions with the Duke of Milan; the Siege of Padua; and other Particulars.*

### *MICHELI MOROSINI, Doge LXI.*

CONTARENI was succeeded by Micheli, or Michael Morosini, a prince well qualified for promoting the arts of peace, filling the exhausted exchequer, and reviving industry and commerce, which had long languished almost to extinction, under the last administration; but the republic was robbed by death of this valuable governor, after a short sway of four months. We are told, that in this time several excellent laws were framed, and regulations established, under the auspices of Morosini; but history does not descend to particulars. *Micheli Morosini.*

## *ANTONIO VENIERO, Doge LXII.*

*Antonio Veniero.*

ANTONIO VENIERO, much esteemed for his integrity, lenity, and gentle disposition, was the next person promoted to fill the ducal chair. At this time he was governor of Candia, from whence he was recalled, to the great grief of the inhabitants, who enjoyed under him the most peaceable, flourishing, and happy government they had ever experienced [a].

In the preceding year, as soon as peace was proclaimed, the republic sent Pantaleon Barba to Tenedos, with orders to Mutatio, the governor, to surrender the forts to Bonifacio, the commissioner from Savoy. The Genoese agent was gone thither to see the performance of this article of the treaty, and to pay the Genoese quota of arrears due to the garrison. Mutatio having received the money from Barba and the Genoese, for the payment of the troops, told Bonifacio and the other commissioners, "that the inhabitants were incensed at that article of the peace which stipulated that their fort should be razed at the expiration of two years, a circumstance which would be the ruin of the island; that, finding their interest neglected by the Venetians, and themselves sacrificed to political principles, it was their determination to take care of what concerned them so nearly, and to put it out of the power of Venice, Genoa, or any other state, to transfer them at pleasure; that for this purpose the inhabitants had appointed him for the protector of their liberties, which he and they were determined to defend with the last drop of their blood. He therefore charged Bonifacio and the commissioners instantly to depart the island, as they valued their lives, and not offer to dispute what was already resolved [b]." Bonifacio was thunderstruck at this discourse; but the Genoese commissioner attributed the whole to the contrivance of the Venetians, who had taken this method to equivocate and frustrate the intention of the late treaty. The resolutions of the senate soon convinced the Genoese of the falsity of their agent's suggestions, Zeno being sent to Tenedos to use arguments, menaces, and even force, to compel the islanders to the performance of an article which affected the honour and public faith of the republic. Zeno's arguments were in-

*Tenedos revolts.*

*The senate resolves to reduce Tenedos.*

[a] Sabel. lib. vi. vii. dec. ii. Blond. lib. iv. dec. iii. [b] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii.

effectual,

effectual, and his ſtrength too inconſiderable; Fontano Georgio was therefore diſpatched to Tenedos with a fleet and army. On his arrival he immediately inveſted and battered the fort: frequent ſallies were made from within, ſcarce a day paſſing without ſome bloody action. It was obſerved that both ſides fought with peculiar animoſity. The priſoners were inſtantly hanged, or thrown, inſtead of ſtones, out of the baliſtæ and other military engines [c]. In ſhort, the natural enmity between the Greeks and Italians, as well as that rancour peculiar to civil wars, were here exerted in their full force. After the ſiege had continued without interruption for ſeven months, famine prevailed within the fort, a flag of truce was waved from the garriſon, and the following articles were agreed to, and ſigned: that neither Mutatio nor the inhabitants ſhould be puniſhed for the detention of the iſland; that they ſhould be ſuffered to depart with their jewels, gold, and effects; that thoſe who choſe it ſhould have land aſſigned to them in Candia of equal value with what they poſſeſſed in Tenedos; and laſtly, that ſuch as preferred reſiding at Conſtantinople or elſewhere, ſhould receive the juſt value of their lands and immoveable effects. The Venetians had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion than they razed the fort, and executed every article of the treaty [d].

The firſt act of Veniero's government was exerted againſt his own ſon, who had carried on an intrigue for ſome time with a ſenator's wife. The lovers at laſt quarrelling, Lodovico (ſo he was called), to revenge himſelf on his miſtreſs, procured a pair of horns to be hung over the ſenator's door, a reproach not to be forgiven in Venice. Inquiry being made, Ludovico was found guilty of affronting a ſenator, and, by his father, ſent to priſon, where he died. Some blamed the inflexibility of the parent, while others commended the impartiality of the doge; in this particular they were unanimous, that the rigidity of the ſentence ſtrongly characteriſed the judge.

*War with Carrario.*

About this time an open rupture happened betwixt Galeas Viſconti and Franciſco Carrario. Viſconti laid coſe ſiege to Padua, in which enterprize he was aſſiſted by the Venetians; the republic, beſides fitting out four hundred light boats, ſeized upon all the forts, caſtles, and towns belonging to Carrario, upon the lakes and great rivers. Viſconti having forced Padua to ſurrender, took all the

[c] Blond. lib. v. dec. iii. Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii. [d] Blond. de Geſt. Ven. idem in Hiſt. lib. v. dec. iii. Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii.

A.D. 1383. other cities and forts within the jurisdiction of the city, and then invested Treviso, which, after a bloody siege, surrendered upon honourable conditions. Of these conquests Visconti claimed to himself Padua, Feltre, and Belluna; the Trevisan, and city of Treviso, with all the forts, towns, and castles they had seized upon the lakes, were assigned to the Venetians [f].

*Visconti takes Treviso.*

*Plague in Venice.*

Soon after the close of this war a plague broke out in Venice, and raged with so much fury as to sweep off the inhabitants by hundreds in a day. The contagion was supposed to arise from infected gaols, crowded with diseased prisoners, or from the atmosphere's being impregnated with putrid exhalations from the lagunes and trenches made for the defence of the city; or lastly, from the unwholsome food which composed the diet of the poorer people in the late scarcity of provisions: whatever were the causes, the effects were dreadful; neither lazarettos, masses, or physicians, could impede the fury of the disease; the cold season and goodness of Providence, however, brought that relief which the art of man could not afford [g].

A.D. 1386. All this time the war with Carrario was pursued with the same vigour as before, until at last his forces were totally broken and discomfited. Visconti was so puffed up with pride, and his natural insolence so elated, that nothing less than the dominion of Italy would satisfy his ambition. It is true he did not venture to acknowlege designs so vast and dangerous, although his conduct afforded strong presumptions of such views. Quitting Padua, he marched with great diligence to Mantua, and, without any provocation, laid close siege to the city. This produced a league between the Florentines, Bolognese, Francisco Gonzaga, and Novello, son to Carrario, in order to stop the rapid progress of this proud conqueror. The Venetians likewise withdrew from his alliance, and, though not included in the league, were the first to succour Mantua. The republic could not behold a confederate city thus wantonly oppressed without opposing her influence. Intreaties were first used; but these producing no alteration in Visconti's conduct, the Venetians had recourse to force: a great number of boats were got ready, to which were joined twenty gallies, filled with archers, slingers, and light-armed troops, with which

A.D. 1387.

[f] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii. Boniten. Comment. lib. iv.

[g] Sansov. delle Vin. di Princip.

they

they attacked Viſconti, and, after a ſharp encounter, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege. Soon after the duke was met by Malateſta, general of the confederate army, who engaged and defeated his army, obliging him to quit the Mantuan territories. Viſconti ſent ambaſſadors to Venice with propoſals for an accommodation, which were readily accepted [h]. They had taken arms to preſerve the juſt balance of power in Italy; the duke's deſigns being defeated, they laid them down readily, and concluded peace for ten years. *Peace with Viſconti.*

During this happy period of repoſe the doge applied himſelf diligently to the civil affairs of the ſtate; granaries were formed to provide againſt a dearth; magazines for arms and all ſorts of warlike neceſſaries were erected; new docks for the ſhipping contrived; hoſpitals for the poor, and thoſe who had ſuffered in the ſervice of the republic, founded; workmen in all arts and profeſſions encouraged; induſtry and commerce cheriſhed, and laws tending to the regulation and order of ſociety framed and rigidly executed. Afterwards Antonio Veniero died, much lamented by a people whom he had governed, for eighteen years, with inflexible juſtice, incorruptible integrity, unwearied application and vigilance, and, laſtly, with ſuch lenity, ſweetneſs, and moderation, as falſified the firſt judgment formed of his character.

## *MICHELI STENO, Doge LXIII.*

MICHELI STENO was ſubſtituted in the room of the deceaſed doge; he had been procurator of St. Mark's for ſome years, which truſt he diſcharged with ſuch fidelity, that the ſenate and council were induced to raiſe him to the higheſt office of the republic. At the time of his election Steno was confined to his bed with an illneſs, which kept the ducal chair vacant for near two months, at the expiration of which he came to the palace, and took the uſual oaths. Unprecedented honours were beſtowed upon him, though we are not informed for what particular reaſon; probable it is, that the flouriſhing ſtate of commerce and manufactures began to produce the uſual effect, luxury, which is ever the conſequence of proſperity and affluence. Sanſovino relates, that Steno's lady was conducted to the palace, attended by the ſenate *Steno.* A.D. 1400.

[h] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii.

and chief magistrates, with all possible pomp and magnificence [i].

The two first years of his government passed in peace, quietness, and tranquility at home and abroad, when suddenly a new cause of rupture with the Genoese arose. Intelligence was received that great preparations for war were carrying on at Genoa, and these the republic doubted not were destined against Venice, although the pretext was a quarrel with the Cyprians: Carolo Zeno was therefore sent with a squadron of eleven gallies narrowly to watch the motions of the Genoese fleet, and prevent their surprising any place belonging to the republic. The fleets were several days in company, each admiral dissembling his intention: the Genoese were commanded by Boucicault, a Frenchman (for at that time they were under the protection of France), all the ships were well manned, each galley having, besides her complement, forty French men at arms. At last the two admirals came to blows near Modon, Zeno apprehending that the Genoese were only watching their opportunity to give him the slip, and attack some part of the Venetian territories. An obstinate battle was continued for the whole day, and Zeno in danger of being oppressed by numbers, when he was seasonably reinforced by two gallies; now the engagement was renewed with fresh vigour until night interposed, and gave the combatants respite; as soon as dawn appeared, both admirals returned to the charge with redoubled animosity. Heaps of slain were thrown overboard on both sides, and the battle seemed equal, until Zeno, crowding sail, ran foul of the opposite ship, and sunk her with the impetuosity and rapidity of his course. Several of his officers followed his example with equal success, which immediately turned the scale of fortune, and gained a complete victory. The Genoese lost near three thousand men, four ships were sunk, and three taken. Certain Venetian captains were broke upon Zeno's report of their conduct, which he attributed either to treachery or cowardice; others were rewarded for their bravery [k].

A.D.1403. *Genoese defeated by Zeno.*

In the mean time the republic found herself in danger of a war on the continent with Novello Carrario of Padua. Unmindful of his obligations to the Venetians,

[i] Favol. [k] Sabel. Blond. ibid. Sansov. Favol. Bonitenius. lib. iv.

and

and that he owed his preſent greatneſs to their good offices, he was conſtantly contriving and intriguing to the prejudice of the republic. The doge and ſenate were not ignorant how he ſtood affected to them, and their ſuſpicions were confirmed by the report of ſeveral Genoeſe priſoners of diſtinction, who ſcrupled not to declare, that the preparations at Genoa were made in conſequence of his advice and inſtigation. However, they ſtill would have preſerved appearances with Novello, if they had not been induced to enter upon a war with him from other motives than his diſlike to the republic.

*War with Carrario.*

Carrario had laid ſiege to Vicenza, the inhabitants of which, deteſting the dominion of his family, reſolved to ſuffer the greateſt extremities rather than ſubmit. Finding themſelves hard preſſed, they ſent to ſolicit aſſiſtance from Catharine, dowager of Milan, and widow of Galeas Viſconti, their natural ſuperior; but the ducheſs was involved in other affairs, which deprived her of the power of relieving them; ſhe, therefore, with the advice of her council, thought it more adviſeable to put Verona, Vicenza, Belluna, Baſſan, Colognia, Feltre, and their dependencies, into the hands of the Venetian republic, than to have them expoſed to the ambition of Carrario. With this propoſal, and the keys of Vicenza, commiſſioners were ſent by the beſieged to the doge and ſenate: they were entertained with all poſſible reſpect, and diſmiſſed with preſents and aſſurances of ſpeedy protection. An ambaſſador was accordingly ſent to prevail on Carrario to relinquiſh the ſiege, or to denounce war; but, inſtead of regarding their intreaties or menaces, he ordered the noſe and ears of the ambaſſador to be cut off, charging him to tell his maſters, that he was not to have laws preſcribed to him by citizens and merchants. The republic, incenſed at the inſolence of the tyrant, and this violation of the laws of nations, levied forces with all expedition, appointed Carolo Malateſta of Arimini their general, and entered into an alliance with Franciſco Gonzaga. In the mean while the doge received the homage of Belluna, Baſſan, and Feltre[1]. As ſoon as the levies were complete Malateſta took the field, fought ſeveral battles with various ſucceſs, and, at the end of the campaign, returned to Venice to reſign his commiſſion: we are not told upon what occaſion. Paolo Sabello, a native of

[1] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii. Blond. lib. iv. dec. iii. Boniten. lib. iii. Montano apud Sabel.

Rome, was appointed to ſucceed him in the command. This general's valour and experience were ſo univerſally acknowleged, that no Venetian envied his promotion, or diſputed his ſuperior merit. Sabello entered upon action early in the ſeaſon, and gave proofs of what conſequence to the beſt diſciplined army the vigilance, prudence, and bravery of a general may prove. Under his conduct ſeveral important places were taken in ſight of a ſuperior army; the enemy were as often defeated as they engaged, and the whole country of Padua, and territories of Carrario, laid under contribution; yet his inſolence and cruelty remained invincible[m].

He was now joined by Albert d'Eſte, who, won by the large promiſes of Carrario, declared war againſt the republic. A new army, under the command of Gonzaga, was ſent againſt him, which ſoon compelled Albert to ſue for peace, and give hoſtages that he would not join the enemy during this war.

To return to the affairs of Padua: Sabello's camp was unexpectedly attacked in the night by Tertius, the ſecond ſon of Franciſco Carrario, at the head of a ſtrong body of choſen troops. The onſet was ſo ſudden and vigorous, that the whole camp was in the utmoſt conſternation and confuſion, the ſoldiers running up and down terrified and half a ſleep: Sabello alone was calm and undaunted; with an unparalleled preſence of mind he diſpoſed the troops into their proper ranks, harangued, and led them to the charge. Tertius, unable to reſiſt his impetuoſity, and finding that his attempt of taking Sabello unprepared was fruſtrated, retreated with great precipitation, and conſiderable loſs. Sabello then marched againſt the enemy with a reſolution to bring them to a general action, which aim he effected by the force of ſtratagem and ſuperior capacity: he ſo hemmed in Carrario that he was under the neceſſity of fighting, or ſurrendering at diſcretion. The firſt was his choice; he was defeated with prodigious ſlaughter, and very narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. Sundry other advantages Sabello gained over the enemy, when, in the full career of glory, he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died ſuddenly.

The direction of the army was now committed to Galeas Grumello of Mantua, who neglected nothing that became a good officer. The Veroneſe, of which Carrario had made himſelf maſter in the firſt campaign, was deſolated

[m] Sabel. et Blond. ibid. Boniten. lib. iii. etiam Aut. cit.

with

with the all horrors of war. The city of Verona, where Jacomo Carrario commanded, was inveſted and carried after a vigorous ſiege: a day before the ſurrender of the city Jacomo made his eſcape, but was overtaken on the banks of the Po. *Verona taken by the Venetians.*

Grumello next inveſted Padua, and encamping his army on the Terra Nigra, kept the inhabitants under continual alarms. Carrario in the mean time exerted himſelf with great diligence and capacity, omitting nothing that could tend to the defence of the city, or annoyance of the beſiegers. Day and night he was continually in action, repairing breaches, relieving guards, and ſallying out upon the beſiegers: he had likewiſe found means to corrupt ſeveral officers in the Venetian camp, and by their means received intelligence of every thing tranſacted or intended; but a ſtop was ſoon put to this treachery, Maſſolerio having been detected tying a letter to the head of an arrow. Some others were arreſted on ſuſpicion of holding a correſpondence, and ſent to Venice to be tried, where they were condemned to the moſt excruciating tortures. Carrario being cut off from all communication with the camp, by the death of his correſpondents, fell upon another ſtratagem to penetrate into the deſigns and ſituation of the Venetians: he ſent for a ſafe-conduct to the camp, as if he intended to make propoſals. It appeared on his arrival in the camp, from the extravagant propoſitions he made, that peace was not his view; however, the following conditions were offered him by the Venetian general; that Padua ſhould be ſurrendered, and Carrario permitted to carry off his money, jewels, plate, furniture, and rich moveables; that he ſhould remove to the diſtance of a hundred miles from the Paduan diſtricts with his whole family, renouncing for ever all claim to the city and its dependencies; and that in conſideration of this ceſſion, the republic would preſent him with the ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns. Theſe terms Carrario rejected with diſdain, and returned under an eſcort to the city. Now the ſiege was puſhed with extraordinary vigour, and the city battered in ſeveral places: the firſt wall (for Padua was ſecured by three walls) was taken by ſcalade, and ſeveral breaches were made in the ſecond. Then Carrario entreated the Venetians to receive himſelf and family into their protection; but he was referred to the ſenate, and told that poſſibly his tears and penitence might procure more favour than he could expect. Finally, he deſired a paſſport to Venice, but was anſwered that the *Padua beſieged by the Venetians.* A.D. 1405.

the republic would send comissioners to treat with him at Mestra[n]. The parties having met, the conditions were debated for two days; at last they parted without coming to any conclusion, and Carrario returned to the city, where he was received with great coldness by the inhabitants, who were tired of his tyranny, and attributed to his pride the breach of the conferences, from which they at least expected to be delivered from the miseries of a siege. Carrario perceiving that no hopes of security remained, sent to the Venetian general, requesting protection for himself and family. Insolence in prosperity is ever succeeded by meanness in adversity: Carrario now supplicated with tears, and implored the protection of those very persons he had so haughtily treated in the beginning of the war. Himself and family were brought to Venice, and treated with a lenity and respect his conduct but little merited.

*Padua surrendered.* Padua was surrendered upon condition that it should be exempted from the ravages of the soldiers[o]. Thus ended that bloody war in which the republic had been engaged on the continent; and the sway of a tyrant, ambitious of power only to abuse it by insolence.

*Peace restored.* The republic now began to taste the sweets of peace, which was soon poisoned by the intriguing restless spirit of Carrario, who thereby accelerated his own ruin, and occasioned the extinction of his family. He had projected the means of his escape by setting fire to the city in several places: a number of villains were employed for this purpose, and induced to the undertaking by that very money which the public allowed him for the support of his dignity. The plot being discovered, Carrario and his family were removed into different prisons, all his adherents banished the city, and a strict guard maintained; but these precautions proving insufficient against his ingratitude and treachery, he and his children were, by order of the doge and senate, strangled, and the security of the republic was thus established[p].

*Carrario and his family strangled.*

The expences of this war with Carrario exceeded two millions of money: but the republic received a valuable consideration by the acquisition of Padua, Verona, Belluna, Vicenza, Colognia, and Feltre, with their appendages[q]. Hence the Venetians became more powerful on

[n] Boniten. Blond. et Sabel. ut supra. [o] Aut. cit. et in locis citatis. [p] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii. Montan. apud Blond. et Sabel. [q] Ibid.

the

the continent, and their armies grew reſpectable as well as their fleets.

At the cloſe of the war a magnificent embaſſy came to Venice from Verona, conſiſting of forty perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the city. The ſenate ordered a fine theatre to be erected, richly adorned, for their public reception: here the doge, attended by his whole family in their richeſt apparel, by the ſenate and magiſtrates in their robes, gave them audience. The ambaſſadors walking in proceſſion to the throne, laid the keys of the city at the feet of the doge, requeſting his acceptance, and praying that the event might be proſperous to his highneſs, to the republic, and to the city of Verona. They entreated the protection of the republic, and that his highneſs would, with his accuſtomed goodneſs, preſerve to them their liberty, their religion, and property, againſt the attacks of all tyrants, aſſuring him of their perpetual duty, affection, and fidelity. To this addreſs the doge replied, "that it was his and the ſenate's greateſt happineſs to be able to protect the weak, comfort the afflicted, and reward the deſerving: that while the city of Verona preſerved her preſent ſentiments, ſhe might confidently rely on the friendſhip of the republic, and enjoy all the bleſſings which liberty and a free conſtitution can afford to thoſe who have juſt eſcaped from tyranny and bondage." Then recommending juſtice, equity, and moderation, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed.

The Paduans came ſoon after in the ſame manner, were treated with equal kindneſs, and diſmiſſed with ſimilar aſſurances. Thus did the public enjoy a profound tranquility for the term of three years, during which her aſſiduous application to commerce, the marine, and army, prodigiouſly augmented her ſtrength and conſequence.

*The Venetians beſiege Sabenica.*

The firſt breach of the public quiet was occaſioned by a tumult at Sabenica, the nobility acknowleging the authority of the republic, the people that of the Hungarian monarch: the latter having taken arms drove the nobles out of the city, ſeized upon all the public offices, and aſſumed thoſe prerogatives, which by the conſtitution belonged only to the nobility. The Patricians thus excluded, ſought the protection of the Venetians, on whoſe account they ſuffered. Four gallies and a body of land forces were ordered by the ſenate to paſs into Dalmatia, and lay ſiege to Sabenica, which was accordingly inveſted, but with little ſucceſs; for the inhabitants defended themſelves

selves so bravely, that the besiegers were repulsed, and forced to relinquish the enterprize. A more formidable armament was next sent, but the obstinacy of the plebeians rendered it necessary to have recourse to Ladislaus, to whom commissioners were dispatched. After various debates the whole affair was referred to the decision of the pope, the parties not being able to come to any conclusion: we are no where informed of the determination of his holiness [r].

This little disturbance was soon following by one of more consequence and hazard: the Forlians, like the Sabenicans, were divided among themselves; the nobles were desirous that the city should be under the protection and laws of Venice, while the commons preferred the jurisdiction of Ladislaus, or the bishop of Aquileia. How the emperor Sigismund came to concern himself in this quarrel, we know not; all we are told is, that Pipus, a Florentine, had the emperor's instructions to lead an army into Italy. Upon his arrival, Frederico Savagnani and his faction retired to Venice, and Udina was put into the hands of Pipus. From thence he marched with ten thousand horse into the Trevisan, and took from the republic the cities Feltre, Belluna, Sarraval, and La Mothe. Afterwards indeed he abandoned his conquests, it is supposed, by the force of Venetian gold, and retired into Hungary, where he suffered the just punishment of his corruption [s].

*War with Sigismund.*

All the particulars of this important war, in which the republic would seem to be so deeply concerned, are imperfectly related; it is even difficult to know what share the Venetian armies took in the quarrel. Sabellicus says, that after a variety of battles between Sigismund and the republic, with various success, peace was at last concluded, and the emperor withdrew his army to Bohemia [t]. As to the conditions of the peace, which might have reflected some light on the origin of the war, there is a profound silence.

*Peace with Sigismund.*

Soon after peace was proclaimed, Steno died, having conducted the republic with applause through two dangerous wars, and flourishing intervals of public tranquility [u].

[r] Boniten. Com. lib. iv. Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii. [s] Ibid. Blond. Hist. dec. iii. lib. v. [t] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. ii. [u] Sansov. delle Vit. Prin. Sabel. ibid.

TOMASO

## *TOMASO MOCENIGO, Doge LXIV.*

TOMASO MOCENIGO, being abſent on an embaſſy at Cremona, was recalled to take upon him the ſupreme magiſtracy. The beginning of his adminiſtration was fertile in the bleſſings of peace: he gave ſtrict attention to commercial affairs, on which he was ſenſible depended the ſtrength and proſperity of the republic. A board of trade was appointed, conſiſting of the principal merchants, headed by a ſenator. Originally this buſineſs was in the hands of one man; afterwards two more, with a ſubordinate authority, were added; and now trade, a ſubject of vaſt extent and importance, ſubmitted to the direction of a number, properly qualified by nature and experience, to regulate, improve, and promote this chief object of Venetian policy (A). A.D. 1413. *Tomaſo Mocenigo.*

A diſpute between the republic and biſhop of Aquileia furniſhed the Venetians with a pretext for recovering the towns loſt in the late war: they accordingly laid ſiege to Feltre, Belluna, and other places, which they took after a ſhort reſiſtance. Filippo Arcia, one of the beſt officers of the age, commanded the Venetian army. Having garriſoned the above cities, he attacked and ruined Prata, and by his influence prevailed on the whole province of Friuli to acknowlege the dominion of the republic. Early in the ſpring the biſhop returned with a numerous army of Hungarians; he took the caſtle of Cluſino, and ſome other places; but Arcia marching with expedition againſt him, the Hungarians returned to their own country, leaving the prelate to fight his own battles [w].

During theſe tranſactions abroad, a terrible fire broke out in the palace, which almoſt entirely conſumed it, and communicating with St. Mark's church, quite demoliſhed the roof of that magnificent fabric. The great diligence of the people prevented the fire from ſpreading; and the palace and church were repaired by a decree of the ſenate, the doge having liberally contributed towards the expence: however,

[w] Sabel. ibid. Blond. de Geſt. Ven. Boniten. lib. iv.

(A) Upon this occaſion other appointments likewiſe were made: the council of ten was eſtabliſhed; commiſſioners of the public granaries; and a board of treaſury, which they called Magiſtrati della Graſcia, della Dogana, Sanſov. lib. xiii.

however, before the palace was habitable, he died, after a reign of ten years, in which the republic enjoyed a current of prosperity, uninterrupted by any adverse accident, except the fire we have mentioned [x]. Mocenigo's death was preceded by that of the illustrious Carolo Zeno, one of the best sea-officers Venice ever produced, whose other excellent qualities kept pace with his valour and military abilities.

## *FRANCISCO FOSCARI, Doge LXV.*

A.D. 1423. *Foscari.*

FRANCISCO FOSCARI was elected to succeed Mocenigo, by the universal voice of the senate and people. In the first year of his reign Salonica, a city of Albania, voluntarily submitted to the Venetians, the inhabitants requesting that a magistrate might be sent to govern them with the same polity established at Venice; accordingly, Marino Bondomario was dispatched in quality of governor, and with the title of count. In the second year of Foscari's administration the war with Philip Visconti, duke of Milan, and son of Galeas Visconti, commenced. As this war proved tedious, bloody, and important in its consequences, it may not be improper to trace it to its original source: Philip was a minor at his father's death, and, like most other children in their pupilage, robbed, plundered, and oppressed by those very guardians who were bound in honour, conscience, and by the laws of nature, to protect his infancy: his dominions were made a prey to the neighbouring petty princes and states, and in the course of a few years passed into the hands of a variety of masters. Philip was no sooner of age to take upon him the government of the little dominion left, than he attempted to recover those cities and provinces of which he had been plundered in his minority. By his own valour, and the great abilities of Francisco Carmagnola, he not only won back what lawfully belonged to him, but greatly extended his territories beyond what the family ever possessed. In the career of victory he invested Genoa, reduced it to great extremities, and compelled the Genoese to purchase peace with a prodigious sum of money, for the payment of which the Florentines were bound sureties, the strong city of Leghorn, at the mouth of the river Arno, being pledged to them for their security and indemnification. The Florentines interfering in this affair, a coldness ensued be-

*War with Visconti of Milan.*

[x] Sansov. delle Vit. Princip. etiam Favol. 4.

tween

tween Philip and that republic, which he soon improved into an open rupture. Under the pretext of assisting pope Martin, he attacked and defeated the Florentine army near Zagonere: this was the gloss Philip gave this transaction at foreign courts, in order to conceal his ambition. Other battles were fought afterwards, until the Florentines, finding themselves unequal to Philip's power, had recourse for assistance to the Venetians [r]. The republic had refrained from taking part in the quarrel, as long as there was hope that the Florentines could stand their ground, and with their own strength check the progress of this conqueror; but finding the balance greatly preponderate in favour of Philip, the Venetians were induced to throw themselves in the opposite scale, from that constant maxim of their government, to pay a strict attention to the just political poise. First they endeavoured, by repeated embassies, to reconcile Philip to the Florentines, all of which, like a true politician, he received graciously, and dismissed with strong promises and assurances of what he never intended to perform. The republic was no less artful than Philip; under pretence of placing an entire confidence in what he said, they were making all the necessary preparations to oblige him to make good his assurances. At last, when every thing was in readiness for declaring war, Paolo Cornaro was sent to demand a categorical answer. Philip was stung with the spirited remonstrance of Cornaro; but always subjecting his passions to his interest, he replied, that out of respect to the Venetian republic he would submit the dispute with Florence to the arbitration of Nicholas d'Este, whose integrity could not be called in question. Satisfied with this answer Cornaro returned to Venice, and was soon followed by two ambassadors from Visconti. Philip had heard that the Florentines were preparing an embassy to the republic; he therefore dispatched Giovanni Aretini, and Bertrand Lampugniani to frustrate the effects of this application. The first audience was given to the Tuscan ministers, who pathetically represented all the miseries of a free state, in danger of being overwhelmed by the mercileſs and inexorable ambition of a tyrant; the duty incumbent on free constitutions to oppose, with all their might, the encroachments of ambitious princes and monarchs; an attack upon Florence, they said, was an attack upon liberty, and the prelude to

[r] Sabel. lib. ix. dec. ii. Boniten. lib. iv. Blond. lib. v. dec. iii. Sansov. delle Vit. Princip. 232.

an

an attempt on the freedom of Venice. They enumerated inſtances of Philip's cunning, vigilance, activity, intrepidity, and power; and from each drew arguments for the neceſſity of curbing his ambition. They concluded with a warm and pathetic exhortation, which excited violent emotions in the breaſt of every ſenator. On one ſide the power and ambition of Philip was formidable to liberty; on the other, the expence of the war was great, and the iſſue hazardous. Before any reply was made to the Florentines, the duke's ambaſſadors were called in, when Aretini, the moſt artful and eloquent ſpeaker of his country, addreſſed the doge and ſenate in a ſpeech ſuitable to his character. He began with engaging the affections of his audience, ſoothing their paſſions, and explaining the nature of his inſtructions: he proceeded to ſome ſevere ſtrictures upon the Florentines, to refute their aſſertions, and vindicate the meaſures and character of his maſter. After having adduced every argument which ſound policy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt perſuaſive eloquence adorn, he concluded with referring the whole diſpute to the arbitration of the ſenate and Nicholas d'Eſte.

When the ambaſſadors retired, great debates aroſe in the ſenate; ſome remained firm in their firſt opinion, others were drawn over by the ſpecious oratory of Aretini. It was at laſt propoſed that Carmagnola, who had deſerted the ſervice of Philip, ſhould be called in; from him it was preſumed a juſt judgment of the true temper, policy, and character of this prince might be collected. Franciſco Carmagnola quitted the ſervice of Philip upon ſome diſguſt, the particulars of which are not mentioned: he now offered himſelf to the Venetians, to humble that very maſter he had been the inſtrument of exalting. Every one careſſed, and was deſirous of engaging the eſteem of a man famous for his military exploits, and capacity in the cabinet: ſome perſons, however, dreaded placing at the head of their armies an officer whoſe late conduct gave room to diſtruſt his conſtancy, his honour, and his fidelity: they were anſwered, that under the conduct of a general ſo experienced, ſo perfectly acquainted with the views, policy, ſtrength, and moſt intimate ſecrets of Viſconti, they could not fail of ſucceſs in defeating all the attempts, and reſtraining the towering ambition of this proud potentate; and that Carmagnola's pride was a ſufficient ſurety of his faith, ſince without doubt he would exert all his faculties to convince Viſconti how ſerviceable

he

he might have rendered his merit [z]. Certain it is, that Carmagnola was greatly incenſed againſt the duke: when he was called into the ſenate, he ſpoke with a rancour and virulence that could not be aſſumed or counterfeit. His arguments were ſo forcible, his oratory ſo perſuaſive, and his influence ſo conſiderable, that an alliance with Florence and war with Viſconti, was unanimouſly reſolved [a].

*Treaty with the Florentines.*

In the treaty with Florence it was ſtipulated, that ſixteen thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot ſhould be levied at the common expence of both republics, to act as future occaſions ſhould require; that two fleets ſhould be equipped, the Venetian to ſail up the Po, to reſiſt the forces of Viſconti, the Florentine to ſcour the Genoeſe coaſt; that all the cities, towns, and forts, taken on the confines of Flaminia ſhould belong to Florence, the reſt to be at the diſpoſal of Venice; and laſty, that peace ſhould not be made with the enemy but by mutual conſent and approbation.

Soon after Nicholas d'Eſte, Amadeus of Savoy, Franciſco Gonzaga, and other princes, acceded to this alliance. Serrano, one of the doge's ſenatories, was ſent to Philip to acquaint him with the determination of the republic. His inſtructions were to deſire the duke, in the name of the republic, to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt the Florentines; and, if he refuſed, immediately to declare war. The envoy was civilly received at Milan; but Philip, far from complying with his demand, ſent back a defiance. War was publicly denounced, and the ſubjects of each ſtate commanded to quit the enemy's dominions without farther notice, on pain of being deemed traitors to their reſpective countries. The command of the army was given to Carmagnola, who was eager to ſignalize his zeal by ſome exploit worthy of the high opinion entertained of his capacity. His impatience would not wait for the new army to be levied; but taking the command of a few regiments of the ſtanding forces, he marched into the enemy's territories. His firſt attempt was on Breſcia, of which he ſoon became maſter by the force of corruption. The caſtle, into which Philip's garriſon retired, he took by ſtorm, putting all the ſoldiers to the ſword; but there was ſtill a fort in one quarter of the town which held out, and defended itſelf bravely. The duke ſent Franciſco

*Declaration of war.*

[z] Boniten. lib. iv. [a] Blond. dec. iii. lib. vi. Sabel. lib. ix. dec. ii. Montan. apud Sabel. Aut. cit.

Sforza to its relief, between whom and Carmagnola many warm ſkirmiſhes paſſed. The ſiege was puſhed on with vigour, and the fort defended with courage, the beſieged relying upon Sforza's army, which had in a manner incloſed Carmagnola; who with fatigue and watching fell ſick, committed the army to Gonzaga, and retired to the baths at Padua. In the mean time, the ſiege went on with the ſame ſpirit, Gonzaga being in every reſpect a general equal to Carmagnola; but the enemy were ſo well provided, their ſallies ſo frequent and vigorous, and the Venetians ſo harraſſed in the rear by Sforza, that ſhame only reſtrained them from abandoning the enterprize. Both ſides were continually reinforced, and the affair ſpun out to a great length; at laſt Carmagnola returned to the army, and reſumed the command. Now an aſſault was reſolved on, and, to encourage the ſoldiers, a reward of four hundred crowns promiſed to him who firſt mounted the walls, three hundred to the next, two hundred to the third, and a hundred to each of the ten following. Both ſides fought with the moſt obſtinate valour, and it was difficult to determine which diſplayed the greateſt courage: at laſt, the Venetians, overpowered with numbers, were forced to retreat, by which means the ſiege might have been protracted to an unmeaſurable time, if famine had not effected what had foiled courage, conduct, and numbers. This brave garriſon was reduced to ſo great extremities, that they were compelled to ſue for a truce upon this condition, that if Philip came within the ſpace of ten days with a force ſufficient to relieve them, they then ſhould be at liberty to defend the fort, otherwiſe they would ſurrender it to the Venetians. The truce being ſigned, Carmagnola doubled the guards, and ordered ſtrict watch that no proviſion might enter the fort. Sforza's army could hardly be kept from mutinying; they accuſed their officers of cowardice and treachery, publicly declaring that this brave garriſon fell a ſacrifice to their baſeneſs. Numberleſs attempts were made to throw in ſuccour, but all were fruſtrated by the vigilance of Carmagnola. At laſt, the truce being expired, the fort was ſurrendered, agreeable to the articles ſtipulated [b].

During this ſiege, which was entirely carried on by the Venetians, the Florentines, under d'Eſte, entered Cremona, which they deſolated with fire and ſword. Philip had no army able to oppoſe them; as yet he was but aſ-

[b] Boniten. lib. iv. Blond. lib. vi. dec. iii.

ſembling

sembling his troops, and before they were united the Florentines retired.

Soon after the surrender of the town and fort of Brescia, through the mediation of the pope's nuncio, peace was concluded, but with reluctance embraced by all parties. The conditions were, that Philip should amicably cede to the Venetians, Commonica, Brescia, with its territories, and that part of the Cremonese, on the Olio, towards Brescia: and that Amadeus of Savoy should keep whatever he had taken during the war. Here we find no mention of the Florentines, although it was stipulated in the treaty of alliance between the republics, that neither should make peace without the other's consent: it is probable, therefore, the Florentines were included, though as they obtained no particular conditions, it was not necessary to specify them by name. *Peace with Visconti.*

It appears from Philip's conduct soon after, that he by no means was desirous of this peace, at least upon the terms of dismembering his dominions. Respect for the pope's nuncio would seem to have been the sole inducement to patch up what may rather be termed a cessation of hostilities than a pacification. Some writers allege, that he even affronted, in the nuncio's presence, the Venetian commissioners who came to Milan to receive the towns surrendered to the republic. Sabellicus is of opinion that his so suddenly breaking through the peace was owing to the remonstrances of the Milanese, who highly resented the ignominious terms which he received [c]. They upbraided their prince with cowardice and meanness, for so easily relinquishing what the chance of war would probably have recovered, and yielding his strong holds, cities, and lands, to an enemy whose strength or courage in the field he had but once experienced. The remonstrance concluded with a zealous offer of their lives and fortunes, which, they said, they were ready to sacrifice rather than his honour should be stained, or the hereditary dominions of the state alienated. Philip desired to know in what manner they would enable him to prosecute the war; upon which the magistrates retired to their constituents, and the subject was warmly debated in a large assembly of the citizens. The result of their deliberations was, that they would request of the duke to accept, during the war, of ten thousand horse and an equal number of foot, conditionally, that the revenues of the Milanese

[c] Sabell. lib. ix. dec. ii.

ſhould remain in the hands of the magiſtrates of Milan. The intention of this propoſal was to prevent the abuſe of public money, to the purpoſes of miniſters and courtiers, who, under the pretence of the neceſſary occaſions of the ſtate and expences of the war, ſqueezed and impoveriſhed the people for the ſupport of their luxury. The duke was inclined to accept the terms; but was diſſuaded by one of his miniſters, who told him, that to leave the revenue in the hands of his ſubjects was to rear ladders for them to mount to liberty, ſo eagerly aſpired after, eſpecially at a time when he was obliged to carry on a war againſt two free republics. Philip, ſatisfied with this reaſoning, was, however, afraid abſolutely to reject the propoſal; he left it to time and his own cunning to extort the ſums wanted upon his own conditions. In order to ſatisfy the people, he prohibited the ſurrender of thoſe towns which were ſtipulated in the treaty of peace, and ſoon after made an incurſion into the territories of Mantua.

*Second war with Viſconti.*

The republic, ſpeedily informed of Philip's intentions, forthwith ordered new levies to be made, the troops which were not diſbanded to march into Mantua, their former alliances to be renewed, and every other meaſure to be taken for vigorouſly proſecuting the war. Philip was not behind them in preparations. Undaunted at the league formed againſt him, he reſolved upon a triple attack on the enemy: arming ſome veſſels at Cremona he ſeized on Turcecole, a fortreſs in the Parmeſan, ſituated at the mouth of the Tarro. Preſuming on the ſtrength of his infantry, he made incurſions beyond the Breſcian mountains, while his cavalry foraged and ſcoured all the champain country: his third exploit was the moſt ſucceſsful and important; ſending an army againſt the fugitive Genoeſe, who greatly moleſted him, he, by his general Sforza, totally defeated Fregoſa and their army.

Pergulan, another of his officers, placed garriſons in all the forts of the Breſcian, which ſtood convenient to impede or harraſs the enemy, at the ſame time that Picinino with a fleet beſieged and took Caſſel Major [d]. Briſſelles, on the Po, was ſoon after taken, and Viſconti's conqueſts were no leſs rapid than his reſolution to renew the war had been ſudden. All this time the Venetians were
A.D. 1427. diligently employed; they fitted out a fleet with orders to ſail up the Po, under Franciſco Bembo. At Caſſal, he

[d] Sabel. ubi ſupra. Blond. lib. vi. dec. iii. Boniten. lib. iv. Coroſin. apud. Sabel.

came

came up with the enemy's fleet, commanded by Euſtace of Pavia, and both admirals prepared for battle. Bembo ordered eight galleons to form a line in front, theſe he faſtened together by a ſtrong chain. Euſtace oppoſed this van with four galleons, which he ordered to bear down upon the Venetian line with all the force of the tide and oars. The Venetian, aware of his deſign, eluded it by a ſtroke of military addreſs peculiar to the method of fighting ſhips at that time, attacked and ſunk the four galleons. Euſtace, perceiving by this inſtance, that he was unequal to the dexterity of Bembo, made all the diſpatch he was able to Cremona [c]. He was cloſely purſued by the Venetian admiral, who inſtantly attacked and reduced three little forts built in the river to block up the channel. The victorious Bembo then entering the channel, ſeized upon the galleons, which he burnt, Euſtace having wholly unrigged them before his arrival. In the night the ſailors, having got on ſhore without leave from the admiral, began to plunder the ſuburbs, when they were ſuddenly attacked by a detachment from the city, and to the number of three hundred taken priſoners. Bembo, incenſed at this accident, ordered the fleet up the river, attacked and deſtroyed the fort ſtanding on the confluence of the rivers Po and Adda; then purſuing his way, came to an anchor near Pavia; but finding the city deſerted, he returned to Cremona, apprehending ſome treachery was intended.

During theſe naval tranſactions, the Venetians were not idle on ſhore. An army of fourteen thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot being ready early in the ſpring, Carmagnola marched for Padua, croſſed the lake Benacus, and arrived at Breſcia. Before his coming, Pietro Loretano, the governor, had been ſucceſsful againſt a detachment of the enemy, who made incurſions to the very gates of the city: ſallying out upon them, he took the commander priſoner, and about three hundred of the ſoldiers. Carmagnola, envious that the firſt military exploits were not performed by himſelf, departed with his army from Breſcia, and proceeded directly to Ortolonga, which he inveſted. As ſoon as his battering artillery arrived, lines were formed, and his batteries began to play upon the walls with great fury. There was a body of one thouſand horſe, beſides a ſtrong garriſon of foot, within the town: the governor, relying upon his ſtrength, reſolved upon a ſally, which he

*Carmagnola's conduct.*

*Beſieges Ortolonga.*

[c] Sabel. lib. ix. dec. ii. Boniten. lib. iv. Blond. de Geſt. Ven. idem in Hiſt. dec. iii. lib. vi.

made in the evening on that ſide of the camp defended by Stroſſi, and the troops of Ferrara. Stroſſi, with four hundred horſe, bravely ſuſtained the aſſault, making prodigious havock amongſt the beſieged. At laſt, overpowered with numbers, he was ſlain, with the greateſt part of his troops; upon which the enemy broke into the camp, where nothing but confuſion reigned. The ſoldiers fatigued with the heat and labour of the day, had gone ſecurely to reſt, never dreaming of an attack. They were running about in the utmoſt perturbation, a prey to the enemy, when Carmagnola arrived with a body of horſe, and charged the aſſailants with ſo much vigour, that they were repulſed, and driven back into the town with great ſlaughter. However, this affair coſt the beſiegers, beſides the loſs of the brave Stroſſi, about one thouſand ſix hundred men, according to Blondus, who is very particular.

*Carmagnola raiſes the ſiege, and marches to Cremona.*

Carmagnola raiſed the ſiege next day, and leaving behind all the towns and forces held by the enemy, marched ſtrait to beſiege Cremona, not doubting but the ſurrender of this fine city would induce others to a voluntary ſubmiſſion [f]. On his way he was ſtrongly reinforced, ſo that the army amounted to eighteen thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, excluſive of ſix thouſand auxiliaries: Bembo likewiſe with the fleet and two thouſand mariners lay near Cremona. Struck with the greatneſs of this deſign, Viſconti aſſembled the citizens of Milan, and met with ſuch chearful returns of loyalty as enabled him to take the field at the head of thirty thouſand men, with whom he marched to give battle to the Venetians. Carmagnola with his army lay at Sama, the enemy being obliged to croſs a bridge above a mile diſtant from the camp before they could attack him: here he was determined to receive Philip, without giving himſelf the trouble of defending the bridge, for the Venetians were no leſs eager than the enemy to engage. Philip, contrary to his own judgment, by the advice of Sforza, led his army over the bridge, which he drew up in order of battle on a plain a little way diſtant from the Venetian camp. Both ſides joined battle with the utmoſt alacrity and vigour: they fought from noon till night, and no apparent advantage was gained. In the evening a ſtorm of wind ariſing drove before it ſuch clouds of duſt, as rendered it impoſſible for the ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh each other: friends were known from enemies only by the word of battle. An advanced party of Philip's army thinking to retire out of this confuſion

[f] Blond. Sabel. ubi ſupra. Boniten. lib. iv.

towards

towards the bridge, found themſelves in the middle of the enemy's camp, where they were made priſoners. At laſt both generals ordered a retreat to be ſounded, each claiming victory, and perhaps with equal reaſon. Carmagnola uſed jocoſely to ſay, that at the battle of Sama, Philip and he took more of their own ſoldiers priſoners than of the enemy: however, Philip aſſerted with great gravity, that the Venetians were defeated, eſteeming it a victory that he had not loſt a battle[g]: but he was ſoon recalled to the defence of the Milaneſe, the duke of Savoy's cavalry having entered the duchy by the ſide of Vercelli, were making incurſions to the gates of the capital. The Venetians too perceiving Cremona to be ſtrongly garriſoned and well provided, dropped their intention of laying ſiege to it, and encamped at Caſſel Major, where Bembo and the fleet arrived ſoon after. Sforza had purſued the Venetians from Cremona with a choice body of horſe, thinking he ſhould be able to harraſs their rear; but he found them ſo well prepared, that he returned without making any attempt.

*The Venetians beſiege Caſſel Major.*

Carmagnola entered upon the ſiege of Caſſel, which was for a long time defended by a brave governor and numerous garriſon: at laſt it was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword, all beſides Piſani the governor and a few troops, who, retiring into a ſtrong tower, capitulated upon honourable terms. He next laid a bridge over the Adda, by which his troops made incurſions into the Milaneſe, ravaged, plundered, and deſtroyed every thing that came in their way.

Philip was taken up in reconciling diſputes among his officers, each of whom claimed a ſuperiority over the others. At laſt he was obliged to put an end to diviſions, which he apprehended might terminate in the ruin of the army, by creating a generaliſſimo: his choice fell upon Carolo Malateſta, who had formerly commanded the Venetian forces; an officer more diſtinguiſhed for his high rank, caution, and duplicity, than for his valour. Malateſta's firſt buſineſs was to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Venetians, which in a ſhort time he effectually accompliſhed. Macale, a city of the Cremoneſe, was now beſieged by Carmagnola: this enterprize occaſioned great diſcontent in Philip's army, the ſoldiers entertaining doubts about the courage of their general. At laſt their clamours became ſo loud, that Malateſta called a council

*Macale beſieged by the Venetians.*

g Sabel. ibid. Blond. lib. vi. dec. iii.

of the principal officers: Sforza and Picinino were for giving the enemy battle; Pergulan and Taurello for avoiding it, and reſtraining the impetuoſity of the troops, ſaying, that the Venetians muſt neceſſarily quit the Cremoneſe ſoon for want of ammunition and forage. The general, apprehenſive of a ſedition, followed the former opinion, and gave orders for the army to march. When he approached the enemy, he put the queſtion to Sforza and Picinino, whether it were better to attack the enemy in their camp, or to draw up the army and receive them? Thoſe officers replied, that he was their general, and muſt direct thoſe particulars as he thought proper. Orders then were iſſued for diſpoſing the troops in battle-array. In the mean time Carmagnola had drawn up the Venetians to receive the enemy: Tolletino was ordered with two thouſand horſe to make a ſweep round a hill on the left, and attack them in the rear as ſoon as both armies were engaged: then he ſtrongly lined all the hedges and ditches through which the enemy muſt paſs, himſelf taking poſt in a particular defile of great importance. Here the action began: Sforza advancing with the light horſe, charged the Venetians in front, while Carmagnola ordered the firſt and ſecond lines to give way to the right and left, to encloſe him if he advanced; an incident which accordingly happened: continuing, however, to preſs on with irreſiſtible vigour, Carmagnola made a fighting retreat to the main body of his army. Here Sforza, ſeconded by Malateſte, purſued, and a general engagement began, in which both ſides behaved with great intrepidity: but Carmagnola's diſpoſition gave him many advantages; his infantry, with which all the hedges were lined, galled, and made prodigious ſlaughter amongſt the enemy's cavalry; while a great ſhout in the rear of Malateſte's army announced their being charged in the rear by Tolletino with his two thouſand horſe. Thus being attacked in the rear by cavalry, in both flanks by infantry placed in the hedges, and in the front by the main body of the Venetian army under Carmignola, the enemy were at laſt totally defeated, after many bold efforts to rally. Then began a dreadful carnage, the general not having power to reſtrain the rage of the Venetian ſoldiers. At laſt, the enemy endeavoured to appeaſe by intreaties the reſentment they could neither repel nor eſcape; they laid down their arms, and ſix thouſand infantry, with three thouſand horſe, were made priſoners at diſcretion [h]. Without doubt Carmagnola might

*Philip's army defeated.*

[h] Blond. lib. vii. dec. iii. Sabel. lib. i. dec. iii.

have

have cruſhed Philip in conſequence of this deciſive victory, if he had not either from unaccountable whim, overſtrained generoſity, or treachery, ſet all the priſoners at liberty without a ſingle condition. The Milaneſe army being totally broke, nothing could prevent his becoming maſter of the whole duchy, had he been as ſkilful, or rather had he been as willing to purſue as to gain a victory. His only exploit after this battle was the taking of Orges by aſſault, all the other cities, towns, and forts of Breſcia paying a voluntary ſubmiſſion.

In the mean time Sforza and Picinino were buſied in collecting their ſcattered troops, and in making new levies: having joined theſe with the priſoners reſtored by Carmagnola, a formidable army was ſoon on foot, which immediately entered upon action. Sforza ſurpriſed a convoy of proviſions going to the enemy's camp: Picinino made an attempt at night to recover the town of Pontaglio, but was repulſed [1].

Beſides the attempts of Philip to ſtop the progreſs of the Venetians by force, he was not idle by negociation: he endeavoured, by his intrigues, to excite the emperor Sigiſmund againſt the republic. His art ſucceeded with the duke of Savoy, who gave him his daughter in marriage: however, not all his policy could prevent the neceſſity he was under of ſuing for peace, upon the loſs ſuſtained by the death of ſeveral of his beſt officers. A congreſs was accordingly appointed at Ferrara, the pope's legate preſiding, where the conditions were long debated, and at laſt adjuſted. The moſt material articles were, that Breſcia, with all the Breſcian and Cremoneſe, that part of the Bergameſe ſtretching towards the river Adice, together with the caſtles, towns, and forts which they then held upon the Cremoneſe, ſhould be ceded in perpetuity to the Venetians. Little was granted to the Florentines beſides ſome trifling honours, ſuch as hoiſting their own flag at ſea inſtead of the Piſan. A.D. 1429. *A peace.*

By this peace Italy enjoyed a pauſe of unſettled tranquillity: hoſtilities ceaſed, yet ſtill their mutual animoſities, jealouſies, and heart-burnings remained. The ceſſion of the Cremoneſe was never thoroughly reliſhed by Philip: his conduct at the time of ſigning the peace, as well as afterwards, intimated his reluctance to part with a diſtrict ſo commodious, which he regarded as hereditary in his family, although in truth his right was founded in

[1] Mont. Com. lib. iii.

conqueſt.

conqueſt. This was one grievance, and might in time have produced a war had no other reaſons concurred [k]. Others, however, were not wanting. Philip had perſecuted with implacable hatred, the families of Fregoſa and Fieſci, in contempt of all the remonſtrances in their behalf from the republics of Venice and Florence, and even a promiſe that he would take them into his friendſhip: but the moſt open and avowed occaſion of taking arms aroſe from the following incident.

Paolo Gueneſio had, by his cunning, art, and policy, acquired an aſcendency almoſt deſpotic over the republic of Lucca: he conducted himſelf with ſo much conduct and prudence, that amidſt the broils in which all Italy beſides were engaged, Lucca alone taſted the ſweets of repoſe and tranquillity; yet could he neither gain the hearts, nor even avoid the hatred of the principal perſons in that ſtate, which he had ſo ſkilfully ſteered through all the dangers and labyrinths of policy. Continual intrigues were carried on againſt him, and now a ſtorm was gathering which threatened deſtruction both to Paolo and the republic. The firſt attempt of the diſaffected was to ſtir up the people againſt him on account of his conniving at his ſon's deſertion of the ſervice of the ſtate to enter into that of Florence. Young Ladiſlaus had ſolicited for leave, but being denied he made his eſcape, and acquired great honour in the Florentine alliance with the Bolognese againſt pope Martin. The diſaffected repreſented the danger there was of being embroiled in a quarrel with the holy ſee, by the raſhneſs of Ladiſlaus and ambition of Paolo: however, their intrigues were undermined by the cunning of Paolo, who proved too hard for them on this as on many former occaſions. The malcontents, finding their endeavours to ſtir up the people againſt Paolo, were to no purpoſe, grew deſperate: they never conſidered that violent meaſures muſt be accompanied with the ruin of their country; or rather, they were indifferent what became of Lucca, ſo that Gueneſio was deſtroyed: this aim they endeavoured to accompliſh, by working on the ambition and natural fire of young Stella, nephew to Brachio, a young nobleman in the Florentine ſervice. Stella was eaſily induced by their remonſtrances to undertake what was perfectly agreeable to his active and enterpriſing ſpirit. Without farther reflection he made an incurſion into the territories of Lucca, laying every thing waſte

*Stella's enterprize.*

[k] Sabel. lib. ii. dec. iii.

to

to the gates of the city: he seized upon eight forts and castles belonging to Paolo, made the garrisons prisoners, and then encamped on the great plain near Lucca. His forces, which at first consisted of a few troops of Florentine horse, were soon increased by a great number of volunteers, who flocked from all quarters in expectation of honour or booty. When Stella entered upon action, he had no countenance from the republic of Florence, the few troops under his conduct being prevailed upon solely by his own influence to share his fortune. The Florentines, however, perceiving the rapidity of his conquests, and the unexpected increase of his forces, began to harbour ambitious designs, and to relish the project of annexing Lucca to the territories of the republic by means of Stella. Instead therefore of recalling him and their soldiers, in consequence of a solemn embassy from Guenesio, they encouraged Stella in the enterprize he had formed, which they desired might be prosecuted in the name of the republic, assuring him of ample supplies of men, money, and every other necessary. A.D. 1430.

*Stella supported by the Florentines.*

Paolo perceiving that nothing was to be expected but war from the Florentines, had recourse to Venice; but the republic declining to interfere in a dispute in which she was not concerned, the ambassadors proceeded to the court of Milan. Philip joyfully espoused a cause in which he hoped to wreak his vengeance on the Florentines. He ordered Sforza to levy a strong army, and march directly to the relief of Lucca[1]. This general, whose greatest pleasure was fighting, readily obeyed the mandate, raised an army, passed the Alps, and soon appeared before the city. Upon his approach Stella retired towards the confines of Pisa, not chusing to give battle to the enemy, who he knew must soon be in want of provisions. By protracting the war he doubted not but Sforza's assistance would become useless to Guenesio, as the country round being entirely destroyed, the Milanese army would only hasten the surrender of Lucca, by consuming the stores laid in for a siege.

*Visconti resolves to assist Lucca.*

In the mean time Sforza entered Lucca triumphantly, and was received by Guenesio as his deliverer and guardian angel. Here he made but a short stay, and then marched into Pistoia, where he took, plundered, and destroyed a number of forts and castles. In his absence the artful Guenesio began to ruminate upon the event; he consi-

[1] Mont. Com. lib. iv.

dered

dered how precarious was the ſupport of auxiliaries, whoſe deſigns might have the ſame tendency as thoſe of the avowed enemy; how much eaſier it was to treat with the Florentines for a peace, while his affairs were in a proſperous condition, than it would be after the departure or defeat of Sforza; he concluded, that now was the moſt adviſable time for him to enter into a treaty, and ſecure by a ſolid, though diſadvantageous peace, that tranquillity upon which his power and happineſs depended [m].

Commiſſioners were in conſequence ſecretly diſpatched to Stella and Florence with propoſals; but Sforza having intelligence of the deſign, returned ſuddenly with a ſtrong corps to Lucca, and ſeizing upon Paolo and his family, ſent them priſoners to Milan, after he had diſtributed his money and rich moveables among the ſoldiers [n].

Scarce had he led his troops back to Lombardy when Stella returned to the ſiege of Lucca, where he was ſtrongly reinforced by a body of horſe and foot detached from Florence. This motion determined Philip to ſend Picinino, in the name of the Genoeſe, who were ſaid to have received Lucca under their protection, to relieve the city. The news of his march and powerful army obliged the Florentines to apply to Venice for aſſiſtance, in conſequence of a treaty offenſive and defenſive ſubſiſting between the republics. Perceiving the danger which threatened their allies, the Venetians diſpatched commiſſioners to Philip to acquaint him, that the republic could eaſily penetrate into his deſigns; that the Venetians were ſenſible the Genoeſe were incapable of raiſing ſuch a force as Picinino was leading againſt the Florentines their allies; that it was abſurd to pretend that a ſtate, which itſelf was under his dominion, ſhould have taken Lucca under its protection; and laſtly, that if he did not recall his generals and troops, who inconteſtably compoſed the greater part of Picinino's army, they would immediately march to the relief of their allies, and, contrary to their inclination, break the peace ſubſiſting between the ſtates. Philip gave no determinate anſwer to this peremptory meſſage, and the Venetians heſitated about entering upon war, until the news arrived that Picinino had defeated the Florentines before Lucca, an event which immediately produced a reſolution of coming to a rupture [o].

[m] Mont. etiam Sabel. et Blond. ubi ſupra. [n] Paſi. p. 74.
[o] Blond. lib. viii. dec. iii. Sabel. ibid. Boniten. Com. p. 176.

The

The Venetians, previous to hoſtilities, made divers attempts to draw Franciſco Sforza into their intereſt, who had reſided at Mirandola from the time he left Lucca, without diſbanding his army, or acknowledging any allegiance to Philip. The Florentines likewiſe left no means untried to ſecure his friendſhip, to which Sforza was greatly diſpoſed, on account of the mutual good offices which had long ſubſiſted between his father and the republic. But Philip uſed the moſt forcible arguments to gain him, promiſing him his only daughter in marriage, and the reverſion of his dominions if he ſhould die without male iſſue. All their endeavours being baffled, the Venetians entered into a league with the marquis of Montferrat, to whom and ſome other petty princes they granted ſubſidies. The war commenced with an attempt the Florentines made of reſuming the ſiege of Lucca, after the departure of Picinino; but their deſign was fruſtrated by Bartholomeo Fornari, the Genoeſe admiral, who lay at Leghorn, with a ſquadron of ſix gallies. Fornari's vicinity obliged the Florentines to garriſon Piſa, which they apprehended would revolt: the reſt of the army were forced to retire on the approach of Picinino, who was returning to Lucca after he had with wonderful rapidity over-run the country of the Piſans, and taken a great number of forts and caſtles. So apprehenſive were the Florentines of loſing the city of Piſa, that they paſſed a very extraordinary and cruel edict, to prevent their rebellion, viz. that all the inhabitants, from the age of fifteen to ſixty years of age, ſhould depart the city before a candle, lighted up for the purpoſe, was conſumed, under penalty of their lives, and confiſcation of their effects[p]. Picinino, finding that Lucca was in no danger, marched into the country of Volterra, where his conqueſts were no leſs rapid than before they had been in the Piſan territories. Even the city of Volterra muſt have fallen into his hands, had not Michaeli Attendulo been ſeaſonably ſent with a ſtrong corps by pope Eugenius to its relief, which obliged Picinino to abandon his deſign[q]. A.D.1431.

During theſe tranſactions, the Venetian army under Carmagnola took the field. This general had ſome time remained encamped near Orges, watching an opportunity to enter upon action with advantage: he now diſcovered a treaſonable correſpondence between the governor of Lo-

[p] Sabel. lib. ii. dec. iii. Blond. lib. viii. dec. iii. [q] Hiſtoire de Pap. F. 4. Vit. Eugen.

dis

dis and the enemy, in which it was concerted that the caſtle ſhould be betrayed to Philip. Carmagnola having prevented the deſign by hanging the governor, thought of retaliating by a ſimilar conduct. He tampered with the chief officer of Socinna, that the place might be delivered to him at a certain time agreed upon. The governor had no ſooner touched Carmagnola's money, than he ſent ſecret intelligence of the tranſaction to Philip, who gave immediate orders to Sforza to march with all poſſible ſecrecy to Socinna, to ſeize on all the paſſes, and lay a ſtrong ambuſcade for the Venetians. The troops were diſpatched to take poſſeſſion of the place on the day appointed, Carmagnola remaining with the army at ſome little diſtance: they no ſooner entered the town than they were ſurrounded by a body of Milaneſe, which had been admitted and concealed; Sforza at the ſame time attacking the main army under Carmagnola ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo much vigour, that he quickly defeated it, the general with difficulty making his eſcape[r]. Thus Carmagnola was taken in his own ſnare, with the loſs of a thouſand horſe, and the precipitate diſorderly retreat of his whole army. To add to his mortification, he was upbraided by the governor as a ſhallow ſuperficial plotter, a pretender to ſkill in the human heart, the baſeneſs of which he eſtimated by the corruption of his own; falſely imagining that the love of money was the firſt principle and ſpring of human actions[s]. The Venetians ſoon after received another defeat in the Cremoneſe, where they loitered about in a diſorderly and irregular manner, without diſcipline or conduct.

*Carmagnola defeated.*

*The Venetians a ſecond time defeated.*

In the mean time the Florentines were hard puſhed by Picinino: after this general had laid waſte Volterra he marched into the territories of Arezzo, where he very nearly ſurpriſed the city. He battered forts, towns, and cities, many of which he took by force, ſome by ſtratagem, while others voluntarily ſubmitted.

The Venetians, not diſpirited by their loſſes, levied recruits with all poſſible diſpatch, formed magazines, forged arms, and fitted out a ſquadron, which they ſent up the river with ten thouſand men as far as Cremona. Nicholao Treviſano was made admiral, and the command of each ſhip given to a Venetian of birth. This fleet was furniſhed with a prodigious number of warlike engines: it was likewiſe to be aſſiſted in its operations by Carmag-

[r] Sabel. lib. ii. dec. iii. [s] Blond. lib. viii. dec. iii.

nola,

nola, who lay encamped near Cremona with twenty-four thouſand horſe and foot. Philip made preparations to oppoſe ſo formidable an armament, though he was ſtill inferior in number of ſhips, a difference more than compenſated by the abilities of the admiral, and courage of the mariners and ſoldiers. The famous Giovanni Grimaldi, a Genoeſe, the greateſt ſea-officer of his time, commanded: he had choſen the beſt pilots, the beſt archers, and engineers that either Philip or Genoa could furniſh. Picinino's return from Tuſcany had likewiſe greatly augmented the army; ſo that upon the whole Grimaldi, Sforza, and Picinino were a very equal match for Carmagnola and Treviſano. Much depended on the fate of a battle; the hopes and fears of both parties were proportioned to the conſequences of a defeat or victory. Sforza and Picinino to their ſtrength joined every thing which the policy and art of war could ſuggeſt: they made frequent attacks upon Carmagnola's trenches, as if they deſpiſed his army and the fleet that was advancing. The nearer Treviſano with the ſquadron approached, the more frequent and fierce were their aſſaults, at the ſame time that they conſulted with Grimaldi in what manner the Venetian fleet could be moſt advantageouſly attacked. Grimaldi propoſed, that Picinino with all the men at arms ſhould be embarked; that Sforza ſhould at the ſame time make a feint attack upon Carmagnola's trenches, to prevent diſcovery of his weakneſs by the detachment under Picinino; and that the garriſon of Cremona ſhould aſſiſt by a vigorous ſally, while he fell down with the ſtream to give battle to Treviſano[t]. The Venetians, deſiring nothing more than an engagement, rowed with all the force they could to meet the enemy; but as they approached Picinino, who advanced before the fleet with ſix gallies, they diſcovered the enemy's intention: finding they had to fight a land army as well as a fleet, they ſent repeated accounts to Carmagnola of their ſituation; but he returned an anſwer reflecting on the courage of the admiral. The engagement in the mean while began, which both ſides ſuſtained with great conduct and valour. Towards ſun-ſet Picinino grappled with four Venetian gallies, who defended themſelves with courage, but unequal ſtrength or ſucceſs; for they were taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance: this loſs induced Treviſano to retreat and fall back to the harbour from whence he had weighed anchor.

*A battle.*

*The Venetians retreat.*

[t] Blond. ibid. Sabell. ibid. apud Sabell.

Grimaldi

Grimaldi purſued, and next day renewing the engagement, the Venetians, after an obſtinate conflict, were defeated, not above five gallies having eſcaped being either taken, ſunk, or deſtroyed. Two thouſand men were ſlain, and about ſix thouſand made priſoners, in which number were included thirteen ſenators. Prodigious booty fell into the enemy's hands, and the victory was in all reſpects complete and deciſive.

This misfortune was attended with the revolt or deſertion of Palavicini, and diſmiſſion of Carmagnola from his office: indeed, he was ſo chagrined at this laſt accident, that he would voluntarily have reſigned the command; but the Venetians were ſo far from being daunted by the unfortunate defeat, that they reſolved to carry war into the bowels of the Genoeſe territories, as Philip's fleet was commanded by an admiral of that country, and chiefly manned by Genoeſe. A ſquadron of eighteen gallies was immediately equipt for this purpoſe, completely manned, armed, and victualled. Pietro Loretano, a man of experience and conduct, was appointed to command the expedition, and every precaution taken that could render his ſucceſs probable[u]. He ſoon arrived at Leghorn, where he was joined by five Florentine gallies: there too he accepted of the offered ſervices of Adorini and Fieſci, two noblemen of Genoa, who for ſome time had lived in baniſhment, and whoſe powerful influence and connexions it was thought might induce the Genoeſe to attempt the recovery of their liberty: but ſuch conjectures proved deluſive; the Genoeſe had prepared for their defence a ſtrong fleet of twenty-four gallies, commanded by Francis Spinola, a man equally diſtinguiſhed by the nobility of his birth, and his perſonal bravery[x]. The Venetian fleet had approached within ten miles of Genoa before intelligence was received at Genoa: the news no ſooner arrived than Spinola ſailed in ſuch haſte to meet Loretano, that ſome of his ſhips could ſcarce overtake him before battle was joined. About day-break the fleets deſcried each other, and orders were given on both ſides to prepare for an engagement. Spinola encouraged his men by reminding them of their late ſucceſs, of their ſuperiority, and of the dejection of the enemy. On the contrary, Loretano exhorted his fleet to wipe off the diſgrace incurred by the loſs under Treviſano: the enemy, he ſaid, was by no means contemptible, and to conquer would require an ex-

*Loretano admiral.*

*The Genoeſe prepare to fight Loretano.*

[u] Blond. et Montan. [x] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. iii.

ertion

ertion of their courage; but then the honour of victory was proportionable, and they could have no hopes in flight from a fleet ſuperior and lighter. Spinola having the advantage of the wind, ordered his fleet to bear down on the enemy, which circumſtance Loretano obſerving, thought it adviſable to decline battle, until the curvature of the coaſt ſhould give him the weather-gage. The Genoeſe admiral attributing his retreat to fear, gave chace, and was juſt a-ſtern when Loretano put the helm round, engaged with great intrepidity, and was bravely received by Spinola. After an obſtinate conflict, the Venetians having grappled with eight Genoeſe gallies, took them, together with the admiral, whoſe fate produced a deciſive victory, the particulars of which are not ſpecified by hiſtorians.

*Loretano gains a complete victory.*

During theſe tranſactions by ſea, the war went briſkly on in Lombardy. Philip, elated by his ſucceſs on the Po, came to Cremona to compliment his generals and the army upon their conduct. The Venetians were encamped at Suma, where he reſolved to attack them if they could be brought to an engagement, which he apprehended would be difficult: but in this he was miſtaken; they were impatient for an opportunity of wiping off their late diſgrace. The Venetian general ordered his army to be drawn up in battalia, firmly expecting the enemy's attack, which ſoon began with great vigour: they fought for the whole day, every diviſion in both armies, horſe and foot, having a ſhare in the engagement. Both ſides, however, being tired out before either thought fit to yield the victory, a mutual retreat was ſounded, after incredible ſlaughter, in which the loſs was very equal. Sabellicus ſays, that Carmagnola commanded the Venetians in this engagement, though he is ſilent concerning the occaſion of his being reinſtated; but he would ſeem right from the following incident, which became an article of that general's impeachment. A few days after this laſt battle a ſcheme for ſurpriſing Cremona was propoſed by the brave Cavalcobovis, a Venetian officer: it was ſo well concerted, and his aſſurance of ſucceſs ſo ſtrong, that Carmagnola could not refuſe complying with his earneſtneſs to make the experiment. In the middle of October this gentleman ſet out about midnight from the camp with a body of troops, concealing himſelf among the ſedges and ruſhes which ſurrounded the moat at the foot of the walls. As ſoon as day-light appeared, and that the centinels went off guard, he applied ſcaling-ladders to the ramparts, which his troops mounted unobſerved: another corps, that

*War in Lombardy.*

had seasonably arrived to his support, followed, leaving a strong guard on the ladders, in order that Carmagnola might send farther reinforcements. He then marched into the city, seized upon several guards, repulsed the inhabitants who assembled to oppose him, and took possession of the nearest gate: here he maintained his ground for eight hours, in spite of all the efforts of a numerous garrison, who attacked him from every quarter. He sent repeated messengers to Carmagnola to acquaint him with his success, and to request that he would enter with the army at the gate he kept open for him; but Carmagnola, pretending his apprehensions of some treachery, hesitated so long, that Cavalcobovis, unable longer to sustain the enemy, abandoned the city[y]. This transaction clearly proves that Carmagnola commanded after the defeat on the Po, which happened three months before the attempt on Cremona. As it afterwards formed the chief article of his impeachment, it leaves no room for doubt concerning the name of the Venetian general, when this project of Cavalcobovis was put in execution.

*Fiesca and Adorini murdered.*

In the mean time Fiesca and Adorini, who had been left at Reca, when Loretano departed from thence, were treacherously slain in their way from Pisa to Florence. They were suddenly attacked by one Buffettio of Pavia, at the head of a troop of ruffians. Their defence was brave, and worthy of their birth and reputation; for after great slaughter made among the assassins, and several wounds received, they at length dropt down dead with fatigue and loss of blood. This Buffettio was supposed to have been employed by Philip, for no personal animosity had subsisted between him and those unfortunate noblemen[z].

About this time, and soon after the defeat of the Genoese by Loretano, Bernardo Adorini, brother to Adorini, who was assassinated, had caused all the coast of Genoa to revolt. He made incursions all over the country with three hundred horse given him by the marquis of Montferrat; but was in the end defeated by Picinino, and the country reduced to its former obedience[a]. Historians relate barbarous instances of Picinino's cruelty upon this occasion: instances which stain the great reputation he deservedly acquired by his extraordinary military atchievements. Besides the numbers he had slain in two

[y] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. iii. Blond. Flav. lib. viii. dec. iii.
[z] Pasius apud Sabel. ibid.
[a] Montan. Com. lib. iv. p. 116.

battles,

battles, some hundreds of prisoners were put to death by a shocking variety of tortures. Having thus glutted his inhumanity with blood, he had recourse to other methods of gratifying the natural cruelty of his disposition: he exposed to sale all the children, women, and priests, that fell into his hands, the soldiers having first indulged themselves in acts the most lascivious, wanton, and barbarous [b].

But to return to the affairs of Chios: the intended armament, consisting of fourteen gallies, ten ships of burthen, together with a great number of small vessels, being now in readiness, the command was given to Andrea Mocenigo. He sailed for the island, and immediately on his arrival invested the chief city by sea and land. This place, likewise called Chios, was strong by nature and art: the fortifications, for those times, were not only regular, but the garrison was numerous, with plenty of stores of every kind; insomuch that, after Mocenigo had battered the walls with all manner of engines then known for the space of two months, little or no impression was made. Upon news of great preparations making at Genoa for the relief of the city, he thought it advisable to raise the siege, without hazarding farther losses. Before he embarked, he laid waste the whole island, destroying the corn-fields, and tearing up the vines: unable to perform actions worthy of a great commander, he distinguished himself by those becoming the character of a savage and barbarian.

*The attempt upon Chios fails.*

In the following spring Pietro Spinola was detached thither by the Genoese with a fleet of fourteen gallies: hearing of this armament, the Venetians reinforced Loretano, and gave orders strictly to watch the motions of the enemy. Loretano sailed from Corfu, and arrived at Leghorn a few days after the departure of the Genoese fleet. By their coasting along Sicily he missed them; so that Spinola arrived at Corfu a short time after the Venetian admiral quitted the island. The inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation at sight of the enemy, as their new fortifications, raised by the advice of Loretano, were incomplete, and the island in other respects but indifferently prepared for defence. Immediate intelligence of the destination of the Genoese was sent to Loretano by the senate: he therefore dispatched six of his best gallies double-manned, which, being joined by four more appointed by the senate, steered directly to Corfu.

A.D. 1432.

*The Genoese arrive at Corfu.*

[b] Blond.

*Carmagnola's suspicious conduct.*

Picinino, in the mean time, having laid waste the whole marquisate of Montferrat, returned to the Cremonese, where he soon retook Torcello and Bordellan, both well garrisoned, and within a short distance of the Venetian army. Every one was amazed at the conduct of Carmagnola; his sloth and security, while the enemy were employed in sacking, burning, and seizing on the dominions of the republic, excited suspicions of his fidelity. Some were of opinion that his reputation ought to stand unimpeached till proofs of his treachery appeared; others again thought, and among these were the procurators of St. Mark's, that he should be taken into custody, and compelled either to clear his honour, or receive the just punishment of his perfidy: but all were ignorant that a decree of the senate had passed against him from the time of his defeat on the Po; so secret are all the transactions of that august body. Carmagnola himself, though he had resided for some weeks in Venice, and had numerous connections among the senators, was so far from suspecting any designs against him, that he paid his compliments to the doge the very day he was taken into custody. When he returned to Venice from the army, he was met as he came out of his gondola by a great number of senators, who conducted him to the prince's palace, where he was received with the same respect as if nothing against him had been determined. Before the decree was made public he was taken into custody, and then the senate's reasons were signified to the people; after which preamble, he was put to the torture, convicted of a treasonable correspondence by his own letters and hand-writing, which he could not deny, beheaded, and his effects were confiscated to the public treasure[b]. Thus ended the life of Carmagnola; glorious in its first career under Philip of Milan, but contaminated in the end by pride, avarice, and corruption. With a magnanimity becoming a hero he had a meanness unworthy of a man; his conduct plainly evinced, that when corruption once seizes the human heart, like a rank poison, it instantly destroys every principle of honour, honesty, and virtue. Before his imprisonment the prince of Mantua, with Cornaro Dandolo, as proveditor, had secret orders to repair to the army, to take upon him the command[c].

*Carmagnola beheaded.*

[b] Sabel. ibid. Amelot, ibid. [c] Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii.

Picinino

Picinino, elated with his late ſucceſs, cloſely purſued the courſe of victory; a wound he received at the ſiege of Pontoglio firſt put a ſtop to his career; he was ſo dangerouſly ill that his life was deſpaired of, by which means Philip was for a time deprived of one of his beſt and moſt active officers. Henceforward his affairs began to decline: Tolletino, who had entered into the pope's ſervice after deſerting Philip, was now diſmiſſed by his holineſs, and retained in the Florentine pay. He began his ſervices by fierce incurſions into the territory of Sienna, with great violence laying waſte all the ſea-coaſts of the enemy or their allies. After joining Attendulo, who was aſſociated with him in the command, he attacked ſome towns belonging to the Siennois, and, after reducing them, retook all the enemy's conqueſts in the Piſan territories. Soon after he attacked Philip's army, commanded by Bernardino Ubaldino, defeated and took the general priſoner, with near three thouſand inferior officers and private men [d]. *Picinino's ſucceſs ſtopped by a wound.*

At this time Sigiſmund, ſon to Charles of Bohemia and Hungary came with an army to Italy, in conſequence of a treaty with Philip. He firſt marched to Milan, where he was crowned, then he led his army towards Lucca, as had been concerted betwixt him and Philip. Tolletino having intelligence of his deſign marched towards Lucca, to prevent his ſeizing upon the Venetian forts round the country. As both the armies lay encamped at ſome diſtance from the city, Tolletino's camp was ſurpriſed in the night by a ſtrong body detached by Sigiſmund, and ſupported by a vigorous aſſault upon another quarter from the city; but, after a bloody diſpute, the enemy were repulſed with great ſlaughter [e]. Some of the Hungarians penetrated as far as Attendulo's tent, who, we are told, was attacked by a trooper of enormous ſtature. The Hungarian ſtruck him a blow on the head that muſt infallibly have ended his life, had not the goodneſs of his helmet reſiſted; but Attendulo ſoon recovering himſelf, made a thruſt, which pierced the heart of the ſoldier and ended the diſpute [f]. Sigiſmund undertook no other exploits againſt Tolletino; for, retiring to Sienna, he entered into ſome controverſies with the pope, which employed the remainder of the ſeaſon in negociations. After theſe *Sigiſmund comes with an army into Italy.*

[d] Sabell. lib. iii. dec. iii. Montan. 132. Allem. V. tom. viii. p. 226.
[e] Barre Hiſt.
[f] Sabel. ibid.

were amicably terminated he went to Rome, and there was crowned emperor.

*The Venetians successful in Lombardy.*

In Lombardy the Venetians had still better success, Sanchio Venieri and Cornaro having recovered Bordellana, Ruminenga, Fontanelles and Socinna; after which exploits both sides began to talk of peace. The Venetians, at the request of the marquis of Montferrat, sent commissioners to Ferrara to treat of the conditions, and receive proposals from the enemy: here two deputies from Florence and Milan arrived. During the congress the proveditori Venieri and Cornaro were pushing their conquests[g]: they passed the mountains, and reduced the valley of Camona and Valtellina. Then attempting to lay a bridge over the Adda, they were frustrated in the design by the obstinate resistance of the enemy: Cornaro, however, kept possession of part of Valtellina, and, with a body of three thousand horse, repulsed Picinino, called in by the Gibelline faction. But that subtle general effected by cunning what he could not compass by force. The day after his defeat he returned to the charge, as if he intended to renew the engagement: skirmishing briskly with Cornaro's troops, he began to give ground, as if unable to sustain the power of the enemy, and maintained a running fight until he had drawn them into a strong ambuscade. Here the Venetians, attacked on every side, were put to flight, about three hundred being made prisoners, and among these Cornaro, with several other officers of distinction. Cassel Major was likewise recovered by some of Philip's officers, which event was followed by the reduction of Brixelles[h].

*Venetians defeated.*

*Peace concluded.*

The winter now approaching, both armies retired into quarters, and peace was more seriously treated of than before: at last it was concluded towards the following spring, on these conditions, that Philip should restore all the towns and fortified places taken in Brescia and the Bergamese; that he should make restitution to the Florentines of all he had taken in the Pisan and Volaterran territories; that he should exert his influence to oblige the Siennois to restore to Florence whatever they had seized from the republic; that he should surrender the state of Montferrat to the marquis, making good the damage sustained by that prince from the detention of his dominions; that he should grant a full pardon to Vermio and

[g] Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii.

[h] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii.

others

others who had carried arms in the Venetian service. The article most disputed was the town of Pontremola, which at length was ceded to Philip, on condition that all the plunder taken from the Florentine inhabitants should be restored. Before the peace was ratified by the senate, an embassy was dispatched to demand Cornaro, who had not returned with the other prisoners, with orders to break off all that had been agreed upon if Philip should refuse his release. Upon their arrival they opened their instructions, and had an audience of the duke, who gravely told them, he was sorry for the resolution of the senate, since it was not possible for him to comply with their request. The ambassadors were proceeding to extremities, when he told them at length, that the body of Cornaro they might take back, but the soul, all that was valuable, had taken its flight two days before. It was indeed true, that Cornaro died of grief at his disgrace in being made a prisoner. His bravery, his noble spirit, and generosity, had acquired him the esteem of Philip, by whom he was no less lamented than by his own countrymen. The ambassadors returning with the melancholy news, the peace was ratified, and the mutual articles were performed with all convenient expedition [i].

*Cornaro dies in prison.*

It is remarkable, that in every treaty between the Venetians and Philip, though each party was heartily tired of war and desirous of peace, yet something always occurred to prevent its being solid and durable. One time an article was granted unwillingly, and soon became a cause of contention: another, a peace was made only to enable the parties to resume the war with fresh vigour; in the present case some differences between Philip and the pope arose immediately after the congress at Ferrara, disturbed the public tranquillity, and even prevented the effects of that treaty. The Venetians could not be idle spectators while their countryman was molested in his pontifical dignity. As Eugenius had, ever since his promotion, strongly supported them against Philip, gratitude obliged them now not to be indifferent to his interests. Philip had never acknowleged his authority; and now that he found himself disengaged from war, he could better pursue his dislike to the pope, which he did with great animosity and rancour [k].

While the war raged between the pope and Visconti, in which the Venetians acted only as auxiliaries, Carrario,

[i] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii. [k] Hist. des Papes, tom. iv.

who had been absent when his father was put to death at Venice, and ever since lived in Germany, was solicited to return to Italy by Philip, who thought by his means to stir up the Paduans against the republic. After an exile of thirty years he came back to his native country, where he remained for some months concealed, endeavouring to prevail upon the Paduans to throw off the Venetian yoke, and receive him as their lawful prince. His promises were so liberal, and the expectations so great which he had raised in many, that his restoration was eagerly desired. The inhabitants of Verona and Vicenza were particularly disposed to favour him, and just ready to declare themselves, when the senate receiving intelligence of the design, gave orders he might be seized; accordingly Carrario, in the habit of a German merchant, and several of his friends and accomplices were brought to Venice, convicted, and put to death [1].

A.D. 1433. This year it was that the Genoese resolved to throw off the dominion of Philip, who had governed them with a despotic sway for a great number of years, without the least regard or tenderness for their ancient customs and liberty. Spinola, who had been prisoner in Venice since the action with Loretano, was the great fomentor of this revolt: he had contracted strict intimacies and warm friendships with several noble Venetians during his confinement; by them he was often exhorted and excited to encourage his countrymen to recover the liberty they had as foolishly as basely surrendered. They reminded him of the former splendor of the city before it was enslaved and subjected to the caprice and will of a tyrant: they observed how mean and pitiful it was to give up the freedom which their ancestors had so bravely asserted at the hazard of their lives: how unbecoming that a city, herself the mistress of many other cities and large dominions, should be the slave, the vassal of a petty prince, inferior in power and glory to herself. In short, they gave him room to hope for strong supplies of men, money, and provisions, if he could persuade his countrymen to follow what their own interests, honour, and inclinations strongly dictated. They assured him, that both they and the Florentines were ready to hazard their own liberty to recover the freedom of Genoa, not only from the just resentment they bore to Philip, but from the natural regard that both states must have for a sister republic. Animated by these

*Spinola stirs up a rebellion.*

[1] Sabell. lib. iii. dec. iii.

remon-

remonſtrances, Spinola returned to Genoa, and immediately ſet every engine at work to effect a revolution; his ſucceſs in inflaming the common people was ſo great, that nothing leſs than the influence of Sigiſmund could prevail with them longer to ſuport the Milaneſe yoke, although perhaps to throw themſelves into the power of another maſter leſs powerful, but equally proud and haughty; but the politic Sigiſmund foreſaw that any revolution upon this occaſion, while his hands were fully employed otherways, would be a total excluſion of his imperial dominion; he therefore exerted himſelf ſo heartily in behalf of Viſconti, that the tumults excited by Spinola were for the time appeaſed, and all thoughts of a revolution deferred to a more convenient opportunity [m]. *He returns to Genoa.*

In the war between pope Eugenius and Viſconti, Sforza commanded the troops of the holy ſee and the Venetian auxiliaries. Diſputes aroſe between him and the republic reſpecting his pay: Coſmo de Medicis came purpoſely from Florence to Venice in order to reconcile the parties; but his mediation proving abortive, Sforza made up his quarrel with Philip and returned to his ſervice. Both the Venetians and Picinino were offended at this treaty; the latter was particularly enraged, and every where exclaimed againſt the ingratitude of Philip, as if a friendſhip for Sforza was an injury done to himſelf: but as if his reſentment to Philip had excited him to a more earneſt diſcharge of his duty, he attacked Oſtaſio Polentano, prince of Ravenna, with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that he was at laſt compelled to forſake the Venetian alliance and embrace the party of Philip. He afterwards took Imola and Bologna from the pope, and in every reſpect performed greater ſervices to the cauſe of Viſconti than he had ever done before this quarrel. It would be difficult to determine whether Picinino's conduct was actuated by a rivalſhip of Sforza, by more generous motives, or by ſound policy and his endeavours to ſhew Philip the importance of his friendſhip, and force of his merit. All we know is, that he rendered Viſconti ſignal ſervices, and did the pope, Venetians, and their allies irreparable damage [n].

Mellato, who commanded the Venetian army in the mean time, was not idle: after he had recovered all the *Mellato commands the Venetians.*

[m] Barra Hiſt. Allemagne, vol. viii. Sabell. lib. iii. dec. iii. Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii. [n] Paſſ. apud Sabel. Mont. Comment. lib. iv.

places

places taken in the Bergameſe by Picinino in the laſt campaign, he entered the Cremoneſe, and every where carried with him terror and deſolation. Picinino, hearing of Mellato's progreſs, recalled all his detachments, marched into the Cremoneſe, and encamped between the Po and the city of Cremona. Paſſing the river, he beſieged Caſſel Major, an enterprize which he knew would divert Mellato from his other deſigns. The event anſwered his conjecture; for Mellato having ſtrongly garriſoned all the places he poſſeſſed in the Cremoneſe, marched to Caſſel Major, and found means to throw in a reinforcement. Having fully ſupplied Socinna, a ſtrong place of equal conſequence, and placed centinels and corps de guard along the river, he encamped at Bina, twelve miles from Caſſel, his army not being ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege by a battle. Picinino, taking advantage of his ſuperior force, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand fine troops, almoſt double the number of Mellato's army, proſecuted the ſiege with unwearied diligence, and great vigour[o]. For nineteen days ſucceſſively did he batter the walls, almoſt without intermiſſion, or any great ſucceſs. The ſenate entertained hopes that he might at length be forced to abandon the ſiege, both from the ſtrength of the place and the obſtinacy of the garriſon; but their expectations were ſoon diſappointed by the ſudden fall of a ſtrong tower, ſuppoſed to have been undermined by the treachery of ſome of the garriſon, corrupted by Picinino. So alarmed were the beſieged by this accident, that they hung out a flag of truce, and offered to capitulate upon reaſonable and moderate terms. Their propoſals were equivocally anſwered, a circumſtance which more ſtrongly confirmed the governor in his ſuſpicions. Mean time Picinino was ſcheming the deſtruction of the Venetian army; he delayed the capitulation until the iſſue of an ambuſcade laid for Mellato ſhould appear; but the plot being diſcovered, a capitulation was ſigned, and the garriſon permitted to march out with the honours of war, their arms and ammunition.

After Gonzaga had reſigned the command of the Venetian army, a report was propagated of his intention to enter into treaty with Philip; upon this the Venetian ſenate ſent ambaſſadors to him to diſſuade him from a deſign ſo injurious to the republic. Notwithſtanding he had reſigned his poſt of general, yet a conſiderable body of the Mantuan horſe acted under Mellato; and though

[o] Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii.

Gon-

Gonzaga generally reſided at Mantua, he often made excurſions upon occaſions of conſequence to the army, to aſſiſt Mellato with his advice and counſel. The ambaſſadors finding him at Mantua, received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his intention to preſerve the friendſhip of the Venetians inviolably, with which anſwer they returned fully ſatisfied. All this time Gonzaga maintained a ſecret correſpondence with Picinino, in which he agreed to aſſiſt the plan he had laid down for the ruin of Mellato, by withdrawing his forces and joining Picinino, as ſoon as he began the propoſed attack. For this purpoſe he came to the Venetian camp, and ſtrongly adviſed Mellato to quit his preſent ſituation, and march into the enemy's country. He had ſo far gained upon the provedatori, by the ſpeciouſneſs of his manners, and the force of his arguments, that they concurred with his opinion. Picinino arrived, by a ſecret march, upon the banks of the Oglio, and encamped at a ford about four miles diſtant from Mellato's camp, where he diſpoſed every thing for an attack. The Venetian general ſuſpecting thoſe motions were only a feint to cover ſome other deſign, kept cloſe within his entrenchments, and took every neceſſary precaution. The frequent motions of the enemy ſtill more confirmed him in his opinion, that Picinino had ſome other deſign than to attack a camp ſtrongly fortified by nature and art. At laſt the courier between the treacherous Gonzaga and Picinino was taken, and the whole deſign diſcloſed to Mellato, who, thinking it beſt to avoid coming to an explanation at that time, took his meaſures for deceiving Gonzaga in his turn. For this purpoſe he detached the Mantuan horſe, under Giovanni Tolentino, with orders to croſs the river ſome miles above the enemy's camp, and to attack them in the rear, upon a ſignal given that the armies were engaged. Having thus diſengaged himſelf from the Mantuans, he gave orders for the army to decamp with the utmoſt ſilence in the middle of the night, and marched with ſuch expedition that by break of day he was twelve miles diſtant before the enemy were apprized of his motions. In this manner did he proceed unmoleſted to Bagnolo, where he encamped and fortified himſelf in a ſituation almoſt inacceſſible [p]. Gonzaga's ſchemes being known at Venice, the ſenate reſolved to puniſh his perfidy. With this intention a prodigious fleet, conſiſting of ſixty-five gallies, eight galliots, and a number of ſmall veſſels, was equipped

*Gonzaga's treachery.*

[p] Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii.

with

*A fleet equipped againſt Gonzaga.*

with all poſſible diſpatch, and the command given to Pietro Loretano, the old and faithful favourite of the republic. He had orders to ſail up the Po, and deſolate the enemy's country.

Picinino, in the mean time, was concerting meaſures with Gonzaga and Vermio for ſhutting up the lake Benacus and river Mincia, the only paſſes by which Mellato could ſupply his army with forage and proviſions. Dividing his army into four columns, Gonzaga and Vermio, with two ſeparate corps, entered the Veroneſe; and having, by the force of money, made themſelves maſters of Valeza, they ſoon over-run all the country lying between the rivers Adice and Mincia. Here it was that Giovanni Melavotte, going from Breſcia to Verona, with three hundred horſe, fell into their hands, after a brave reſiſtance. They ſoon afterwards ſubdued the inhabitants of the lake Benacus; and Gonzaga reduced Pelcara, ſituated at the riſe of the Mincia, and Leonata, upon the Breſcian mountains; forts which had formerly belonged to him, but were now garriſoned by Venetians. Mellato, having received reinforcements from Breſcia, volunteers raiſed by Barbaro, and multitudes of mountaineers, his army was augmented to the number of twenty thouſand ſtrong; but finding that Picinino, by Gonzaga's junction, was ſtill ſuperior, and ſuſpecting the fidelity of ſeveral of his own officers, he waved his intention, and cantoned the army in the neighbouring towns and fortreſſes. Picinino, being thus ſet at liberty to act as he pleaſed, led his army to beſiege Sales, which, after ſome time, he was forced to relinquiſh, on account of the brave and obſtinate defence of the garriſon [q]. He afterwards drew near Feliciana and Manubia, by the terror of his arms, compelling the Forlani and the inhabitants of Monteclao to embrace the cauſe of Viſconti. Hence he marched to Pontoglio, which, with ſeveral other towns, he reduced before the end of the campaign.

A.D. 1434. Philip's arms were no leſs ſucceſsful in another quarter. In the valley of Camona he carried all before him, Antonio Bechari, his general on that ſide, having by force or perſuaſion, reduced all the inhabitants to his obedience; however, he did not long retain his conqueſts; for the diligent and faithful Barbaro of Breſcia raiſed great bodies of mountaineers, whom he ſent under the conduct of

[q] Mont. Com. lib. iv. Paſſ. apud Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii. Blond. lib. ix. dec. ii.

Leonardo

Leonarda Martinenga againſt Bechari. Martinenga ſoon drove the enemy out of the country with great ſlaughter; after which he over-run the whole territory, deſtroying every thing with a barbarous fury, and ſeverely puniſhing the cowardice and perfidy of the miſerable inhabitants of the valley.

During theſe exploits Picinino defeated Gritti, who was diſpatched by Mellato, with a body of three hundred foot and two hundred horſe, to reinforce Chiava, at that time beſieged by the Milaneſe general; after which exploit, he inveſted Rhoad, but not before he had completed the reduction of Chiava. Mellato apprehending the danger of the town from the weakneſs of the garriſon, detached a body of troops, all volunteers, from the mountains of Valhopia and Scrotiona, to raiſe the ſiege, or at leaſt to reinforce the garriſon [r]. An ambuſcade was laid for them by Picinino; but the Venetian general conducted his affairs ſo prudently that the enemy's ſcheme was baffled, a general engagement brought on between both armies, and the Milaneſe general forced to relinquiſh his enterprize. After an obſtinate conflict a retreat was ſounded by mutual conſent, and the armies ſeparated without victory's declaring for either: Mellato returned to Breſcia, and Picinino to Coloignes [s]. Barbaro, however, proclaimed all over Breſcia, that Picinino was broken and repulſed with great ſlaughter, and that the night only had prevented the total deſtruction of his army. Nor was this report confined to Breſcia only; it diffuſed itſelf to Venice, where it excited ſo general a joy, that the people flocked to the market-place to congratulate each other upon the narrow eſcape of their army, and complete defeat of the enemy. The city at this time ſwarmed with ſailors, raiſed for manning the fleet intended againſt Gonzaga: they ſoon became riotous in their mirth; they began with pulling down ſtalls and ſhops, to make fuel for their bonefires. At laſt the tumult became ſo great as to require the intervention of the civil magiſtrate; but their authority was likewiſe deſpiſed. The mob continually increaſing, the whole city was in danger of being plundered and burnt, through the unruly and unbridled licentiouſneſs of the tumultuous ſailors, when Loretano interpoſed: he was held in ſuch great veneration among them that their paſſions ſoon yielded to his remonſtrances. The tumult was quell-

*A tumult in Venice.*

*Appeaſed by Loretano.*

[r] Mont. Com. lib. iv. ibid.

[s] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii. Blond.

ed,

ed, the mob dispersed, and public tranquillity established by this admiral, whose reputation and popularity effected what the senate and doge found too difficult for their authority. He had for the space of twenty years been the constant and faithful servant of the republic: his mildness, modesty, liberality, and affability, had gained him the general esteem. He was not more respected by the people for his bravery and generosity, than by the doge and senate for the sweetness of his manners, and zeal for the public service. Notwithstanding his great age he was now appointed to conduct one of the most formidable armaments ever equipped by the republic, and to execute a commission of equal delicacy and importance.

*Rhoad taken by Picinino.*

Picinino, during the preparations at Venice, carried all before him by his vigilance, activity, and the superiority of his army. Marching from Coloignes to Rhoad with all his forces, he prosecuted the siege so vigorously that the garrison was soon forced to surrender at discretion. He then reduced Bomedi, Paternia, and Passorini. In the space of one week he forced the Monticulans, Julians, Ornians, and Brienses, together with the forts of Isea and Valhopia to submit to Philip. A few days after he possessed himself of all the Brescian plains, a great part of the mountains, and the whole territory, the new Orges excepted. His design was to shut Mellato up in Brescia, where, in a little time, for want of provisions, he must have been obliged to surrender [t]. The Venetian, suspecting his intention, and aware of the consequence of being pent up in that corner, left a strong garrison in the city, and, with the residue of the army, which did not exceed three thousand, began his march about the middle of the night towards Verona. He first marched to the banks of the river Mincia, which he attempted to ford before Valezia; but was disappointed by the depth of the water, and the opposition from the enemy. He then returned to Brescia, and was closely pursued by Picinino, who might probably have surrounded the Venetians, had he taken the precaution of sending a body of troops to intercept their return, upon the presumption that they would be unable to advance. Mellato, finding it would be impossible to subsist longer in Brescia, determined to hazard every thing to avoid surrendering by famine [u]. He projected the scheme of leading his troops to Verona, over

*Mellato proposes crossing the mountains.*

[t] Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii. Mont. p. 27. [u] Montan. ibid. Sabel. & Blond. ubi supra.

mountains,

mountains, and through foreſts which had always been deemed impaſſable. Nothing in hiſtory exceeds the difficulty of this march, which was equal to Hannibal's over the Alps. The army ſet out from Breſcia about midnight, paſſed through the vale of Suabia to the mountains, every ſoldier being furniſhed with as much proviſion as he could conveniently carry. They continued their march through rocks, bogs, foreſts, and deſerts for the whole night and all the ſucceeding day without halting. The inhabitants of the valley of Suabia, ſubjected to the biſhop of Trent, knowing their maſter's diſlike to the Venetians, took arms, and grievouſly harraſſed the rear of the army. The difficulty of the march, exhauſted the ſtrength of the infantry, and numbers that loitered behind were knocked on the head by the Suabians. For the defence of the wearied infantry, Mellato ordered a troop of horſe to bring up the rear, and often to diſmount, in order to accommodate ſoldiers unable to proceed. He was foremoſt in every danger, difficulty, and hardſhip. The troops were animated by his example, and ſo affected with the goodneſs of their general, that they chearfully performed exploits beyond their natural ſtrength. After having travelled two days, the army halted to refreſh themſelves on the top of a mountain; and as ſoon as the wearied ſoldiers had with food and ſleep recruited their exhauſted ſpirits, Mellato gave orders to proceed on their march by break of day. He knew the neceſſity of expedition, as the biſhop of Trent would not fail to take advantage of their deſperate ſituation. On this day's march he was joined by Pario Lodron, who followed him with a conſiderable body of mountaineers from Breſcia, and had, in ſpite of fatigue and danger, reſolved to ſhare the fortune of Mellato and the Venetian army.

*The terrible diſtreſs of the army.*

In the mean time the biſhop of Trent, having notice that Mellato was paſſing through his dominions, aſſembled all the forces he could raiſe to block up the paſſes, and hem him in on every ſide. This prelate ordered a ſtrong body of troops to ſeize upon the declivity of a ſteep and ſtrong mountain, over which Mellato was obliged to march by an exceeding narrow path. Two men could ſcarce paſs a-breaſt, and the mountain was almoſt perpendicular: above appeared nothing but ſtones and rocks; nor was the proſpect below leſs dreadful; the leaſt ſlip of the foot, or the ſlighteſt accident was fatal. Mellato perceiving the troops quite diſheartened with the danger, advanced with a detachment againſt the enemy; he made a ſweep round

round the hill, and scrambled up with a spirit and resolution that amazed his own troops, and confounded the enemy, who were soon broke and defeated. Having happily effected this aim, he returned to the army, who impatiently waited the event of the expedition. To add to the misery of this day's march, every little rivulet was swelled with deluges of rain, and rendered scarce fordable. Nothing but necessity and an invincible courage could have surmounted the numberless difficulties that concurred: an enemy barbarous to a degree, famine, fatigue, mountains, rocks, tempestuous weather, and almost impassable deserts; these, together with sickness which now prevailed, made up the horrid catalogue. At length, after three days march, they descended to the plain, on the banks of the river Sarca, which runs from the mountains of Trent to the lake Benacus: here the army was obliged to stop, the fords being found too deep for the passage of the infantry. Next morning the opposite shore of the river was covered with Vermio's troops, dispatched by Picinino along the lake to oppose the passage of the Venetians; they were likewise pursued and attacked in the rear by the bishop of Trent, who by this time had collected an army greatly superior to Mellato's. In this extremity the Venetians were relieved by the courage and conduct of a subaltern officer, who proposed that in the night torches should be tied to their lances, and the army march as if determined to attempt the passage of the river rather than perish in their present situation. The enemy, who defended the pass by which it was designed to escape, observed the Venetians make towards the river, and doubted not but their intention was to open themselves a way through it by the sword. Without hesitation they poured down from the mountains to attack Mellato in the rear; but they no sooner moved than Pilosus seized upon their post with a small party, and made a signal for the rest of the forces that he was in possession. Immediately a shout of joy was heard all over the army, and the enemy perceiving their mistake endeavoured to regain the pass; but they were received by Pilosus with a courage equal to his conduct, and repulsed with great slaughter. Then did Mellato pursue his march, crossing the river without opposition, by which means the army found themselves next day in a plentiful country, after having long sustained the extremes of fatigue and hunger in barren mountains. The change was a paradise to them, and Pilosus regarded as a tutelary angel both by the general and soldiers.

*Attacked by the enemy.*

*Pilosus saves the army.*

diers. Mellato was ſo ſenſible of his ſervices, that he immediately preferred him to the poſt of centurion, and recommended him to the ſenate as the preſerver of the Venetian army.

During theſe tranſactions in the mountains of Trent, Loretano, with the Venetian fleet, entered the Po; but found his paſſage obſtructed by Gonzaga, who had cauſed great piles to be driven in the river, upon which he laid ſtrong planks, building forts at every twenty paces diſtance, and filling up the ſpaces with ſtrong iron chains in ſuch a manner as made them impaſſable[w]. He likewiſe ſtrongly garriſoned Sermena, a ſtrong town upon the Po, and took his meaſures ſo well as effectually ſtopped Loretano. This admiral waited for three weeks, every day in expectation of the land-forces: at laſt, wearied out, he reſolved to beſiege Sermena, but found the place too well prepared to entertain hopes of ſucceeding without a greater force of infantry. Chagrined with diſappointment Loretano fell ſick, and died univerſally, regretted. *Loretano enters the Po.*

While Mellato was croſſing the mountains Picinino laid ſiege to New Orges, and carried it, through the treachery and corruption of Pietro Luca, whom Mellato had diſpatched with three hundred horſe to reinforce the garriſon, and take upon him the command. After this conqueſt, he received orders from Philip, though late in the ſeaſon, to beſiege Breſcia, which had long been the object of his ambition. Picinino immediately led his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand fighting men, and a great number of battering pieces, againſt this city, and without delay opened the trenches. Before this ſiege few hiſtorians take notice of cannon uſed by the Italians, though it is imagined the invention was known to the Venetians at the time when Chioggia was taken by the Genoeſe. Baronius expreſly mentions, that by means of them the ſiege of Venice was raiſed, and the Genoeſe blocked up in Chioggia. Upon the preſent occaſion we are told, that Picinino had pieces of cannon ſent him from Milan, which carried balls of three hundred weight. His batteries played ſo furiouſly againſt the tower of Mombellane, and other parts of the city, that ſeveral breaches were made in the walls, and the garriſon began to talk of capitulation[x]: however, Barbaro, the governor, and ſome of the chief officers, ſtill determined to defend it to the laſt extremity. By agreement among them it was reſolved, that Chriſto- *Picinino lays ſiege to Breſcia.*

[w] Sabel. ibid. [x] Idem ibid.

phœro Donato, the chief magiſtrate, ſhould keep open table, and generouſly entertain all degrees of men, that they might the better ſupport the fatigues of the ſiege, and more ſecurely be fixed in their allegiance to the republic: that Barbaro, who was the higheſt military magiſtrate, equally zealous for the public good, generous and brave, ſhould by the ſame means animate and ſupport the garriſon. Barbaro omitted nothing which could prompt them to their duty; he even feigned letters and meſſages of ſpeedy ſuccour promiſed him, by which ſtratagem, and his own example, he ſo animated his troops, that there was not an individual in the garriſon who would not rather have periſhed than ſubmit. He made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, whereby the enemy were often repulſed with great ſlaughter, and their batteries deſtroyed. All the breaches made in the day were repaired at night. Even the women laboured with indefatigable induſtry, danger and the example of Barbaro inſpiring them with unuſual magnanimity and courage. At laſt diſeaſe and famine had well nigh produced what neither the power or ſkill of the enemy could effect. To obviate this inſupportable evil, proclamation was made for all thoſe who were unable or unwilling to bear arms to retire from the city. In conſequence of this intimation, one half of the inhabitants removed, with their wives and families [y]. The city appeared in a manner deſolate; but the courage of thoſe who remained was unappalled. Although the aſſaults of the enemy were more frequent, and their hopes augmented in proportion as the number of the beſieged was diminiſhed, yet they were always warmly received, and repulſed. At laſt the walls round the tower Mombellane being levelled to the ground, it was reſolved to ſtorm the place: Picinino, at the head of his beſt troops, began the aſſault, and continued it for the whole day without intermiſſion; when, towards the evening, his ſoldiers, unable longer to withſtand the fury of the beſieged, were broken and defeated. The attack was renewed for three days ſucceſſively; but always unſucceſsfully: the beſieged were not to be overcome either by fatigue, danger, or any kind of hardſhip [z]. Picinino, perceiving they were reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, determined to break up the ſiege, and ſave the remainder of his broken forces. Thus, after ſpinning out the campaign to the middle of the win-

*Siege raiſed.*

[y] Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii.

[z] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii. Blond. ibid.

ter,

ter, after enduring all the extremities of cold and fatigue, after the loſs of near three thouſand of his troops, beſides a great number of nobility and gentlemen of the firſt rank in Italy, after having exhauſted his whole ſtock of military ſkill, he was compelled to retire from the walls of a city defended by a handful of brave militia.

During the ſiege of Breſcia, Mellato was not idle. As ſoon as he had recovered the fatigue of his late march he entered upon action. His firſt care was to try every method to ſuccour Breſcia; but they all proving fruitleſs, he reduced Bargo and Corvario: here the brave Piloſus received a contuſion, of which he died before the arrival of the phyſicians and ſurgeons ſent to his aſſiſtance by the ſenate. The grief was general for the loſs of this hero, though of private rank [a]: his body was brought to Venice, and interred at the public expence. Such were the many examples of public honours beſtowed upon private ſubjects, of valour and merit, by that wiſe and politic ſtate. Upon this occaſion too the ſenate conferred the title and authority of general on Mellato, in acknowlegment of his late good conduct, and in reward of his former exploits; nor was Barbaro forgot; his zeal, ſpirit, and indefatigable induſtry met with a recompence and honours adequate to the high degree of his merit, and the ſenſe the republic had of his unwearied loyalty and fidelity [b]. Avogadre, a native of Breſcia, was ſoliciting the A.D.1435. ſenate for the relief of his brave countrymen, and the doge earneſtly exhorting them to ſend immediate ſupplies, when a meſſenger arrived from Barbaro with the joyful intelligence that the ſiege was raiſed. Neither Foſcari, the ſenate, or Avogadre, could credit the meſſenger before they had read Barbaro's diſpatches: they were then ſtruck with amazement and admiration at the obſtinate valour of the garriſon. The whole city was in a blaze with bone-fires, and a joy appeared every where, equal to what might be expected had Venice been relieved from a ſiege. A reward was ſent to every individual in the garriſon; the wives of the dead were ordered to be ſupported at the public charge, and particular honours decreed to Barbaro and the other officers.

After the diſgrace before Breſcia, Picinino beſieged and reduced Lodron, aſſembled his troops, and proceeded to Romana, which he inveſted; but this place, ſtrong by art and nature, and well provided and garriſoned, baffled

[a] Montan. lib. v. [b] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii.

all his attempts. Finding he could make no impression, he retired with his troops, into their former winter-quarters [c].

During these transactions, the senate, by the advice of Nicholao d'Este, were taking measures to regain the friendship of Sforza, whom they now found to be of more consequence than they imagined [d]. They likewise laboured with all their might to engage the Florentines in their quarrel, this republic having, since the dismission of Sforza, been entirely neutral and inactive. Sforza was disgusted with Philip's prevarication about the promise of giving him his daughter in marriage. That prince had detached him from the alliance of Venice in such a manner, that he thought no resentment could induce him to enter again into a service in which he had been so grossly affronted. Some sarcasms of his rival Picinino added greatly to Sforza's indignation. The duplicity of Visconti, and his animosity to Picinino determined this general to listen to the Venetians, who were even profuse in their offers of service. Montano tells us, that a pension of two hundred
A.D.1436. and twenty thousand ducats, an incredible sum in those days, was assigned him [e].

The Florentines withstood all the exhortations, remonstrances, and solicitations of the Venetian envoy, until they had certain assurance that Sforza was reconciled and engaged. Though they perfectly well knew that if Philip had once conquered the Venetians, his next attempt would be against themselves, yet neither this consideration, nor any other arguments, could rouse or stimulate them to their own defence. Whether their conduct proceeded from some secret connivance with Sforza, or arose from the confidence they had in his valour, history is silent; certain it is that they now first acceded to the treaty. The
*League between the Venetians, Florentines, Sforza, and d'Este.* triple alliance was concluded about the middle of February: among other articles it was expressly stipulated, that the two republics should immediately remit to Sforza the pay of three thousand foot and two thousand horse; that all the towns, forts, and cities, with their dependencies, conquered in the course of the war, should be given to Sforza, Cremona alone excepted, which was to revert to the Venetians; that if Cremona only should be taken, it should in this case become the property of Sforza, the general and commander in chief of the combined army; that any number of forces he should think necessary, should be levied at

[c] Sabel. ibid. [d] Aut. cit. ubi supra. [e] Lib. v. Passius apud Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii.

the

the joint expence of both ſtates; that Sforza ſhould directly march into Lombardy, to relieve the Venetians, who were hard preſſed in that quarter: Nicholao d'Eſte was likewiſe included in this treaty; and it was ſtipulate to ſupport, at the expence of the republics, Guido Favalino, with fifteen hundred horſe and three hundred foot, together with his ſon Borſia with one thouſand horſe, as auxiliaries, to act by the direction of Sforza [f].

Philip, finding that he was miſtaken in his conjectures concerning Sforza, left no ſtone unturned to regain his friendſhip; but the other was too far engaged to retract with honour; beſides, he paid little regard to promiſes, which had already been ſo often falſified. At Venice, although this league was eagerly deſired, it was ſuſpected; jealouſies were entertained of Sforza's ſincerity: however, their preſent diſtreſs and the event juſtified the wiſdom of the ſenate's conduct (A).

[f] Sabel. ibid. Blond. lib. ix. dec. iii.

(A) While the league was in agitation, a very extraordinary propoſal was made to the ſenate by a native of Candia, one Sorbolla, of carrying a fleet over-land to the lake Benac, for the relief of Breſcia, at that time cloſely beſieged by Picinino. Sorbolla was a mechanic of a buſy, enterprizing, and projecting diſpoſition; but withal ingenious and ſenſible. The ſcheme was firſt received as an impracticable and wild whim of the imagination, ſuggeſted by folly and madneſs: but after the ſenate had peruſed and weighed Sorbolla's memorial, they began to entertain ſome notion of the propoſal, and a high opinion of the projector. At length the experiment was reſolved upon, and the conduct of the whole committed to the artiſt, who was to be ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for the execution. Sorbolla immediately ſet to work: he firſt had the fleet, conſiſting, according to Blondus, of two gallies, three galliots, and twenty-five ſmall veſſels, towed up againſt the ſtream of the river Adice to Verona, and from thence to Mora. By land the ſhips were moved by engines upon rollers of a ſmooth hard wood for the ſpace of ſix miles from Mora to the lake of St. Andrew's. At length three months after he left Venice, he arrived at Torbolles with his fleet, to the infinite fatigue of himſelf, and amazement of all who beheld him. Before his arrival the ſiege of Breſcia was raiſed, and Sorbolla's expedition was attended with advantage only to himſelf, who was well rewarded for his ingenuity.

A.D.1437. Picinino, understanding that the league was formed, took every precaution to withstand the powerful army which he doubted not would be levied by the allies: he held consultations with Gonzaga concerning the operations of the ensuing campaign: he thought, if the war could be transferred into the Paduan or Vincenzan territories, that it would prove an advantage to Philip, and greatly distress the enemy. This seemed a plan easily executed, if a fortress or two, in which to form magazines, could be seized. The whole plan was afterwards found to be Gonzaga's, who intended nothing more by it than to remove the seat of war at a distance from himself: he farther proposed, that the fleet upon the Po might be brought either by land or water to the river Adice, by means of which he could greatly distress and harrass the enemy [g]. But secretly as this project was concerted, Mellato obtained some intelligence of it, which he immediately transmitted to Venice; his accounts were, however, disregarded. Thus Gonzaga, having built eight gallies at Hostilia, sent them with infinite expence and labour to the river Adice. Marino Contarini and Lodovico Molino were dispatched by Mellato with a few ships, to stop their progress, if possible. Their first attempt began at Castagnaria: here vigorous skirmishes daily happened; but the Venetian forces being inconsiderable, the enemy at length gained their point, and appeared on the Adice. Some days after the two fleets came to an engagement, in which neither side claimed victory, though the Venetians retired first, for which retreat the commanding officers were disgraced [h]. In consequence of the retreat of the Venetians, Picinino laid siege to Lenaga, and reduced the besieged to the necessity of capitulating.

*A sea fight.*

In this state were affairs when an engagement happened near the lake Benacus, which terminated more to the advantage of the Venetians than the last encounter. Ittalus lay at Sales with a considerable body of horse and foot, and was opposed by a corps, greatly inferior to his own, under Avogadre. They met at Moderna, a town to which Ittalus proposed laying siege. The battle began with vigour, and was maintained with obstinacy and conduct for the whole day: neither side seemed to have any chance for victory, until Zeno, the Venetian admiral on the lake, bringing his ships as close as possible to the shore, landed a body of seamen, who soon turned the scale in favour of

[g] Montan. ubi supra. [h] Sabel lib. iii. dec. iii.

Avogadre.

Avogadre. The sailors attacked Ittalus in the rear, and so galled him, that, unable longer to keep the field, he retreated in disorder, leaving behind a great number of slain, wounded, and prisoners, to the amount of one thousand five hundred soldiers. He himself escaped under favour of a dark night; but fifty of his chief officers were taken [i]. *The Venetians victorious.*

In the mean time Sforza set out for the army from La Marca, attended by a numerous retinue of young nobility and gentry. On his arrival at Arimini, the head-quarters fixed for the army, he ordered a general muster, when the troops were found complete. He had heard of Picinino and Gonzaga's intention of removing the war into Padua and Vincenza, and resolved, if possible, to anticipate their project, by pushing into Lombardy [k]. His first attempt was upon Forlimpopoli, which he soon reduced; thence marching to Ravenna, news were brought him, that the enemy had seized upon all the territories of Verona and Vincenza. The city Verona was closely besieged, and the burghers of both capitals had mutinied and expelled the Venetian garrisons: in short, without the utmost expedition and good fortune, those cities must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The commotions arose from the wanton oppression of the garrison, who treated the inhabitants with unbridled licentiousness and rapacity. The Paduans were soon persuaded to pacific measures upon the return of their governor; but the Vincenzans were more obstinate. They said, that they wanted no foreign defence; that their loyalty to the republic, and their own bravery were sufficient for the security of their city, and to repulse all the attacks of their enemies. The Venetian senate had many proofs of their fidelity and affection, which were stronger barriers against Philip's power than thousands of hireling troops. Mellato hearing of the expulsion of the garrison, hastened thither; but finding the Vincenzans firmly attached to the Venetians, and that only a noble resentment of the insults and wrongs sustained from the troops, occasioned the present troubles, he greatly commended their spirit and zeal, assured them of the protection of the republic, and left the inhabitants to defend their own city [l]. A.D. 1438.

The intelligence Sforza had received from Padua and the Veronese made him change his measures: quitting *Sforza marches to the Veronese.*

[i] Montan. Comment. lib. v. Passius apud Sabel. dec. iii. lib. iii.
[k] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii. [l] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii.

Ravenna, he went to Rancannes, where he obliged Guido and Franciſco, Picinino's ſons, to retire with a large body of cavalry to Forli. Hence, through the Bologneſe he paſſed to Bodina, where, ſhipping his heavy baggage on the Po, he proceeded through Ferrara to Adria, and arrived in the Paduan territories, having croſſed four great rivers. His firſt care was to effect a junction with the troops under Mellato, which was happily accompliſhed by the good conduct of both generals. Sforza's army now amounted to fourteen thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, a force ſufficient to carry on the war offenſively [m].

*The diſtreſs of Breſcia.*

During theſe tranſactions in the Paduan and Veroneſe, Breſcia was reduced to great extremities, inſomuch that nothing but the invincible zeal and courage of Barbaro could maintain the inhabitants in their allegiance. Although Picinino had raiſed the ſiege in January, yet, during the whole winter and ſpring, the Breſcians were infeſted by perpetual incurſions of parties: the paſſes by which they could receive proviſion and forage were ſhut up; money was ſcarce, as the Venetians had remitted none for ſeveral months, ſo exhauſted were the finances of the republic; and, to crown their miſery, diſeaſe and famine prevailed to a great degree. In this ſituation Barbaro was indefatigable, his ſpirit invincible, and his invention inexhauſtible: he raiſed money upon his own credit for the payment of his troops; laid in great ſtore of cheſnuts, roots, and fruits, to ſupply the want of wheat and corn; he deceived his own troops and the enemy by feigned letters and correſpondences; he converſed affably with all degrees of the inhabitants, and liberally ſpent his fortune in their ſupport; his houſe was open to relieve the hungry in every degree; he procured troops of horſe to enter the city in the night with bags ſtuffed with hay, to perſuade the inhabitants into a hope of freſh ſupplies, and then the next day made a diſtribution of wheat and barley, which he had reſerved for his own uſe; he carried his patriotic artifice ſo far as to have arrows, with ſcrolls of paper, ſtuck at night in ſome of the high towers and ſteeples, as if they had been ſhot by his friends without, to acquaint him with their intentions of affording him ſpeedy relief.

Ittalus had by this time encamped within a few miles of the city, with a conſiderable body of troops; and Barbaro,

[m] Montan. lib. v. Sabel. ibid.

on

on promiſe of being powerfully ſupported by the mountaineers, reſolved to diſlodge him and ſet fire to a part of the enemy's fleet upon the lake [n]: but though the plan for both was concerted with all the foreſight which human prudence could direct, yet the execution failed, through ſome unaccountable circumſtances, and Barbaro was repulſed with loſs [o].

*Sforza raiſes the ſiege of Verona, and reduces Longina.*

Breſcia was ſituated in this manner while Sforza's approach obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Verona and retire to Savi, a town on the confines of the Veroneſe. Sforza then beſieged Longina, and after ſeveral aſſaults, in which he loſt two of his intimate friends, obliged it to ſurrender. He razed the walls to the ground, but had the humanity not to put the garriſon to the ſword: then drawing up his army, he marched againſt the enemy, who were encamped a few miles diſtant; but they declining battle, he turned towards Vincenza, and ſoon recovered all the towns which had been taken from the republic.

Although the enemy had raiſed the ſiege of Verona, they continued to keep it blocked up by entrenchments, which Sforza, without great danger and imprudence, could not force. He therefore determined to relieve the city by paſſes over the mountains, an aim which he effected, after a dangerous and tedious march.

*Parallel between Sforza and Picinino.*

In the mean time both Picinino and Sforza exerted all their ſkill about Breſcia, the one to diſtreſs, and the other to relieve Barbaro. The former relied chiefly on his perfect knowlege of the country, ſnares, ambuſhes, and intrigues. Sforza's genius and comprehenſion were greatly ſuperior: his ſchemes were extenſive, and worthy of a renowned commander; but he neglected the minutiæ, on which often depended the fate of the fineſt laid ſchemes The ſenate of Venice was under the utmoſt concern about a city that had ſo long and faithfully ſuſtained all the preſſure of extreme miſery: they ſent the moſt poſitive orders to Sforza to leave no means untried to relieve the truſty Barbaro and his brave garriſon. At laſt this ſervice was happily effected by the defeat of Picinino, and deſtruction of his army. Upon this occaſion, Sforza's diſpoſition was ſo judicious, his choice of the ground ſo excellent, and his courage, throughout the engagement, ſo conſpicuous, that the ſucceſs could not be attributed to fortune alone: it was the natural conſequence of that aſtoniſhing diſplay of the fineſt talents and capacity. He was ſupported by

*Picinino defeated.*

[n] Ibid. [o] Sabel, lib. iii. dec. iii.

his

his army with all the courage he could deſire; and a ſort of rivalſhip ſeemed to prevail, who ſhould beſt execute their general's commands. Picinino, after his right wing gave way, made one deſperate puſh againſt the Venetian infantry on the right, which they were unable to withſtand: they were broken and put in confuſion, when Sforza arrived with a freſh corps, who ſuſtained the enemy while he was rallying the diſordered lines. He then renewed the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, as baffled all reſiſtance, broke the enemy, and made prodigious ſlaughter, Picinino eſcaping with difficulty in diſguiſe. Sforza imagined he had been among the priſoners; but finding that he was miſtaken, he offered a reward of five thouſand crowns to whoever ſhould take him alive [p]. Near four thouſand priſoners were made, and among them a great number of nobility and officers of the firſt diſtinction.

*Zeno defeated.*

Zeno, with the Venetian fleet on the lake Benacus, was leſs ſucceſsful: after a variety of ſlight encounters with the enemy, he was at laſt defeated, made priſoner, and his whole fleet taken. Sanſeverino commanded the enemy's fleet, and Ittalus a land army upon the banks of the lake. The latter made ſo good uſe of the victory, that he ſoon reduced the ſtrong caſtle of Moderna.

As to Sforza he was called from purſuing his victory to relieve Verona, cloſely beſieged by a ſtrong detachment Picinino had ſent for that purpoſe before the engagement. Before he could arrive the enemy were in poſſeſſion, by means of a ſtratagem which ſucceeded, and Gonzaga was proclaimed prince of Verona. The citadel and ſome forts were ſtill in the hands of the Venetians, and defended againſt all the arts and power of the enemy. Sforza ordered lines of circumvallation to be formed, to prevent Gonzaga's eſcape or ſuccour, and the works were proſecuted with ſo great diligence, that in four days the trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with prodigious fury upon the walls. There was ſomething extraordinary in the ſituation of the enemy, who were beſieging the citadel at the very time they were beſieged in the city. In this condition it was not poſſible they could hold out long: nor in effect did they, for the third day after the batteries were opened a breach was made, and Sforza ordered it to be ſtormed. The troops mounted with ſo much reſolution, and were ſo well ſupported by a ſally from the citadel, that the town was ſoon entered, and the enemy chaſed

[p] Ibid. Montan. lib. v. Paſſ. apud Sabell.

with

with great ſlaughter about the ſtreets. The inhabitants had kept themſelves cloſe in their houſes, without joining with either party, until the enemy were defeated: then they began to give proofs of their courage and loyalty, by inſulting the dead and wounded, and knocking in the head the few ſtragglers that remained: but this conduct would not ſatisfy Sforza; he demanded clearer proofs of their fidelity, and examined every circumſtance concerning the ſtratagem by which the enemy got poſſeſſion. The inquiry did not turn out greatly in favour of the citizens, many of whom were convicted of treaſonable practices, and puniſhed accordingly; others were pardoned, and the whole exhorted to a more faithful diſcharge of their duty[q]. The news of Sforza's ſucceſs were received with great joy at Venice, and a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to compliment him upon his conduct; and henceforward the fortune of the republic began to riſe, while that of Philip and Picinino viſibly declined. In conſequence of Sforza's victories Breſcia was relieved, and an intercourſe opened between all the parts of the Venetian dominions. A.D. 1440.

Philip ſoon recruited Picinino's broken army, and took meaſures for protracting the war by a ſecret contract with Cornetano, the pope's general: herein it was ſtipulated, that Cornetano ſhould invade La Marca, while Picinino, croſſing the Po, ſhould enter Tuſcany. The pope, ſuſpecting his general's fidelity, narrowly watched his conduct, which was at laſt fully cleared up by ſome intercepted letters; in conſequence of which Cornetano was ſeized and committed to the caſtle of St. Angelo[r]. This detection diſconcerted Philip's plan, but he was not daunted. Picinino entered Flaminia, and laid every place waſte with fire and ſword, though he could make no impreſſion on the fortified towns, which were bravely defended.

His holineſs in the mean time ordered Lodovico, one of his biſhops, to lead the army, late Cornetano's, to Tuſcany, in quality of apoſtolical legate, and join the Florentines; a ſtep which it was ſuppoſed would fruſtrate Picinino's intention[s]. But this general, after he had been repulſed by Piſani in his attempt upon Primotoria, marched directly with deſign to croſs the Appenines. All poſſible precautions were uſed by the Florentines to guard the paſſes, which Picinino found means, however, to avoid

[q] Sabel. ibid. Blond. ibid. [r] Hiſt. des Papes, tom. iv. La Vie de Eugene. [s] Hiſt. des Papes. tom. iv. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii.

by

*Picinino enters Tuscany.*

by marching over mountains almost impervious. In this manner did he reach Politiana, which he besieged, to the great terror of the Florentines, who every minute expected him at their gates. This city he took, and, instead of marching to Florence, turned his arms against the Casentines, ruining and destroying every place he passed through. Picinino's oversight produced a fatal alteration in his affairs; for before he returned from his excursion against this people, the Florentines had joined the pope's forces, and were in a condition to act offensively [k]. Early in the spring Sforza marched with a prodigious army to Tuscany. He proposed making his way through the midst of the enemy's troops and garrisons, in order to act in conjunction with Contareni, who commanded the Venetian fleet upon the lake Benacus. The chief strength of the enemy had always been directed against Brescia, which still was in great want, notwithstanding the succours received. Sforza determined, at all events, to relieve it; but in this design he foresaw numberless difficulties: the greatest of which was, the almost impossibility of supplying his army with provision and forage. When he arrived at the river Mincia, he called a council, to consult what was best to be done in this critical situation; whether or not he ought to pass the river, the consequence of which would be a necessity of opening his way to Brescia by the sword? The council were unanimously of opinion, that every thing was to be hazarded for the relief of a city which had, through such a series of calamities, maintained its fidelity.

Before we trace Sforza farther, it will be necessary to mention something concerning Contareni, and the fleet upon the lake Benacus. The senate having sent all the necessaries for equipping a fleet, in carts, to Torbolles, the carpenters fell to work with the utmost diligence, and, in a short time, launched six gallies. With these Contareni sailed against the enemy, who were near double the number, commanded by Blasio Assereta, a Genoese. Contareni took on board six companies of soldiers, to annoy the enemy with their arrows and small-arms. The second day he met and engaged the enemy with a spirit, intrepidity, and conduct, that soon secured the victory in his favour. The battle was very bloody while it lasted; the very elements combined to increase

*Contareni defeats Philip's fleet on the lake.*

[k] Blond, ibid.

the

the horror of the ſcene, it blowing a ſtorm during the whole engagement. In the end the enemy were totally broken, routed and diſperſed, two of their gallies, with their crews, were ſunk, and two more taken. Contareni, purſuing his victory with prudence equal to his courage, attacked and reduced Riva, La Garda, Laciza, and Bardolin, in order to open a communication with Breſcia. The news of this victory greatly animated the Breſcians: they no longer doubted of immediate and effectual ſuccours, from the efforts of Contareni on the one ſide, and of Sforza on the other [l].

Sforza, before he received intelligence of this victory, had croſſed the Mincia, and reduced Montzabena, Salles, and Rivoltella: here, by the advice of the brave Barbaro, he reſolved, inſtead of marching directly to Breſcia, to ſeek the enemy's main army, and give it battle, knowing, if he was victorious, that it would be a great ſtep not only to the relief of Breſcia, but towards finiſhing the war [m]. Hearing that Sanſeverino, Ittalus and Vermio were entrenched near Socinna, he began his march in the night, and furiouſly attacked their entrenchments. After the aſſault had continued for ſome hours he began to fall back, as if his troops were unable to ſtand the charge: having thus drawn the enemy out of their trenches, he returned fiercely to the attack, broke and entirely routed them with the loſs of three thouſand men killed and taken priſoners. In conſequence of this victory the New Orges, and all the cities, towns, forts, and caſtles of the Breſcian, Bergameſe, and valley of Cremona, returned to the obedience of the republic. Croſſing the Oglio, Sforza reduced Caſſel Major, Bregnan, Rinolca, and other towns in the territories of Ghiradadda and the Cremoneſe [n]. In a word, his conqueſts were ſo rapid, that Philip reſolved to recall Picinino out of Tuſcany, for the defence of the Milaneſe, which was greatly alarmed by the vicinity of Sforza. This general, knowing the importance of leaving the Florentines and pope's forces unoppoſed, and that the loſs of the places he had taken would neceſſarily enſue, reſolved to give the allies battle before his departure. With this intention he marched to Anglare, where they were encamped at the foot of the Apennines. The Florentines could not ſtand the firſt ſhock, but were put in ſome confuſion, when the pope's forces, pouring in upon

*Sforza defeats Ittalus and Vermio.*

[l] Paſſ. apud Sabel. Blond. ibid. lib. v. [m] Ibid. etiam Montan. [n] Sanſov. Cron. Ven.

the

*Picinino gives battle to the Florentines, and is defeated.*

the enemy with great vigour, retrieved the battle. Picinino had pursued the Florentines too far, he was now attacked in the flank and rear by the pope's army: these, assisted by the Florentine horse, fell upon him every where, during his pursuit of the Florentine infantry: thus, hemmed in on every side, he was broke and put in confusion, great slaughter was made, and an incredible number of prisoners were taken. His intimate friend Asturio Faventino was among the latter, a circumstance that affected Picinino more than the loss of the battle [o].

Sforza in the mean time pursued his conquests, having taken Cavanza after an obstinate defence, together with Azola and Caneda, towns belonging to Gonzaga, which made but a slight resistance. From thence he proceeded and laid siege to Pescara, a city seated at the mouth of the river Mincia: Nicholao d'Este came to the camp, offering his mediation for a peace. D'Este farther assured Sforza that Philip would willingly give him his daughter in marriage, and even send her with her portion to him, if required. It was Sforza's answer, that peace would be equally agreeable to the Venetians and to himself, notwithstanding their rapid course of prosperity, could it be obtained on equitable and honourable conditions [p]. D'Este returned to Philip with this answer, and during his absence Pescara surrendered at discretion.

*Sforza goes to Venice.*

Picinino, after his defeat, retired with his broken army into Flaminia; from thence he set out by long marches for Milan, where he was in a short time recruited and enabled to take the field. Nothing material, besides the surrender of Ravenna to the Venetians, happened during the remainder of this campaign. Sforza, having put his army into winter-quarters, went to Venice; where he was received with a profusion of honours, worthy of his great merit and services. He was run after and gazed upon as a prodigy. When he came to the gates of the city, the senate, the seignory, and all the nobility went out to meet and conduct him to the palace, where he was entertained by the doge with the utmost distinction and magnificence. Barbaro, and a hundred Brescian gentlemen, were likewise come to Venice, to compliment the republic on the late success of her arms, and do honour to the marriage of Jacomo Foscari, son to the doge. In short, nothing but mirth and festivity was thought of,

[o] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. iii. etiam Blond. ibid. [p] Ibid. lib. iii. dec. iii.

when

when intelligence arrived of the sudden march of Picinino into the Brescian, where he laid waste every thing, and spread consternation and ruin all over the face of the country. Sforza immediately set out to assemble his army; but, in spite of his expedition, Picinino had possessed himself of all the champaign country, the Venetian dominions on the banks of the Adda, and the Bergamese, before a body, sufficient to oppose him, could be collected. *Sforza marches against Picinino.*

The enemy, finding that Sforza was taking effectual measures to attack them, seized upon a strong camp near Aglesia, defended by the river Seriolles in front, the mountains in both flanks, and in the rear by the Oglio. In this situation did Picinino watch the motions of Sforza, who did not long hesitate about giving him battle under all disadvantages. Having viewed the ground Sforza ordered the bridge on the Oglio to be attacked, at the same time advancing with the main army on the enemy's front, he forded the Seriolles. The engagement lasted for two hours with great fury, when night coming on, separated the combatants, and probably saved Picinino's army. The carnage was considerable, neither side giving or receiving quarter. Immediately after this battle Sforza led his troops against Martinenga, which he invested with the most complete army the Venetians had ever raised: the troops amounted to thirty thousand fighting men, well clothed, paid, and attended with a fine train of artillery. Though the trenches were soon opened, and the batteries began to play with great execution, yet the siege was drawn out to great length: some attributed this procrastination to secret practices between Picinino and Sforza, who, they alleged, were more intent upon dividing the provinces among themselves, than on the interest of the states by whom they were employed: others said it was owing to the strength of the place, the numerous garrison within, and Picinino's army without, which neglected no opportunity of harrassing and incommoding the besiegers[q]. Certain it is that the senate entertained no distrust of Sforza's fidelity: but the case with Philip was different; he began to harbour suspicions of both, and thought it unsafe to commit such vast armies to men whose ambition might use them to the utter extinction of both the contending powers. Impelled by these reasons, wearied with the intolerable expence of the war, and, as some affirm out of patience with the haughty demands of Pici- *A battle.* A.D. 1441.

[q] Montan. Comment. lib. iv. Sabel. ibid.

nino,

nino, he resolved upon peace; for which purpose he dispatched a messenger with great secresy to Venice, to sound the disposition of the senate. At the same time he treated with Sforza; and the proposals he made were so advantageous to the republic, that hostilities ceased the day after the arrival of Philip's courier in the camp[r]. Picinino highly resented this treatment, and openly complained of the ingratitude and infidelity of Philip, for having presumed to treat of peace without his consent or knowlege. But, without paying any regard to his remonstrances and indignation, the following articles, after violent debates, were agreed to, or rather were determined by Sforza, who was appointed umpire of the differences: that the Brescian and Bergamese should unalterably remain to the republic; that Ravenna, Riva, Torbolles, and Penetra, cities of which they were possessed by right of conquest, should become a part of the Venetian dominions; that Martinenga, with all the cities, forts, and castles of Ghiradadda, should be ceded to Philip; that all the Mantuan confines and territories should be given up to Gonzaga; that Cremona and the Cremonese should be the portion of Sforza with Bienca, Philip's daughter (C); that Eugenius the pope should in two years have Bologna surrendered to him; that the Genoese should be restored to their liberty, and Philip exert no farther authority over that republic; that the Florentines should release Faventino, upon his restoring to them all the places he had taken during the war; and lastly, that the cities Pescara and Lonnado should belong to the Venetians[s].

*Treaty of peace with Philip.*

These terms were agreed to and signed by all parties, the pope's nuncio excepted, who retired from the congress in a rage, and set out for Rome, complaining that the holy see was unjustly treated and robbed of its patrimony. Thus the public tranquillity was restored, and the ruinous war with Philip concluded, to the mutual satisfaction of the Venetians and Visconti. For three days public rejoicings were made at Venice and Milan, the people expressing the utmost joy at the prospect of a solid and lasting pacification between the republic and duchy

[r] Blond. ibid. [s] Sabel. lib. v. dec. iii. Blond. lib. x. dec. iii. Montan. Com. ibid.

(C) This lady was sent to Cremona to meet the bridegroom. Here their nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence and pomp; after which Sforza set out, with his bride, for Venice.

of

of Milan. Venice never presented a more beautiful and wealthy scene than on this occasion, all the merchants from the Rialto to St. Mark's exposing their richest furniture, merchandize, and plate, to public view; and the treasure of that noble church, by order of the procurators, being laid out in the most elegant manner for the entertainment of strangers and the people.

The remainder of this year produced nothing of consequence, the attention of the republic being employed wholly upon the civil policy. During this winter it was that the procurators of St. Mark's were augmented in number, when, instead of six, nine of those high magistrates were appointed [t]. An extraordinary overflowing of the sea, happened towards the vernal equinox, which destroyed a great number of houses, shops, and warehouses, the loss of which was computed at a million of ducats. About this time a war against some piratical states was commenced. The first Venetian fleet was destroyed in a storm; but another, soon after equipped, had the good fortune to clear the seas in a short time, and secure the public commerce. *War with pirates.*

Early in the spring a fleet, at the expence of Eugenius, was equipped at Venice, to proceed against the Turks, who were rapidly pursuing their conquests in Europe. Of this armament we are told nothing besides its having blocked up the straits dividing Europe from Asia, which for a time checked the progress of Amurath the Turkish emperor. As to the affairs of Italy, they were now, as usual after every peace, disturbed by the discontent of some of the parties concerned. The pope openly declared his resentment against Sforza, for having kept him out of the possession of Bologna. Alphonso of Arragon and Sforza began to renew a quarrel, hereditary in their families, and the former found means to draw Philip into a league against his son-in-law. However, though these wars disturbed the peace of the neighbouring powers for the space of five years, the Venetians kept themselves quiet until the year 1446, at which time they found it expedient to join Sforza against Philip. Young Picinino's besieging Cremona was the immediate cause of their taking part in the quarrel: they first sent an envoy to Philip, to acquaint him with their intentions, if Picinino did not relinquish the siege. The haughty answer given to their minister occasioned the senate to issue orders to their general *War with Philip of Milan.* A.D. 1446.

[t] Sansov. delle Vit. Fosca.

*Attendulo, the Venetian general, defeats Picinino.*

Michaeli Attendulo, to march directly to Cremona and give battle to Picinino. Attendulo executed his inſtructions with ſucceſs, a battle being fought in Ghiradadda, in which Picinino was defeated with great ſlaughter of his troops, and the loſs of four thouſand priſoners, his camp, and artillery. Another battle ſoon enſued, in which Attendulo was a ſecond time victorious, and Picinino's defeat little leſs complete than the former[u]. Two ſuch ſignal victories excited the jealouſy of Sforza, though upon the whole he was to reap the advantage: Alphonſo and the pope were likewiſe envious of the ſucceſs and growing greatneſs of the republic on the continent. They therefore left nothing untried to induce Sforza to break with the Venetians and go over to Philip: upon this ſtep he reſolved without ſcruple; but the Venetians, ſuſpecting his deſign committed his envoy to priſon, and revoked all the grants and decrees of the ſenate in his favour[x]. Now it was that the republic had occaſion for the full exertion of that unſhaken reſolution ever diſcovered upon all hazardous conjunctures. The ſenate accordingly ordered the army to be augmented, the paſſes to and from Lombardy to be ſtrictly guarded, and took every other meaſure for vigorouſly proſecuting the intended war. Attendulo, after the victory upon the Adda, carried terror and devaſtation wherever he marched: Crema and Lodes were the only towns left to Philip, the whole of the province beſides was reduced under the obedience of the republic. He even over-ran ſome part of the Milaneſe, his cavalry making incurſions to the very gates of Milan. Reinforced by a conſiderable corps under Carolo Montone, ſon to Brachio, the implacable enemy of Philip and Sforza, he took Caſſel Major and other fortified places. Brandelino, with a ſtrong detachment, erected the Venetian ſtandard within ſight of Milan, inviting the inhabitants to the recovery of their liberty, which invitation they not caring or daring to accept, he returned to the main army, laying deſolate the whole country[y]. Philip, ſtruck with the good fortune and boldneſs of the Venetians, ſent agents to treat of a peace; but, after they had reſided for a month in the city, they were diſmiſſed without effecting their purpoſe. Attendulo was all this while purſuing his conqueſts: he beſieged and took Brebia, ſcoured and laid waſte the country of the Briantines, ſurpriſed and

*Sforza goes over to Philip.*

[u] Blond. lib. x. dec. iii. Sabel. ibid. [x] Ibid. etiam Montan. ubi ſupra. [y] Blond. Sabel, et Montan. ubi ſupra.

ruined

ruined Barri, and in short extended the dominions of the republic from the Adda to Coma, on both sides the lake of that name.

These successes were soon followed by the death of Philip, duke of Milan, the greatest politician and warrior the family of Visconti had ever produced[z]. His death occasioned a variety of sentiments among his subjects and party; some were for peace, some for liberty, and others for war. The inhabitants of Lodes and Placentia, tired of the ducal yoke, opened their gates to the Venetians, and received the troops of the republic; but the Milanese determined to continued the war in their own name: for this purpose they augmented their troops, and appointed Sforza captain-general, on condition that if he was fortunate enough to reduce Brescia, that city and its appendages should be his reward; but that if he succeeded against Verona likewise, the former should revert to the Milanese, and the latter, with the whole Veronese, be ceded to his family. This general quitted the Parmesan, and set out with four thousand horse and two thousand foot, to join the Milanese army under Francisco and Giacomo Picinino, sons of the late general of that name, so long the rival and enemy of Sforza. The Venetian army, greatly inferior to the enemy in number, retired towards Lodi, and there strongly entrenched itself. No less than three different ambassadors were sent to Venice, to demand, in the name of Sforza and the Milanese, restitution of all those places they had dismembered from the dominions of Philip. The senate adhered to their first answer, that though by the right of war those places were become the just dominions of the republic, yet, to shew the world their pacific inclinations, they would restore them on being reimbursed the expences of the war. This condition the ambassadors refused, and accordingly returned, without having brought their business to any conclusion[a]. Aware of the importance of the quarrel in which they were engaged, the senate determined to use their utmost efforts by sea and land. It was decreed to equip a fleet which would sail up the Po, to make a diversion in favour of Attendulo, who was too weak to offer the enemy battle.

*Philip dies.*

A.D. 1447.

*Attendulo retires.*

During these preparations at Venice, Sforza marched suddenly to Placentia, and after having beat down the

[z] Baron. tom. viii. Sabel. v. dec. iii.

[a] Idem. ibid. Flav. lib. x. dec. iii.

walls by his batteries, stormed the city, reduced it, and gave it to his army to be plundered. Gerardo Dandolo and Thadeo d'Este, who commanded the garrison, were made prisoners, together with one thousand horse and foot. Attendulo, though his force was not sufficient to raise the siege, determined, however, not to lie idle: he entered the territories of Pavia while Sforza besieged Placentia, from which he returned loaded with rich booty. He then ravaged and plundered the Milanese, and, according to Montano, took the city Melsa, or Melissa. Having finished these exploits he resolved on the siege of Cremona, but was prevented by the surrender of Placentia and the rigour of the season, upon which he retired with his army into winter-quarters [b].

Negociations of peace were renewed, and commissioners from each party met at Bergamo, to discuss the conditions of accommodation. Pope Nicholas V. used all his endeavours to promote the conferences; notwithstanding which, and the mediation of some other powers, the commissioners parted without coming to any determination, both sides unalterably adhering to certain articles which could not be ceded by the opposite party.

Whilst the congress sat at Bergamo, the Venetian fleet was employed against the pirates, who had insulted their coasts and plundered their merchant ships. The eager pursuit of the pirates drew on the republic the resentment of Alphonso, of Arragon, greatly incensed at the Venetian fleet for presuming to attack and destroy the enemy in his harbours. In revenge the king ordered all the Venetians in his dominions to be imprisoned, their ships to be detained, and merchandize to be seized and brought to his warehouses; but finding the senate resolved upon war, he set the prisoners at liberty, and restored their effects [c].

A.D. 1448. Early in the spring both armies took the field, and Sforza besieged and took Mozaniga; after which exploit, marching into Ghiradadda, he reduced the whole country, the city of Caravaggio excepted: he then surprised Cassan, and thence proceeded to the Cremonese to stop the ravages of Quirini and the Venetian fleet. Here he assembled about twenty-eight galliots, with which, and his army, he surrounded Quirini. The Venetian fleet fought with obstinacy, but in the end was

[b] Montan. Comment. lib. v. Sabel. et Blond. ibid. [c] Sabel. lib. vi. dec. iii.

defeated

defeated and broken. To prevent his ships falling into the enemy's hands, Quirini set fire to them; for which step, and his misconduct in the engagement, he was recalled, delivered over to the civil power, and imprisoned for life. After this victory, Sforza laid siege to Caravaggio, to which place Attendulo followed him, with intention, if possible, to raise the siege. After various debates in the Venetian camp, it was at length resolved secretly to attack Sforza by crossing the marshes in the rear of his camp, which was but slightly guarded, on account of the natural strength of the situation. The scheme was planned with conduct, and executed with courage; but supported by a force unequal to the undertaking. The first onset was furious, the attack and defence being made with equal intrepidity and vigour: after the battle had continued for several hours, and the Venetians had forced the entrenchments, oppressed with numbers, they were forced to retreat with precipitation [d]. Here it was that Sforza's army began the slaughter; the Venetians crowding upon each other to avoid the enemy's blows, met that death from each other which they thought to escape from the enemy. They no sooner began to give way, than the two Picininos, issuing forth from another quarter, marched directly, with a strong corps, to attack the Venetian camp, which they easily took, the whole army being engaged in forcing Sforza's entrenchments: in short, Attendulo was entirely defeated, having lost near three thousand of his best troops, all his baggage, tents, and artillery, together with two thousand waggons of provision and forage. After this defeat he retired to Brescia, whither, in a short time, he was pursued by Sforza, after he had first reduced Caravaggio, Cassel Major, and some other places [e].

*Defeats the Venetian fleet.*

*Defeats the land forces.*

The republic soon recruited her army, having for that purpose decreed a large bounty to all able-bodied men who should enter into the service. The pay of the troops was likewise augmented, and considerable subsidies were granted to several petty princes who entered into her alliance: but her greatest security arose from some jealousies which prevailed among the enemy. The Milanese began to harbour suspicions that Sforza affected the sovereignty of his father-in-law's dominions, and having but just tasted the sweets of liberty they were the more willing to preserve that precious gift of Providence. Sforza disco-

[d] Blond. ibid. Aut. citat. [e] Aut. citat. ibid.

vering their ſuſpicions, reſolved to avenge himſelf, by concluding an alliance with their enemies: with this deſign he gave the ſenate to underſtand that he was not averſe to peace; to which intimation, the republic gave a willing ear, notwithſtanding the Venetian army was now in a condition to act offenſively, by means of the number of levies and ſtrong reinforcements from Florence. Maſtropietro was in conſequence privately ſent to treat with Sforza, and an accommodation enſued. It was agreed, that not only a peace, but a ſtrict alliance ſhould take place[f]; that the ſenate ſhould ſupply Sforza with four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, until he had reduced Milan; that thirty thouſand crowns per month ſhould be allowed for his table; and laſtly, that all the places poſſeſſed by Philip beyond the Adda ſhould belong to the Venetians. This treaty being ratified, Sforza ſet the priſoners at liberty, and croſſing the Adda, marched into the Milaneſe. After having reduced all the country between the rivers Adda and Teſin, he pitched his camp five miles from Milan. Before he undertook the ſiege of the capital, he reduced, by the aſſiſtance and good conduct of Marcello, who commanded the Venetian auxiliaries, Novara, Alexandria, and Parma: then he laid ſiege to Milan; but, previous to his opening the trenches, intelligence was received that Lewis of Savoy, in conſequence of a treaty with the Milaneſe, had ſent an army under the conduct of John Campenſio to their aſſiſtance. Campenſio had reached Novara, when Sforza detached Coyoni with a ſtrong corps to oppoſe him, who immediately attacking the army of Lewis defeated it, making Campenſio and about four hundred horſe priſoners.

*Sforza quits the Milaneſe ſervice.*

While Sforza was battering the fort Mellignana, the Milaneſe within the city put to death a number of perſons of all ranks, who they imagined eſpouſed his cauſe: then the inhabitants aſſembled to the number of ſixty thouſand, and marched out of the city to give battle. Sforza having intelligence of all their motions drew up his army, and diſplayed ſo much capacity and judgment in his diſpoſition, that the Milaneſe, with all their ſuperiority of troops, not caring to hazard an engagement, retired into the city. Upon this occaſion, he inveſted Milan more cloſely; but the number of inhabitants being ſo great, he

[f] Sabel. lib. vi. dec. iii. etiam Blond. lib. x. dec. iii.

propoſed

proposed reducing the city by famine, it being absurd to pretend assaulting it with an inferior body of troops.

In this situation lay Sforza when jealousies between the Venetians and him began to appear, which produced proposals for an accommodation between the republics of Venice and Milan. After the terms had been debated and agreed upon, they were referred to the arbitration of Sforza, conditionally, that he accepted of seven cities, not specified, for his share of Philip's dominions, leaving the people in possession of all the rest. The other articles imported, that the Venetians should maintain six thousand, the Milanese two thousand, and Sforza only one thousand troops in his service; that if he accepted of these terms he should be esteemed the friend and ally of both states; if not, he should be declared an enemy, and war against him prosecuted with all the forces of both republics. These articles being presented to Sforza, he expressed just indignation against the Venetians, who, after all his important services to the republic, now made him the sacrifice of a peace with their enemies. However, the republics proceeded to the conclusion of their treaty, and Sforza rejecting the terms, war was denounced against him [g]. A.D. 1449.

*Treaty between Milan and Venice.*

Great preparations were made by both republics, and the Venetians put a stop to all trade and intercourse with Florence, on her refusal to join in the alliance against her old general. Sigismund Malatesta was appointed general of the republican forces: his first attempt was upon the forts which Sforza had built to block up Brebia. Two of these he burnt and destroyed, and the rest would have shared the same fate had not Sforza's approach obliged him to retire beyond the Adda. All this while Sforza continued the blockade of Milan, which, in despite of the efforts of the Venetians, was reduced to great extremities. Malatesta having joined the corps under Coyoni, did all in his power to draw Sforza to a battle, which that wise general avoided, knowing the fate of Milan depended on his protracting the war. At last the Milanese, conquered by famine, and starved into submission, murdered Venieri, the Venetian ambassador, and saluted Sforza prince, opening their gates, and receiving him with the same demonstrations of joy they would have expressed for the son of their lawful sovereign [h]. A.D. 1450.

*Sforza makes war on Venice and Milan.*

*Sforza declared duke of Milan.*

[g] Blond. lib. x. dec. iii. Baron. tom. viii. etiam Baron. Univ. Hist. tom. viii.

[h] Ibid.

Thus, by a change as ſudden as amazing, he inſtantly became the ſovereign and protector of a people he had but the day before perſecuted with all the rancour of an inveterate enemy. The Milaneſe having changed ſides, the Venetians reſolved to conclude a treaty of alliance with Alphonſo, who deſired nothing more than a war with Milan, and an opportunity of humbling Sforza. This was effected by the good conduct and addreſs of Paſchali Maſtropietro, the Venetian envoy Naples[1]. Intelligence of the treaty being received at Milan, Sforza reſolved to gain the Venetians by acts of generoſity and kindneſs: for this purpoſe he ordered all the Venetians, who were impriſoned upon the late change of meaſures, to be ſet at liberty, and loaded with preſents and good offices, hinting to them at the ſame time his deſire of cultivating the friendſhip of the republic (E): but theſe overtures coming to nothing, both ſides prepared for a vigorous war. Alphonſo and the Venetians opened the cam-

[1] Sanſov. delle Vit. Prin. p. 262.

(E) This year pope Nicholas conferred ſome particular honours on the doge: ſuch as a golden ſword, a crown ſet with diamonds, &c. Preſents likewiſe to the ſtate were ſent by the king of Boſnia, and the vayvod of Croatia. The duke of Auſtria viſited Venice, and was magnificently received; but the entertainment and reception given to the emperor Frederic exceeded every thing of that kind ever ſeen in Venice, both in grandeur and elegance. The ſenate, ſeignory, and whole city, went in the Bucentauro, gondolas, ganzares, and other veſſeles, richly adorned, to meet the emperor; whilſt the ladies, with no leſs pomp, waited on Leonora, the empreſs. On their landing they found the whole city and ſtreets hung with ſcarlet, purple, and the richeſt ſilks and cloths. Nothing but muſical inſtruments and the fineſt human voices ſaluted the ear with ſongs of rejoicing and congratulation. They were both preſented by the ſenate with crowns of gold, richly ſet with jewels; a child's coat and cradle ſtudded with gold, jewels, and pearls, was given by the ladies to the empreſs, and other preſents, valued at a million of money. Their entertainment in the palace was magnificent beyond deſcription, the richneſs of Venice vying with the taſte and elegance of Italy. Their imperial majeſties expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and departed highly delighted with the power, wealth, ſplendor, and hoſpitality of the republic (1).

(1) Sabel. ibid.

paign

paign by seizing on Coyoni and a detachment of fifteen hundred horse[k]. Some attacks were likewise made on the Florentines for having assisted Sforza with money. For the better supporting the war, a tax was laid by the senate on all persons holding places and enjoying pensions from the government: they were likewise obliged, upon their dismission, to serve the government for six months, at their own expence, in the field. Little progress was made by either side during the first year of the war; but early in the spring both armies entered upon vigorous measures. Leonesio, the Venetian general, after he had wasted the country about Lodes, and reduced several small forts, marched directly to Milan, upon an assurance from some of the inhabitants of being strongly supported: but finding that no insurrection was like to ensue, he went and laid siege to Socinna. Having battered the town for several days a breach was made, which he stormed and carried, after a bloody action. Sforza marched too late to the relief of this place: the armies being encamped for several days within a small distance of each other, frequent skirmishes passed, though no general battle ensued. A.D. 1451.

During these transactions on the river Adda, William of Montferrat, with four thousand horse, spread terror and desolation every where in the territory of Alexandria. From thence marching to Tortona and Pavia, he destroyed the whole country, and was in this manner proceeding in his conquests, when Sacromer Visconti, sent by Sforza, suddenly attacked, defeated, and obliged him to retire to Castelnovo. *Montferrat defeated.*

In the mean time Alphonso's general, Ferdinand, was not idle: having laid siege to Forlano, he took and destroyed it, after having for forty days incessantly battered the walls. During the siege he twice routed Faventino, with the slaughter of two thousand of his men, as he was attempting to relieve the garrison; then marching into the territory of Sienna, he invested Castelina; but the fortifications being strong, and the garrison proving obstinate, he abandoned it, and retired into winter-quarters. A detachment from Leonesio's army defeated a corps of the Milanese sent by Sforza to surprise him, and this little skirmish proved the prelude to a battle. Alessandro was detached by Sforza with four thousand horse and one thousand foot, to stop the incursions of the Venetians into

[k] Sabel. lib. vi. dec. iii.

the

*Aleſſandro defeated by the Venetians.*

the Milaneſe. The Venetian general having intelligence of their route, ſent Carolo Montone to attack him, which he did with ſuch vigour, that Aleſſandro was defeated, his army diſperſed, and only himſelf, with a ſmall number of attendants, eſcaped to Sforza's camp, which then lay before Calviſiana[l]. The Venetians uſed every expedient for the relief of this place, without which the enemy could not winter in their dominions: but all their endeavours proved fruitleſs, though they afforded the officers many opportunities of diſplaing their valour. Among others, one in particular deſerves notice: Leoneſio being appriſed of a convoy of one thouſand horſe going to the enemy's camp, he detached Gonzaga and Brandolino to make an attempt on it: they met the enemy near Iſſea, in the Breſcian, and fell upon them with ſo much intrepidity, that they ſoon were maſters of the convoy. Sforza receiving timely notice of the loſs, detached a ſtrong body to recover the booty. The Venetians ſuſtained the enemy with great bravery, but would at length have been overpowered with numbers, had not Leoneſio, with the reſt of the army, come up to their relief. The ſcale was now turned, and the enemy would infallibly have been defeated, but that Sforza arrived to their ſupport; here a general and obſtinate engagement began, which continuing for ſeveral hours, was at length ended by the darkneſs of the night. The only mark of victory on either ſide that appeared was, that the Venetians carried off the convoy[m]; however, this incident did not raiſe the ſiege; on the contrary, Sforza aſſaulted the town with redoubled vigour, and the garriſon, unable to withſtand his efforts, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Thus, by the acquiſition of Calviſiana, did he eſtabliſh winter-quarters in the enemy's territories.

*A battle.*

The winter, as uſual, was ſpent in treaties, negociations, and alliances. Sforza and the Florentines ſent to the French king, to requeſt he would uſe his intereſt with the duke of Savoy to break with the Venetians, and likewiſe prevail on René, count of Anjou, to attempt the recovery of his kingdom of Sicily, promiſing him liberal ſupplies of money. By this expedient they intended to divert Alphonſo from proſecuting the war againſt the Florentines. The king undertook their cauſe, and prevailed upon the duke of Savoy to lay down his arms. He

[l] Blond. lib. x. dec. iii. Paſſ. apud Sabell. ibid. [m] Montan. lib. v. etiam Aut. citat.

likewiſe

likewiſe perſuaded René to paſs into Italy, purſue his claim to Sicily, and carry on war againſt Alphonſo.

The Florentines ſtill combined in the alliance of Sforza, and entering upon action early in the ſpring, recovered Fogliani, which had been taken from them laſt campaign. Manerba was beſieged by the Venetians, which they continued, in ſpite of all the efforts of Sforza to relieve it, until the brave Leoneſio was killed in a ſally from the town, by a random arrow, in the purſuit. The command of the army devolving upon Picinino, he proſecuted the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that the garriſon, finding they could expect no relief from Sforza, ſurrendered priſoners of war. This event was followed by the reduction of Quinzeno and Pontevico; after which event he undertook the ſiege of Seniga, but was forced to raiſe it on the approach of Sforza with a ſuperior army. A number of ſkirmiſhes daily paſſed, when René, with four thouſand horſe, joined Sforza. The enemy being thus reinforced, Picinino was obliged to ſtand on the defenſive, during which time Sforza ſoon recovered Manerba, and all the other places loſt in the beginning of the campaign. Indeed, the whole Cremoneſe and Breſcian, except the two capitals, were reduced under his obedience, or rather voluntarily ſubmitted. Picinino marched with the utmoſt diligence to the Breſcian, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, and to defend the mountains, the inhabitants of which had as yet remained firm in their duty: here he fixed upon a ſtrong camp, ſo advantageouſly ſituated as to cover the paſſes to the mountains, and, at the ſame time, render all approaches to him difficult and hazardous. This precaution put a ſtop to the progreſs of both armies, until the rigour of the ſeaſon obliged them to quit the field and retire into quarters [n].

A.D. 1452.

During the winter the Venetians, the pope, and Alphonſo, were buſied in preparing a fleet to oppoſe the Grand Seignior, who had reſolved on the ſiege of Conſtantinople early in the ſpring. The ſenate firſt decreed ten gallies and two argoſies of two thouſand tons each, to be ſent to Greece. Afterwards ten more were equipped, and theſe, joined to the pope's and Alphonſo's fleets, made in all forty-two ſail, under the command of Jacomo Loretano; but, before his arrival, Othoman had opened his trenches, and was laying ſiege to the city with

*Fleet againſt the Turks.*

[n] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. iii.

a pro-

A.D. 1453. a prodigious fleet and army. Loretano was obliged to fight his way through the Turkish fleet to enter the harbour, which he did with a conduct and resolution altogether astonishing. It would be unseasonable to enter on the particulars of this siege; sufficient it is for our present purpose to observe, that Loretano, perceiving the whole dependence of the enemy was on the land-forces, and that the Turkish fleet could be of little use, determined to sail to Negropont, for the defence of the island, and there wait for a reinforcement sufficient to engage the enemy [o].

*Turks besiege Constantinople.*

While the Venetian fleet remained in the Levant, their army was upon the defensive, Sforza carrying all before him in Lombardy. He took Rhodes, Romagna, Martinenga, and Brisança; then he reduced New Orges, Romanenga, and Socina. Towards the end of the campaign he began the siege of Isola; but the heavy rains falling, made it impossible for him to keep the field. Picinino's army was too weak to cover all those places; and, indeed, he was kept in awe by a strong detachment, which Sforza had sent to watch his motions; so that the winter came on before he was in a condition to enter upon action [p].

The pope now laboured hard to mediate a peace, in order that the Christian forces might unite in defence of Constantine Palæologus and the Greek empire; but the endeavours of his holiness proved of no effect, though the peace was concluded by means of a mediator of less consequence [q]. Simon Camertes, a hermit, was so indefatigable and eloquent, that he brought all parties to accede to the following terms: that Sforza should restore to the Venetians whatever he had taken from them in the war, the territory of Ghiradadda excepted; that the marquis of Mantua should reinstate his brother Caroli in all his dominions; that Alphonso should restore his conquests to the Florentines; with other articles of less importance. For the farther security of the public tranquillity it was expressly mentioned, that if any future differences among the parties should arise, the pope should have ample and full powers to determine them, his holiness taking upon him to be guarantee of the treaty [r]. The city of Venice received with great joy the news that a

*Peace with Sforza.*

A.D. 1454.

[o] Baron. lib. viii. ann. 1453.
[p] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. iii.
[q] L. Vie des Papes, tom. viii. Sabel. lib. vii. dec. iii. Pass. Arim. ibid.
[r] Montan. lib. v. Sabel. lib.

war

war was terminated in which they had been hard preſſed by the vigor, conduct, and intrepidity of Sforza. Public thankſgivings were offered, and proceſſions made. Marcello was likewiſe ſent to Conſtantinople to execute a treaty with Mahomet; and he returned loaded with preſents and expreſſions of the friendſhip of that great monarch for the republic.

From this time to the year 1457, the republic enjoyed profound peace, when Foſcari, after a glorious adminiſtration of thirty-four years, was, at the age of ninety, laid aſide as ſuperannuated and unfit for the diſcharge of his important office; an inſtance of ingratitude conſiſtent, perhaps, with the meaſures of ſound policy, but very contradictory to the dictates of humanity. He was a prince of a noble and pleaſing aſpect, poſſeſſed a prodigious memory, flowing eloquence, ready wit, and ſound judgment. At this remarkable age he enjoyed good health, the perfect uſe of his limbs and faculties, remembered every incident from his childhood, had a ſweetneſs, and at the ſame a majeſty and authority in his manner that equally commanded love and reſpect. He had greatly extended the power and dominions of the republic, and was no leſs loved by his ſubjects than eſteemed and feared by ſtrangers and his neighbours; yet was this valuable and venerable prince ſacrificed to the politics of an ungrateful multitude. He was no ſooner diveſted of the ſupreme authority, than, leaving the palace with indignation, he retired to a private houſe, where, falling ill with grief, he died, univerſally lamented and eſteemed[s] (F). *Foſcari depoſed.*

## *PASQUAL MALIPIERO, Doge LXVI.*

FOSCARI was ſucceeded in his dogeſhip by Paſqual Malipiero, then aged ſeventy-two. This prince at- A.D. 1457. *Paſqual Malipiero.*

[s] Sanſov. delle Vit. Princip. 263. Baron. Ann. præſent.

(F) Jacomo Foſcari, his ſon, was cited by the council of ten to anſwer to ſome accuſations lodged againſt him, of conſpiring to ſubvert the government. Jacomo was then abſent, and not appearing on the day appointed, orders were iſſued for ſeizing him. He was then put to the torture, but ſtill continuing to deny the allegations, he was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; in which, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his father, he ended a miſerable life (1).

(1) Baron. p. 520. tit. 13.

tended

tended the obsequies of his predecessor, which were performed with the utmost magnificence and funeral pomp. Nothing memorable happened during the four years and seven months of his administration. Malipiero maintained with great care the tranquillity handed down by Foscari, executed the laws with justice and moderation, tempered the severity of old age with the innocent mirth and dissipation of youth, and blended the dignity of the prince with the ease and freedom of the companion: in short, he was a prince of great and shining virtues; of a penetrating judgment; open, sincere, and candid; a lover of peace, but profoundly skilled in the art of war [t]. In a word, all we have transmitted of this prince is a panegyric on his wisdom, prudence, bravery, and clemency, without facts to illustrate or confirm these virtues. Historians relate that he patronized men of letters and ingenuity, an instance of which they give in the kindness he
A.D. 1462. shewed to Nicolo Jenson Tedescho, who first introduced the art of printing in Venice [u]. The doge made him very liberal presents; and had the satisfaction of perusing some splendid editions of the classics and other books issued from the Venetian press. Thus, amidst employments useful to the public and glorious to himself, Malipiero died, to the great affliction of the whole republic. In his room the senate substituted Christoforo Moro, a procurator of St. Mark, equally beloved for his disposition and admired for his capacity.

[t] Sansov. delle Vit. de Princip. [u] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. iii.

SECT.

## SECT. VI.

*Containing the Origin and Progress of the Turkish War; the Rise of the War with the Trieſtines; Death of Moro; and the Tranſactions which occurred during the Adminiſtration of Nicolo Throno, and others of his Succeſſors.*

### *CHRISTOFORO MORO, Doge LXVII.*

*Chriſtophoro Moro.*

THE firſt year of Moro's adminiſtration was ſpent in acts of civil diſcipline. Sanſovino, indeed, tells us of a kind of war with the Trieſtines, which was ſoon made up at the pope's interceſſion [a]; but of this we find no mention in any other hiſtorian. The winter was taken up in preparations to oppoſe the Turks, who, after the ſurrender of Conſtantinople, and ruin of the Grecian empire, were deſirous of ſeizing on the Morea as a dependency on their conqueſts. Thomas and Demetrius, the princes of this province, had three years before offered the Venetians to put the Morea into their hands, for an equivalent in Italy [b]; but Demetrius giving his daughter in marriage to Mahomet, and going over to the Turks, fruſtrated that deſign. Thomas made ſome reſiſtance, near the ſtreights, to the incurſions of Othoman; but finding himſelf unequal to the power of that monarch, he fled into Italy. The Grecian dominion being extinct in the Morea, the Venetians ſtill held the towns they long poſſeſſed in that province: however, the encroachments of Othoman obliged them at length to take arms in defence of the trade and ſubjects of the republic in that quarter. It was with great caution the Venetians entered upon this important war: Victor Capello, their admiral, refuſed to ſuccour Leſbos and Mitylene, though both iſlands offered to put themſelves under the protection of the republic. The ſenate even paſſed over Othoman's infractions of the late treaty, by croſſing the ſtreights of Gallipolis, leſt thereby they ſhould draw on a war with this potent monarch. They proceeded ſo far in their pacific meaſures as to be taxed with indifference

A.D.1463.

*War in the Morea.*

[a] Cron. Venet. Com. apud Sabel.

[b] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. iii. etiam. Cæpio

and

and coolness for the Christian religion; but they wisely withstood all attempts to engage themselves in war, till the defence of their own rights and property rendered it unavoidable. Now a strong fleet under Loretano was equipped, and an army of fifteen thousand land-forces sent to besiege Argers (A), lately taken by the Turks. Bertoldo d'Este, who commanded the army, soon made himself master of this city, defended by a small garrison, and gave it to be plundered by the soldiers. Basilia (B) was next reduced, after which exploit, he marched through the territory of Corinth, and encamped on the sea-coast, where Loretano rode at anchor with the fleet. Here d'Este and Loretano began a very laborious and useful work, which they completed in fifteen days: they fortified with a wall and double moat the whole length of the streights, from the Ægean to the Ionian sea, about four thousand paces. Thirty thousand men, we are told, were employed in this work, finished with no less strength than expedition[c]. Six thousand Turks who lay before Corinth, endeavoured all in their power to obstruct the workmen, but they were constantly repulsed. In the mean time d'Este sent Coyoni with a detachment to seize upon Misistrate, where, after having reduced the country round, and taken the town, he was killed in an assault upon the citadel. The city of Londaria was likewise seized by another detachment, after which d'Este marched with the whole army to besiege Corinth: the attack was made on the west, north, and east sides; that on the latter succeeded, for Attelano having broke down the walls with his cannon, stormed the breach and effected a lodgment. D'Este in viewing the batteries was killed the next day by a cannon shot, which accident, with a furious sally of the enemy, and the approach of the Turkish army, determined the Venetians to abandon the siege and retire to Napoli (C), where they were soon

*Turks defeated.*

[c] Sabel. ibid. Cæpio apud Sabel. Montan. lib. v.

(A) Argers, or Argo, a city a few miles south of Corinth.

(B) Basilia, or Basilico, a fortified town, north of Corinth, situated upon the coast of the gulf of Lepanto.

(C) We are left at a loss by historians whether this city was Napoli di Romagnia, situated at the head of the gulf, or Napoli de Malvasia, a city farther south, at the extremity of the Morea; probably it was the former.

followed

followed by an army of fifty thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot [d]. The Turks immediately undertook the ſiege, and cut off a party of the garriſon that had with more bravery than conduct ſallied out upon them; but Bertino, who ſucceeded d'Eſte in the command, exerted himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that with his ſmall army he forced the Turks to abandon the ſiege. *The Turks beſiege Napoli.*

The Turks, having raiſed the ſiege of Napoli, ravaged the territory of Modon, and cloſely inveſted Zanchio, an enterprize which the bravery of Giovanni Craſſo the governor fruſtrated. Upon this miſcarriage, they retired out of the Morea, and left the Venetians at liberty to ſack and deſtroy the towns garriſoned by Turks [e]. *Raiſe the ſiege.*

To keep the republic in full employment, a war with the Trieſtines aroſe. The German merchants trading to Iſtria uſed to bring their goods to Cap Iſtria, and other towns of the province, paſſing over Trieſte, on account of a particular impoſitions on all foreign commodities. The Trieſtines inſtead of taking off the tax, had recourſe to the emperor Frederic, beſeeching him that he would oblige the German merchants to frequent their markets, and prohibit the commodities of the empire to be carried to any other town within the province. The emperor paying no great attention to their requeſt, they determined to uſe force; upon which the inhabitants of Cap Iſtria ſent ambaſſadors to beg the protection of the doge and ſenate of Venice. An envoy was immediately ſent to the Trieſtines, to deſire they would abſtain from moleſting the inhabitants of Cap Iſtria; at the ſame time a ſquadron was ordered to anchor in the gulf of Trieſte, to keep the city in awe and give weight to the embaſſy. The Trieſtines, however, continued their meaſures, which determined the ſenate upon ſending a land army to lay ſiege to the city: for this purpoſe three thouſand horſe, four thouſand foot, and a train of artillery, were ſhipped under the conduct of four Venetian noblemen. The city was immediately inveſted, and the ſiege carried on with great vigour for the greater part of the autumn: ſeveral furious ſallies were made from the town; and the Venetians, on the other hand, having made a breach in the walls, repeated their aſſaults: at laſt, the pope interfering, at his mediation the ſiege was raiſed, on condition that his holineſs would abſtain from proſecuting Sigiſmund *War with the Trieſtines.* A. D. 1464.

[d] Aut. cit. ibid. [e] Sabel. ibid. Cepio. ibid. Bame. Hiſt. Allemagn. vol. v.

Malateſta, whom he at that time blocked up in Arimini. Thus did the Trieſtine war end with the operations of one campaign, after the garriſon had been reduced to great extremities [f].

The Venetian fleet and army having wintered in the Morea, were ready early in the ſpring to take the field; but orders were ſent that they ſhould wait for the arrival of Urſo Juſtiniano, appointed to take the command of the fleet and army from Loretano and Bertino. Before his arrival an encounter happened, in which the Venetians loſt fifteen hundred of their men, with Attendulo who commanded, near Modon. Urſo arrived at Modon a few days after, and taking upon him the command of the fleet, left part of the forces in the Morea with Bertino, and ſailed with the reſt directly to Mitylene, which he attacked with great vigour. This was the capital of the iſland of that name in the Archipelago, taken a few years before by the Turks. A breach being made in the walls, Urſo ordered it to be ſtormed, where, after a bloody action for ſome honrs, he was at laſt repulſed with great loſs, and forced to abandoned the enterprize [g]. Quitting Mitylene, he went to Negropont, where, reflecting on his miſcarriage, he died of a lowneſs and oppreſſion of ſpirits. Giacomo Loretano was ſent to take the command of the fleet, which ſailed upon the death of Urſo to the Morea. Sigiſmund Malateſta was appointed general of the army, and both the commanders immediately ſet out with a ſmall ſquadron and a reinforcement of one thouſand horſe to join the forces. Malateſta found the army in a miſerable condition after the death of Attendulo: he complained loudly of the injury done his reputation in appointing him general of a handful of diſeaſed broken troops, oppoſed to a numerous and powerful enemy: however, reſolved to make the moſt of his condition, he marched and laid ſiege to Sparta; but, after continuing two months before the walls, he was forced to abandon the enterprize [h]. During the ſiege of Sparta, Loretano with the fleet made a deſcent on Rhodes, returning, after he had waſted the iſland, to Negropont. Thus ended the campaign without any memorable action performed ſince the arrival of Malateſta and Loretano.

*The Venetians lay ſiege to Mitylene.*

*Sparta beſieged*

[f] Sabell. lib. viii. dec. iii. Hiſt. Venet. vol. ii. p. 2.

[g] Sabell. ibid.

[h] Amelot.

Early

Early in the spring, Loretano resolved to pass the streights of Gallipoli, but was frustrated in the attempt by the strength of the Turkish forts on each coast. The whole summer was spent in expectation of the event of pope Pius's endeavours to excite the other Christian powers against the Turks; but his holiness dying at Ancona, where he went to meet the ambassadors of different potentates, the whole enterprize ended in sending a slender remittance of money to Matthias, of Hungary [i]. The plague raging in Napoli di Romagna, Malatesta retired with the army to Laconia, where he wintered, having attempted nothing during the whole season. Victor Capello was sent next year to succeed Loretano; but no reinforcement was given to Malatesta. Capello sailed to Aulida, which, with Larsa, he took, after a vigorous resistance. He afterwards passed into the gulf of Corinth, upon the promise of the inhabitants to destroy the garrison, and put the town of Patras into his hands. Here Barbadico, the proveditor, landing, and entering Patras, the soldiers immediately fell a pillaging, during which they were attacked by a body of Turkish horse, and defeated; not above a thousand, out of four times that number, escaping. Barbadico was killed in the tumult, and being afterwards known by his armour, his body was impaled [k]. Capello, not discouraged by this loss, landed all the forces, and furiously attacked the city; but was repulsed by a vigorous sally, and forced, after great slaughter of his men, to seek refuge on board the fleet. He was so much affected by this loss, that he fell sick and died of grief a few days after [l].

A.D.1465.

A.D.1466.

*Venetians defeated before Patras.*

The republic, in the mean time, was involved in a war in Italy, in support of Bartholomeo of Bergamo, who came to a rupture with Ferdinand of Naples. However, before their troops joined him, a battle was fought, which brought on a peace. The next year was memorable for the loss of Negropont, which the Turks took in despite of all the attempts of the Venetian fleet, and obstinate defence of the besieged. All the garrison was put to the sword, and not even the sick, the decrepid, women, or children spared [m]. This loss greatly affected the republic: the barrier of Italy was now in the hands of the enemy; and nothing remained but to lament the in-

A.D.1467.

[i] Hist. des Papes, la Vie de Pio. Baron. tom. viii. Ha. præf.
[k] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. iii. [l] Ibid. etiam Sanfov. Cron. Venet. [m] Sabel. ibid. Carcol. lib. iii. apud. Baron.

dolence, inactivity, and avarice, which had produced the calamity. The senate, when it was too late, augmented the fleet with forty-five additional sail; a force more than sufficient to have protected this important place, though unable to recover it. Nicolao Canalis, who commanded the fleet, determining, if possible, to regain the public esteem, which he had undeservedly forfeited for not covering Negropont, to which his strength was inadequate, sailed immediately in quest of the Turkish fleet, which had quitted that place a few days before he was joined by Venieri, and the fleet from Venice. He got sight of the enemy at Chios; but the Turkish admiral found means to elude an engagement. He then steered his course back to Negropont, in hopes to surprise it; but the attempt miscarried, with the loss of two hundred men, and Giovanni Trono, one of the bravest officers of the fleet. Here he was superseded by Pietro Mocenigo, to whom Canalis said, that had he remained longer in his office, he doubted not of recovering Negropont. Mocenigo replied, that if his hopes were well founded, he would willingly suspend his authority for the good of the public; and at the same time offered him all the assistance he could in a subaltern capacity: an instance of public spirit rarely compatible with private ambition [n]. Canalis, however, declined continuing in a station of which he was deprived by the republic, and returned to Venice; from whence, immediately on his arrival, he was banished for life. Thus did this unfortunate officer fall a victim to popular discontent, and the misconduct of the administration [o].

Mocenigo no sooner assumed the command than he returned with the fleet to the Morea, there to winter, deferring to enter upon action till the spring. Othoman spent the winter endeavouring to conclude a peace with the Venetians; for this politic prince apprehended, lest his having possession of Negropont might excite other Christian powers against him: he was therefore desirous of taking off the chief maritime state by a peace, or, if nothing was concluded, to amuse the republic by negociations from paying proper attention to their armaments. How long this treaty, which Othoman set on foot, might have lasted we know not: from this time to the death of the doge nothing is related by historians besides an al-

[n] Sabel. lib. ix. dec. iii. Amelot. Hist. Venet. tom. ii. p. 2.
[o] Ibid.

liance

liance formed with the sophi of Persia [p], which was concluded a few months before Moro died, and three years after the loss of Negropont. Moro's reign was unfortunate, from his indolence and want of vigour. A.D.1470.

## *NICOLAO TRONO, Doge LXVIII.*

NICOLAO TRONO was elected by the unanimous consent of the senate and people to the supreme magistracy: his reign, though not very long, was prosperous, the event confirming the judicious choice of the senate. Upon his accession, with the consent and approbation of the republic, he sent ambassadors to the pope and Ferdinand, to exhort them to arm against the common enemy of Christendom: he likewise dispatched an envoy to the king of Cyprus, with similar instructions, all of whom received the strongest assurances of powerful succours. A.D.1471. *Nicolao Trono.*

Little was performed this year by the fleet under Mocenigo, besides the surprisal of some unimportant places in Ionia, and protecting Lemnos, upon which the Turks meditated a descent. Early in the spring he set sail for Asia Minor, where he wasted destroyed, and spread terror all over the coasts, defeating the enemy in several encounters. On his return to the Morea he was joined by Ferdinand's admiral: having victualled the fleet at Modon, without waiting for the pope's auxiliaries he sailed directly for Rhodes, where he defeated a Turkish squadron that lay before the chief city, and blocked up the Christian inhabitants: having likewise destroyed all the enemy's forts and works in the island, he set sail for Capraria, and joined the pope's fleet, under the conduct of a legate [q]. Mutual compliments and congratulations having passed, Mocenigo sailed with his whole fleet, consisting of forty-six Venetian gallies, thirty-seven auxiliary vessels, and two gallies from Rhodes, in all eighty-five gallies, for Satalia, which city he resolved to attack. The troops being landed, the trenches were opened, and the city surrendered in a few days: all the rich merchandize of the East, cinnamon, cloves, and spices, with great quantities of rich silks, were burnt and plundered by the soldiers, and then the citadel was stormed. The first wall was taken after a bloody encounter; but the scaling ladders proving too short for the interior wall, Mocenigo A.D.1472. *Venetians attack and destroy Satalia.*

[p] Baron. tom. viii. Sabel. [q] Vie des Papes, tom. iv.

was forced to raiſe the ſiege, which he did with great reluctance[r]. Thence he ſailed to Rhodes, where he met with the Perſian ambaſſador, who came to ſolicit a ſupply of fire-arms and a train of artillery for his maſter, to begin the war with the Turks, which Mocenigo promiſing, diſmiſſed him highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his embaſſy[s].

*Turks enter Italy.*

The Turks in the mean time were not idle; for a large corps entering Italy croſſed the river Sancino, and ſpread terror and deſolation over the whole country of Friuli, but advanced no farther. Paul the Second, ſeeing the danger to which Italy and the church were expoſed, ſummoned a council, at which the ambaſſadors of a great number of princes and ſtates attended. Paolo Moroſini was ſent by the republic: this miniſter repreſented, in an elegant and pathetic oration, the ſhare the republic had for a ſeries of years taken in oppoſing the Turks, and defending the Chriſtian religion: he affirmed, that Venice alone had ſuſtained the whole weight of the Othoman power in Thrace, Illyrium, and the iſlands of the Archipelago; but that the enemy was now, through the indolence of the Chriſtian princes, arrived at ſuch a pitch of power, as not only threatened the extinction of the republic, but of Italy and even of all Europe. Frederic the Third was preſent; to him Moroſini chiefly addreſſed himſelf, affirming there was now a poſſibility of cruſhing the proud Othoman, if his Imperial majeſty would undertake the Chriſtian cauſe with chearfulneſs equal to his great power. Baronius relates, that the emperor ſlept while the ſecurity of the church was debated, ſo ſoundly that not the noiſe of the Turkiſh cannon could have waked him. Indeed, ſays Campanus, nothing could have withſtood Frederic had he fought half ſo vigorouſly as he ſnored: ſuch was the reſult of the council from which ſo much was expected.

Mocenigo was in the mean time ravaging the coaſts of Aſia towards Chios and the promontory of Thermena: here Ferdinand's fleet parted with him and retired for the winter, notwithſtanding which ſeparation, Mocenigo reſolved to lay ſiege to Smyrna. Sailing from Neſſo the fleet arrived in three days before the city, to the no leſs aſtoniſhment than confuſion of the inhabitants: willing to make the moſt of their conſternation Mocegino landed the troops, and inſtantly aſſaulted the walls with irreſiſt-

*Mocenigo takes Smyrna.*

[r] Sabell. lib. ix. dec. iii.

[s] Baron. ubi ſupra.

ible

ible vigour. The ſoldiers no ſooner entered the town than a horrible ſlaughter began without diſtinction of age or ſex; all were put to the ſword, in deſpite of Mocenigo's endeavours to prevent this maſſacre; the city was laid waſte, and immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver coin, plate, jewels, and other rich booty taken. The governor of the province, having collected a conſiderable army, marched againſt the Venetians, who gave him ſo warm a reception, that the Turks were utterly defeated and broke, though the action was not of ſufficient duration to make the number of ſlain conſiderable. After this engagement, the Venetians returned to the city, and in revenge laid it in aſhes [t]. Thence the fleet ſteered to Clazomene, which having plundered, Mocenigo returned to Napoli in the Morea to winter (D). The pope's legate returned with his fleet to Italy, after paying the higheſt compliments to the Venetian admiral upon his conduct and ſucceſs. Mocenigo diſpatched the Perſian ambaſſador in a galley to Venice: upon which the ſenate not only granted his demand, of a large train of artillery and ſtores; but likewiſe ſent great quantities of gold and ſilver curiouſly wrought plate, a ſum of gold ducats, and ſeveral pieces of fine Verona ſcarlet cloth, to Uſſan Caſſan. *Defeats the Turks.*

Afterwards Mocenigo ſteered his courſe towards Cilicia, and entering the harbour of Theodora, near Seluſia, he found ambaſſadors from Caſſambet, the Caramanian, brother to Piraneet, king of Cilicia, who came to requeſt his aſſiſtance in the reduction of Sechin, Coria, and Seleucia. Caſſambet doubted not but the ſurrender of thoſe three cities would re-eſtabliſh his family in the regal dignity, from which they were expelled by Othoman. The

t Sabell. lib. ix. dec. iii. La Vie des Pap. tom. iv.

(D) While Mocenigo lay at Napoli, a young Sicilian, who had been taken by the Turks and carried to Gallipoli, having made his eſcape, came to him and undertook to ſet fire to the Turkiſh fleet and magazines, if he would give his conſent. The admiral commending his courage he departed, and had actually ſet fire to both. The flames were ſoon extinguiſhed, and the Sicilian taken and carried before Othoman, where he behaved with incredible magnanimity. Being put to death, the ſenate ſettled a penſion on his family in reward of his bravery (1).

(1) Sabell. lib. ix. dec. iii. Baron. A. 1472. Coriolan. lib. ii.

*Takes Sechin, Coria, and Seleucia.*

plan of the operations of the fleet and army being settled, Sechin was attacked with great fury, and carried, through the vigour and conduct of Mocegino. Coria and Seleucia shared the same fate soon after, though the Turks exerted all the skill, courage, and power they were possessed of, in their defence [u]. Thus the Caraman brothers were reinstated in the kingdom of Cilicia, and Othoman deprived of one of his richest provinces by the vigour, address, and intrepidity of the Venetian admiral. From hence he sailed to Cyprus, where he found James, the old ally and friend of the republic, on his death-bed. The king, who was married to Catherine Zeno, a Venetian lady of quality, recommended his queen to the protection of Mocenigo and the republic, in opposition to his sister Charlotta, who claimed the kingdom, in the most pathetic and moving terms; and Charlotta, upon the death of her brother, sent an embassy to Mocenigo, acquainting him with her claim, and requesting his assistance. Mocenigo answered the ambassadors with great respect, informed them of the king's will, and his own promise, as well as the duty of the republic, to protect Catherine. During his stay at Cyprus, the queen was delivered of a son, of whom she was pregnant at the death of the king; and a few days afterwards advice arrived of the death of the doge [w], who, during a short administration of two years, had displayed every quality which could gain the hearts of the people, and the esteem and respect of foreign states.

## *NICOLAO MARCELLO, Doge LXIX.*

*Nicolao Marcello.*

THE senate elected Nicolao Marcello, a nobleman of great prudence, to the ducal chair. Marcello pursued the plan laid down by Trono, and was too wise to change men and measures, which were attended with all imaginable success.

After the doge's death, Mocenigo sailed, towards the end of autumn, to the Morea, and wintered at Modon, leaving a squadron at Cyprus under Cornaro, for the defence and security of the island. In the beginning of the summer he received advice of commotions and factions excited in Cyprus, which endangered the safety of the queen and kingdom. The juncture was too critical to admit of delay; he hastened thither, but before his

[u] Sabel. lib. ix. dec. iii. Baron. tom. viii. sal. An. hoc.
[w] Sabel. lib. x. dec. iii. Campan. apud Baron. ibid.

arrival,

arrival, Cornaro, with his nephew Bembo, were murdered in a conſpiracy formed by the biſhops, the queen's phyſician, and other perſons of diſtinction: the queen herſelf was likewiſe cloſely beſieged in the citadel. Souranza, the proveditor, who was diſpatched with eight gallies, arrived ſome days before the fleet; but finding his force too ſlender to quell the conſpirators, he had recourſe to negociations, which, however, terminated in nothing. Mocegino at laſt arriving, ſtruck ſuch terror into the rebels, that they quitted the ſiege, and many left the iſland; but the diligence of the admiral was ſo great, that he ſeized upon the ringleaders of the rebellion and murderers of Cornaro, all of whom he inſtantly put to death. Soon after he received a commiſſion from the doge and ſenate, appointing him governor of Cyprus [x]. After he had reſtored tranquillity in the iſland, thinking it more for the advantage of the republic that he ſhould enter upon action, he departed to relieve Scutari, then beſieged by a powerful Turkiſh fleet and army, leaving Souranza with a ſufficient force, deputy-governor, for the protection of the queen and kingdom (E).

*Turks beſiege Scutari.*

Othoman, who thought the poſſeſſion of Scutari a neceſſary ſtep towards acquiring the dominion of Italy, to which he aſpired, ſent Solyman with ten thouſand janiſſaries and ſeventy thouſand other troops, with a prodigious train of artillery, and a ſtrong fleet, to inveſt this city. The trenches were opened, a bridge was thrown over the river Bojana, and the batteries played furiouſly againſt the walls. At this time Mocenigo [y], ſailing up the Bojana, as far as it was navigable, landed the troops, and encamped within five miles of the city, giving notice by rockets of his approach. The Turks endeavouring to block up the fleet brought on an action, in which they were totally defeated, leaving Mocenigo maſter of the river. Cornovich of Sclavonia being ſlow in his ope-

[x] Sabel. lib. x. dec. iii. [y] Baron. tom. viii.

(E) Scutari, the ancient Scodra, ſtands on the river Bojana, iſſuing from the lake Scutari, on the eaſt ſide of the gulf of Venice, almoſt oppoſite to the gulf of Mamredonia, on the Italian coaſt. The country where it ſtands was the ancient Epirus, now part of Dalmatia, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name Albania. The city ſtands on the declivity of a hill of difficult aſcent, and is ſtrong both by art and nature.—Atlas Univerſelle.

rations,

rations, and the city hard preſſed, the admiral reſolved to ſuccour it at all events, a deſign which he effected with a conduct and reſolution hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory [z]. Seizing on the bridge Solyman had thrown over the river, which was defended by ſtrong batteries and a large body of troops, he forced two thouſand men, with a conſiderable quantity of proviſion and ammunition, into the city, amidſt the enemy's fire, and through a quarter of their camp commanded by Ali Beg. This reinforcement enabled Loretano the governor to ſuſtain the general aſſault next day. Solyman thinking the breach conſiderable enough, ordered it to be ſtormed by ten thouſand ja-
A.D. 1474. niſſaries, ſupported by the reſt of the army. The action was dreadful for near two hours, when at length the Turks were driven from the walls with great ſlaughter: the garriſon ſallying out after them ſlew the confuſed
*Turks defeated.* Turks in heaps, leaving about four thouſand dead upon the field, after which carnage they returned into the city, laden with rich booty and glory. In a word, Solyman, tired out with the obſtinacy of the beſieged, broke up his camp and retired to Macedonia, after he had ſpent three months and loſt twenty thouſand of his beſt troops before Scutari [a] (F).

Mocenigo on account of his health, returned to Venice, as ſoon as he had accompliſhed his buſineſs at Scutari; and Marepietro, who was left with the fleet, retired to a wholſomer air, the crews being ſickly, from the moiſt air of the river, and the unwholſome vapours exhaled from the marſhes. Great rejoicings were made at Venice on advice that Scutari was relieved: preſents were ſent to the governor Loretano, and the whole garriſon was rewarded according to their merit. As to Mocenigo he was received with the moſt extraordinary honours; preſents were heaped upon him, and a few days after his arrival he received the juſt reward of his fidelity, intrepi-

z Sanſov. delle Vit. Prin. Sabel. lib. x. dec. iii. a Sabell. lib. x. dec. iii. Cepio apud Sabel. ibid.

(F) The greateſt diſtreſs the garriſon felt was from the want of water, which muſt have compelled them to ſurrender had Solyman perſiſted a few days longer. So eager were they for this element, that the Turks were no ſooner retired than the ſoldiers crowded in great numbers to the river, where they drank to ſuch exceſs that many of them periſhed.

dity,

dity, and prudence; for Marcello dying he was unanimously appointed his successor [b]. Marcello's reign was short, not exceeding a year and two months: he died much regretted and esteemed, but his loss was the less observed on account of the shining qualities and extraordinary virtues of Mocenigo.

## *PIETRO MOCENIGO, Doge LXX.*

MOCENIGO, on his accession to the ducal throne, resolved to take vigorous measures for prosecuting the Turkish war: his first act of authority was appointing Loretano, who had so bravely defended Scutari, to be captain of the gallies. In the spring Solyman undertook the siege of Lepanto, with an army of thirty thousand men, of which Loretano receiving intelligence sailed from Pola, where he wintered, to the relief of the city. On his way thither he took and sunk a large Genoese argosy, laden with Turkish merchandize of immense value; then sailing to Lepanto he entered the harbour, and supplied the town so plentifully, that Solyman's attempts were baffled, after he had spent four months in the siege, and lost near five thousand men [c]. The Turkish fleet steered for Lemnos, and laying siege to Coccina furiously battered the walls: the enemy were preparing to storm the town, when Loretano seasonably arrived, and constrained the infidels to raise the siege and abandon the island [d]: after this nothing was done for the remainder of the season. Before the succeeding spring Mocenigo died, with the reputation of the bravest captain and wisest politician Venice had produced for a great number of years. There was a modesty and moderation in his carriage and conduct peculiar to real merit; nor did his virtues appear till they were drawn forth into action, his diffidence and reserve throwing a cloud over his great abilities: it was said of him that chance only gained him reputation; for had not the occasions of the state furnished an opportunity of displaying his capacity and courage, he would have died as low in the esteem of mankind as now he was deservedly exalted. His extreme bashfulness gave him an air of timidity and weakness, which only his extraordinary actions could prevent men's construing to his prejudice. In short, no man ever more faithfully served

A. D 1475.

*Pietro Mocenigo.*

A.D.1476.

[b] Sansov. delle Vit. Prin.
[c] Sabell. lib. x. dec. iii.
[d] Ibid.

his

his country, and no state ever returned his services with more gratitude and esteem [e].

## *ANDREA VENDRAMINO, Doge LXXI.*

*Andrea Vendramino.*

THE funeral obsequies of this valuable prince having been duly celebrated, the senate met for the election of a successor. Their choice fell upon Andrea Vendramino, more remarkable for his age than any qualities of his mind, he being at this time in his eighty-fourth year. He was not long established in his authority when the Turks laid siege to Croia, a city of Albania. The army of the besiegers consisted of ten thousand horse and foot, with a numerous train of artillery: they had battered the walls for two months before the garrison had any prospect of relief. At last Antoniato Doria and Lodovico Tesernato assembled a corps of two thousand Venetians and other Italians, with which small force they determined to hazard a battle [f]. On approaching the enemy they drew up in a square, the foot being intermixed with the horse: in this manner they advanced against the infidels, who came out of their lines to meet them. The battle began, and courage and address were opposed to multitudes: the Turks at last began to give way; their ranks being once broke, they found it impossible to rally, the Venetians pressed them so close. In this manner were they driven to their intrenchments, where they were pursued and entirely defeated, with the loss of one half of their army: their camp was taken, and in it an incredible rich booty, which was wholly divided among the soldiers in reward of their bravery, the commanders generously resigning their share to the private men [g].

*Turks besiege Croia.*

*Are defeated.*

*Return to the charge, and beat the Venetians.*

Next day the Turks, having joined their detachments, returned and assailed the Venetians with great fury: they were, notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, received with bravery, and would have been defeated a second time had the cavalry done their duty; but the horse, being put in disorder, abandoned the field, leaving the foot to sustain the whole force of the enemy. This they did, animated by the example of Contareni the provedi-tor and other officers, with amazing firmness: but their number being greatly diminished, and Contareni killed,

[e] Baron. tom. viii. Sansov. delle Vit. Prin. [f] Sabel. ibid.
[g] Sabel. lib. x. dec. iii.

they

they were entirely surrounded. Resolved to make one more effort, they formed themselves into a wedge, and pushed through the enemy's ranks, with prodigious slaughter on both sides: by this exertion a few of those brave men escaped, and, what is remarkable, carried off their share of the booty. The Turks, though they were masters of the field, did not care to resume the siege, but encamped at some distance from Croia, waiting for reinforcements [h].

The death of Contareni, and so many intrepid soldiers, was greatly lamented at Venice, nor was the safety of Croia esteemed equivalent to this loss: but what augmented the consternation and grief of the senate, was intelligence that the Turks, in spite of all their precaution, had broke a second time into Italy. A.D 1476.

When these infidels retired, after their first incursion into the province of Friuli, the Venetians drew a line and strong works from the bridge at Goricia to the marshes of Aquileia: this they imagined would be a sufficient barrier against the farther attempts of the enemy; but they were no less amazed than terrified at hearing that a powerful army was encamped on the banks of the river Lizonza. The troops, who defended the works, behaved with all imaginable courage, and would have foiled the endeavours of the enemy, had they escaped a snare laid for them by the Turkish general. The Venetians being defeated, the Turks were at liberty to proceed, which they did, laying waste the whole province [i]. Immediately the senate dispatched a fleet and body of forces to oppose their progress, but the infidels had retired before their arrival. As the doge was taking measures to relieve and secure the province from future invasions he died, after a reign of one year and eight months [k] (G). *Turks enter Italy.* A.D.1477.

[h] Cepio apud Sabell. ibid. Sabell. lib. x. dec. iii.

[i] Morosin. Hist. lib. vi.

[k] Sansov. delle Vit. Prin.

(G) It was in this prince's reign that fine paintings were first seen in Venice. Gentile Bellino finished the beautiful ceilings and pieces in the council chamber. After peace was proclaimed with the Turks, Mahomet hearing of his fame sent for him, and upon his executing some masterly pieces, conferred very extraordinary honours and presents on him.

*GIOVANNI*

## *GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Doge LXXII.*

*Giovanni Mocenigo.*

GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, brother to Pietro, a man scarce inferior in merit to that excellent prince, was raised to the ducal dignity, to the great satisfaction of the people, who equally respected him for his own virtue and his brother's memory.

*Croia taken.*

The Turks, after this retreat from Friuli, resumed the siege of Croia, and at last reduced the place, after an obstinate defence. Immediately they invested Scutari, with an army of forty thousand men, provided with every necessary: Othoman himself arrived before the trenches were opened, with another army still more numerous. Though the garrison did not exceed two thousand men, yet, relying on the strength of the place and speedy assistance, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. Othoman's batteries began to play, and soon effected a breach, which he ordered to be stormed. The assault was furious and the defence valiant; Antonio Legiero, the proveditor, who commanded in chief, omitted nothing which became an experienced and good officer. The Turks, we are told, shot such quantities of arrows in the different assaults, that the garrison for months used no other fuel. The moats round the town were filled with heaps of slain, which produced a stench intolerable to the besiegers, and was one cause of Mahomet's relinquishing the enterprize: he made several attempts to cleanse the ditch, but was always attacked with so much resolution as obliged him to retire. At last, wearied out with the tediousness of the siege, and perceiving the great diminution of his army, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and broke up his camp with precipitation, the invincible garrison sallying out on his rear, and destroying multitudes of his troops[1]. Historians tell us that the siege lasted eight months, and cost Othoman no less than thirty thousand men, a number almost incredible, if we consider the small force of the garrison.

A.D. 1478.

*Difficult march of the Turks over the Alps.*

During the siege of Scutari, Mahomet detached a body of thirty thousand men to enter Italy by the fords of Lizonza; but finding these strictly guarded, the infidels turned towards Mesan, marching to the foot of the mountains, and proposing to enter Germany by paths thought impassable: they proceeded horse and foot, over preci-

[1] Sabel. lib. x. dec. ii. Coriolan. lib. iii. Baron.

pices

pices and mountains almoſt impracticable. Where the rocks were ſo ſteep as rendered it impoſſible for horſes either to mount or deſcend, they had recourſe to engines, by means of which the cavalry were drawn up or let down at pleaſure; a method which muſt have protracted their march to a great length, as their horſe amounted to twelve thouſand. Having thus conquered one part of the Alps, they deſcended to the foot of mount Cargna: where they received intelligence that the next mountain was defended by a great number of the natives, through which they muſt either fight their way or return. Determining upon the former they began climbing the mountains by means of hooks and grapples contrived for the purpoſe, at ſight of which, the natives were ſo terrified that they abandoned their poſts, leaving the Turks at liberty to purſue their march. In this manner did they enter Germany, where they committed horrid devaſtations.

Othoman, having raiſed the ſiege of Scutari, inveſted Liſſa, on the banks of the river Drimon, and took it, together with two Venetian gallies which lay in the harbour (H). Here commiſſioners were ſent to treat about peace, which at length was concluded, upon theſe conditions, that Scutari, together with Tenarus, a promontory in Laconia, ſhould be ceded to Othoman, and that the ſenate ſhould annually ſend him a tribute of eight thouſand crowns: he, on the other hand, granting the Venetian merchants particular commercial privileges within his dominions[m]. Scutari was accordingly ſurrendered, and of two thouſand men who compoſed the garriſon when the ſiege began, only four hundred and fifty remained: they choſe rather to abandon the town and ſeek their fortune in the Morea than live under Othoman, though, out of regard for their courage, he offered them very extraordinary and tempting immunities and rewards. *Peace with the Turks.*

The iſland of Zant was like to be the occaſion of renewing the war; the Turkiſh fleet having made a deſcent upon it, when Loretano the Venetian admiral coming up forced them to relinquiſh the enterprize. Otho-

[m] Baron. ibid. Sabel. ibid.

(H) He ordered all the priſoners, amounting to two thouſand, to be carried to Marbeg, and there maſſacred in cold blood.

man

man would have punished his officers for an infraction of the peace; but they excused themselves by affirming they were ignorant of the treaty [n].

Before the republic was clear of this dangerous war she found herself involved in another, in defence of the liberties of her ally the republic of Florence. The occasion was a conspiracy formed against the family of Medicis, by which Juliano de Medicis was murdered, and his brother Lorenzo in imminent danger of his life. Salveato, archbishop of Pisa, was the author of this plot; him the Florentines immediately hanged, and imprisoned a nephew of pope Sixtus, who was supposed to be a confederate in the conspiracy. The pope, enraged against the republic for the affront offered his nephew, first interdicted the Florentines, and then raised an army to inflict temporal punishment. Frederic of Urbino, and Alphonso, duke of Calabria, the inveterate enemies of Florence, were appointed generals, with orders to march directly into Tuscany [o]. The Florentines, finding themselves unable to cope with this powerful army, solicited the succour of the Venetians, which at that time they were not capable of affording in a manner suitable to their inclinations and the majesty of the republic: but the Turkish war being ended, next season they sent a powerful body of horse, under the conduct of Carolo Montone, to their assistance. Upon his death, which happened a few days after his arrival on the continent, Roberto Malatesta was appointed to the command: he crossed the lake Perugia, making furious incursions into the country of the Perusins, and taking several towns of small importance. About the middle of the summer, Malatesta meeting with the army under Mattheo Campana, governor of Rome and nephew to pope Sixtus, a bloody battle was fought near mount Sparalla. The victory was warmly disputed for the space of two hours; but the enemy's first line falling back, the whole army was put into confusion, and Malatesta left master of the field, their artillery, baggage, and a considerable number of prisoners: after this exploit he wasted the Perusin and Siennois territories, then returned into winter-quarters [p]. The Florentines were soon after defeated by the Neapolitan forces, an action which produced a peace, and oc-

*War with the pope.*

*Malatesta defeats the pope's army.*

[n] Sabell. ibid. vide sub Annot. [o] Baron. tom. viii. [p] Hist. des Papes.

casioned

casioned the republic of Venice to recall Malatesta and their army into Lombardy.

For the two following years we find the republic but little concerned in foreign transactions: her care was employed in relieving and alleviating domestic calamities. In the year 1480 a plague broke out with the utmost fury, sweeping off three hundred persons in a day, and desolating the city, till the severity of the winter checked its ravages. A dreadful fire, which consumed a great part of the doge's palace, St. Mark's church, and the great hall of the pregadi, with an infinite quantity of rich furniture and moveables, rendered the next year unfortunate [q]. As a small alleviation of these calamities the island of Coritia, or Veia, in Dalmatia, was annexed to the Venetian dominions: it had been given in the time of Riniero Zeno to count Schinchinello, surnamed Frangipane, whose posterity possessed the supreme jurisdiction for the space of two hundred years, acknowleging their tenure of the republic by a small tribute: they had afterwards, during the troubles in Dalmatia, been subject to a variety of masters; now, upon some disputes arising between Maerblaisius the prince and his people, he resolved to quit the authority and surrender the island into the hands of the Venetians, which design he executed, himself retiring to Venice, where he had a pension settled for life. The Hungarians made an attempt to seize on the island, but were frustrated by the arrival of Victor Souranza, who secured it to the republic [r].

*A plague at Venice.*

*A fire.*

*Coritia annexed to the dominions of the republic.*

A.D. 1482.

So extensive were the connections of the republic, that the Venetians did not remain long disengaged from foreign wars. A quarrel now arose with Hercules, duke of Ferrara, the particular cause of which it will be necessary to recite: Borsia, the father of Hercules, and indeed all the dukes of Ferrara, had for a series of years been closely cemented in interest and friendship with the republic. Hercules seemed to inherit the disposition of his predecessors, till his marriage with Leonora, daughter of king Ferdinand, had wrought a change in his sentiments, and produced a coldness towards the Venetians. The first action declarative of this alteration was the permitting the salt works at Commachia to be opened, contrary to an express treaty with the republic: he next laid a tax upon all Venetian merchandize imported into his

*Disputes with the duke of Ferrara.*

[q] Sanfov. Cron. Venet. hoc. An. Fougasses, tom. i. p. 498.

[r] Barre Hist. de Allem. sub.

dominions, though for time immemorial the commerce of the republic had been exempted from all impoſitions and duties. At laſt he proceeded to extremities, built a fort at Cap Dargre, a groſs infraction of the compact ſubſiſting with the Venetians; and, not contented with this inſtance of defiance, drove out of the city all the Venetians, ordering the biſhop at the ſame time to excommunicate the ſubjects of the republic. This extraordinary conduct can only be accounted for by aſcribing it to the influence of Leonora and the intrigues of Ferdinand [s]. The ſenate remonſtrated with Hercules, ſent frequent embaſſies to him, and even employed pope Sixtus to mediate the difference between the two ſtates; but every endeavour of their's was ſuperceded by the cunning of Leonora and pride of Hercules, who inſolently attributed the patience of the ſenate to puſillanimity. Violent debates upon his conduct aroſe in the ſenate; ſome were for bearing with every inſult rather than be provoked into a war, at a time when they dreaded the power of Othoman, and lived upon ſo precarious terms with the moſt powerful monarch in the univerſe: they likewiſe alleged the hazard of a war with a warlike prince, allied by blood and marriage to two formidable potentates, who would not fail to embrace his quarrel, as a fair opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the republic, whoſe proſperity they envied [t]. The majority however, were of a different opinion, and the republic determined to come to a rupture with Hercules. War was accordingly denounced, with the uſual ſolemnities, and the inclinations of the people were viſible in the univerſal joy with which this proof of the ſpirit of the republic was received [u].

*Debates in the ſenate concerning the meaſures to be taken with Hercules.*

*War declared againſt Ferrara.*

Two fleets were immediately equipped, one to enter the Po and the enemy's country, the other to keep Ferdinand in awe, and, if he took the field, to ravage the coaſts of Calabria and Apulia: this laſt was committed to Souranza, the conduct of the other to Damiano Moro, both officers of repute and experience. Two land armies were likewiſe raiſed to carry on the war on both ſides the Po: Malateſta commanded in chief, and under him Sanſeverino. Volunteers from all corners of Italy flocked to the Venetian ſtandards, and the levies were completed in a very ſhort. Sanſeverino, who commanded the army north of the Po, advanced into the enemy's country, and

[s] Bembo, lib. iii. p. 14. [t] Hiſt. Allem. tom. viii. p. 787.
[u] Bemb. lib. i. p. 18. etiam Fougaſſ. tom. i. p. 499.

immedi-

immediately laid siege to Mirasole on the Po: his army consisted of twenty thousand men, who assaulted the town so vigorously that the garrison made but a short defence [w]. Upon his approach the enemy abandoned Tracenta and other places, circumstances which encouraged Sanseverino to march to Castelnuovo, which he reduced in three days: here he received intelligence that a numerous army of the enemy lay at Ostiglia, under the command of Frederic of Urbino, appointed general of the Ferrarese and Arragonian forces. After having caused the causeways and banks between Mirasole and Ostiglia to be broke down, to prevent the incursions of the enemy, he invested Figarola [x].

While Sanseverino was engaged in this siege, the fleet under Moro took Hadria by scalade, and subdued in consequence Commachio and all the adjacent country. Moro had in his progress up the Po taken three forts, built to obstruct his passage: here likewise he defeated a body of forces, under the conduct of Sigismund d'Este, brother to Hercules, and Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna. Afterwards he joined the army at Figarola, and the place was invested by land and water, but powerfully supported by Frederic, encamped on the opposite side, who found means not only to annoy the Venetians with his artillery, but to supply the town plentifully with every necessary. We are told, that at this siege Frederic continued an incessant fire day and night from his artillery; upon which Sanseverino sent a trumpet acquainting him, that if he did not desist from so unusual a method of making war, he would turn his cannon upon his camp [y]. It was then agreed that Frederic should only serve his cannon while the Venetian batteries played upon the town. At last, after a great number of skirmishes between both camps, and a variety of assaults, the town was taken by storm, after having sustained a siege of six weeks: few prisoners were made, most of the garrison being killed in the action, or drowned endeavouring to escape [z]. As Sanseverino was repairing the walls, both he and Loretano the proveditor falling sick, were carried to Padua, where the latter expired: Moro too was forced to return for his health to Venice, and died. Indeed a prodigious mortality raged over the whole fleet and army, no less than A.D. 1482.

w Ibid. etiam Bemb. lib. i. x Fougass. tom. i. p. 499. Fougass. z Ibid. Bemb. lib. i.

fifteen thousand men having perished, of fluxes and fevers, during the campaign.

*The pope besieged in Rome.*

In the mean time the pope was besieged in Rome by Alphonso, duke of Calabria. This prince resolving to succour his brother-in-law Hercules, was under the necessity of marching through the pope's dominions: in this resolution he was strongly supported by the powerful families of the Colonesi and Savelli, who had long been the implacable enemies of the holy see. Two cardinals of these families were imprisoned by the pope's order: a circumstance that redoubled the diligence of their friends to assist Alphonso [a]. The pope, thus blocked up, wrote to the senate for succours: in consequence of which application Malatesta was ordered to march to Rome; Souranza had instructions to lay waste the coasts of Calabria and Apulia, and the Venetian ambassador at Rome was empowered to levy forces at the expence of the republic. Malatesta hastened by long marches to the capital, where, after an obstinate battle, he defeated Alphonso, and raised the siege. Here he died in a few days, of a fever occasioned by the fatigue he underwent during the engagement [b].

*Besiegers defeated by Malatesta.*

While the Venetians were gaining laurels in the pope's dominions, their officers were not idle on the Po: a detachment from Sanseverino's army, under his son Fracasso, in conjunction with Victor Souranzo, obtained a complete victory over Sigismund d'Este, making seventy officers of distinction prisoners, with a prodigious number of soldiers. Sanseverino himself, as soon as he recovered his health, returned to the army, and marching from Figarola, laid a bridge over the Po, and proceeded directly to Ferrara: encamping within a mile of the city, he repaired a fort the enemy had abandoned, drew lines of circumvallation, and the natural situation being strong, fortified them with so much art as not only secured his own camp from sallies, but greatly distressed Ferrara [c]. In this manner was Hercules inclosed within the walls of his capital, when Sixtus, unmindful of his late obligations to the republic, by an unaccountable policy, fell off from the Venetians, and joined the enemy. Francisco Diedo, the Venetian resident at Rome, soon perceived this alteration in his holiness, and acquainted the senate with his suspicions. Every expedient was employed to

A.D.1483.

*Conduct of pope Sixtus.*

[a] Bemb. lib. i. Hist. des Papes. p. 224. tom. iv. [b] Foug. lib. ii. dec. iv. [c] Card. Bem. ibid.

preserve

preſerve the friendſhip of Sixtus, but to no effect, his holineſs not only joining the enemy, but commanding the republic to lay down her arms and reſtore to Hercules all her conqueſts. Unwilling to loſe the fruits of a war undertaken with juſtice, deſirous of keeping upon terms with his holineſs, and likewiſe of ſhewing the world the motives of their conduct, the ſenate employed Bernardo Juſtiniano, the greateſt orator of his age, to draw up a memorial, to be preſented at all the foreign courts. This remonſtrance imported that they had declared war not only with the pope's conſent but at his inſtigation, and after they had received numberleſs injuries and affronts; that now they not only preferred peace to war but even to victory, could it be obtained on terms not injurious to the honour of the republic; that though the Venetians were willing to treat his holineſs with reſpect, yet they feared his conduct on this occaſion would be conſtrued into a cunning and ſubtle policy, unbecoming the ſimplicity and openneſs of the head of Chriſt's church; that while the Venetians, for twenty years, withſtood the weight of tbe Turkiſh power, not one Italian prince thought himſelf obliged to engage in a quarrel which affected his religion; now that property became the object in diſpute, they were ready to unite in oppreſſing that ſtate which had been the bulwark of the liberties of Italy. The ſenate requeſted of his holineſs diſpaſſionately to weigh theſe circumſtances, to follow the dictates of his own underſtanding, and not be miſled by the artifices of certain perſons, whoſe intereſt was the rule of their conduct. As to themſelves, they were determined to proſecute a war begun at his ſolicitation, and after repeated injuries; the event they committed to Providence.

Sixtus, inſtead of admitting or even deigning to anſwer their arguments, immediately excommunicated the ſenate, and entered into a cloſe alliance with Ferdinand and the other enemies of the republic. A congreſs was held at Caſtel Maggiore, and a ſtrong confederacy formed againſt the Venetians by all the powers in Italy, the Genoeſe excepted: the duke of Auſtria likewiſe favoured this alliance by denying a paſſage through his dominions to ſome French and Savoyards. who enliſted with René of Lorraine, at that time in the pay of Venice[d]. That prince ſtrengthened the Venetian army with one thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, and every other meaſure

*League formed againſt Venice.*

[d] Barre Hiſt. Allem. tom. viii. part i.

was pursued to oppose the formidable league: one part of the Venetian army marched into Lombardy, the other remaining before Ferrara, from whence two of Sanseverino's sons went over to the enemy. The afflicted father sent apologies to the senate, requesting that they would accept of the redoubled diligence of the parent, and fidelity of his two remaining children, in atonement of the treachery of his sons, whom he should ever disclaim. Perfectly satisfied of the innocence of Sanseverino, the senate sent messengers to comfort and assure him of their continued esteem and affection [e].

Alphonso, in the mean time, throwing a bridge over the river beyond Cassan, entered Ghiradadda and passed to the Bergamasco, where he took several towns, and then reduced all the Brescian country. Sanseverino's army was greatly inferior; so that he neither could venture a battle, nor cover all the towns of consequence to the republic [f]. Barbaro, son to the famous Francisco of that name, was sent, however, to secure Brescia, all the surrounding territory being entirely reduced by the enemy, whose forces were considerably augmented by the junction of the prince of Mantua.

*Lissa taken by the enemy's fleet.*

During these transactions forty of the enemy's gallies, under Frederic of Arragon, son to Ferdinand, took Lissa, on the coast of Dalmatia; then sailing to Corfu made several fierce attacks on the island, but were always repelled by the bravery of Georgio Viari and the garrison. At last, having lost about one thousand men to no purpose, Frederic retired; but neither by sea nor land did a general action happen during the campaign, which was spent in marches, counter-marches, and sieges, without any considerable progress. The loss of Gazolo, indeed, gave the republic uneasiness, as it was a place of importance; she confided in the fidelity of the inhabitants, and was betrayed [g].

Alphonso, pressed by repeated letters to come to the relief of Ferrara, quitted the Brescian by long marches, but was outstripped by the vigilance of Sanseverino, who arrived at Castelnuovo before the enemy imagined he had moved: here he put his army into quarters and went to Venice, where he was received with great honour; but before his departure he recovered all the towns the enemy had taken that campaign between the Po and the

[e] Foug. lib. ii. dec. iv. [f] Bemb. lib. i. [g] Foug. lib. ii. dec. iv. Bemb. lib. i.

Brescian,

Breſcian. The ſenate likewiſe beſtowed very conſiderable favours on the Roſſi of Parma, who had bravely maintained their ground againſt Lodovico Sforza. As they were then baniſhed their country, a penſion of thirty-two thouſand crowns was ſettled on the two brothers Guido and Giacomo [h].

On this occaſion the ſenate, by the advice of Sanſeverino, ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor, the French king, and the German princes, to requeſt that a general council might be called, in order that the unjuſt conduct and perfidy of Sixtus might be examined. By their mediation peace was eſtabliſhed about the middle of the following ſummer, previous to which, Marcello, the Venetian admiral, took Gallipoli, in which enterprize he loſt his life. He was animating the troops in the ſcalade, praiſing the valiant, and upbraiding the backward, when he dropt; his ſecretary threw a cloak over his body, and gave out that Marcello was ſlightly hurt and gone to be dreſſed, and that he had authorized him to aſſure the ſoldiers the plunder of the city ſhould be the reward of their bravery. In ſhort, the town was taken, and the garriſon without diſtinction put to the ſword; nor was Marcello's death known before the place had ſurrendered [i]. *Gallipoli taken.*

A. D. 1484.

Other actions of leſs conſequence happened by land before the preliminaries of peace were adjuſted: at laſt it was agreed, that the Venetians and Hercules ſhould each reſtore their conqueſts, and be reinſtated in the ſame poſſeſſions they held at the commencement of the rupture [k]; that the Venetians ſhould withdraw all their garriſons ſouth of the Po, and raze the forts built on the banks of the river; and, that Sanſeverino ſhould remain in the pay of the republic, and at the ſame time be acknowleged the commander in chief of the forces of all the Italian ſtates. This agreement being ratified, the different armies were recalled, and the appearance of tranquillity reſtored to Italy. One may judge of the importance of this ſhort war from the charges to which it put the Venetians in little more than two years: the ſum of three million ſix hundred thouſand ducats in gold, an immenſe ſum at that early period [l], was diſburſed by the treaſury. Great rejoicings were made, not only in the city but over all the dominions of the republic: tourna- *Peace between the Venetians and Italian princes.*

[h] Ibid. etiam Barre. Hiſt. Allem. ibid. dec. iv. [i] Foug. lib. iii. [k] Barre. Hiſt. Allem. tom. viii. [l] Sanſov. Cron. Venet.

ments and games of various kinds were held at Venice, to which the young princes flocked from all parts of Italy. Upon the whole, this war, which might be deemed a kind of civil war, on account of the long friendship subsisting between the state of Venice and Ferrara, ended more happily than could have been expected.

Peace being restored, the doge applied his attention to civil affairs, and repairing the palace, greatly damaged by a fire that happened the beginning of this year. A plague likewise committed great ravages in the city; but all the losses of the republic were soon made up by a short interval of peace, the whole commerce of the world being in a manner engrossed by this industrious people. Every port of Europe, Asia, and Africa, was filled with their ships, laden with the richest merchandize, and the Venetians were without dispute the richest and most potent maritime state in the universe. Even during their fiercest wars commerce flourished; nothing could make them neglect what they well knew to be the pillar and support of their government and consideration in Europe[m]. Yet, amidst profound tranquillity the Venetian trade met with a rough check and very considerable loss: four gallies returning from the East, laden with spices, silks, and diamonds, young Columbus, son of the famous Genoese mariner, attacked them with seven men of war, off Cape Vincent. A bloody battle was maintained, notwithstanding the disparity of forces; but the Venetians were forced in the end to yield to the enemy's superiority, who carried them into Lisbon. We are not told whether the encounter happened in consequence of any commercial quarrel, or whether it was an act of piracy in Columbus[n]: nor do we find that the republic ever resented it, or even demanded reparation of the wrong; the bare fact is all that Sabellicus relates.

*Battle with young Columbus.*

A D 1485. Towards the end of this year died Giovanni Mocenigo, a prince endued with every quality to make his people happy: his virtues were similar to those of his brother[o]; his capacity little inferior, and his reputation equal.

## *MARCO BARBARIGO, Doge LXXIII.*

*Marco Barbarigo.* MARCO BARBARIGO was chosen by the senate to succeed Giovanni: he was equally beloved while a pri-

[m] Foug. lib. iii. dec. iv. [n] Foug. ibid. [o] Sanfov. delle Vit. de Princip. p. 244.

vate

vate citizen, and reſpected during the ſhort period of his adminiſtration. The republic enjoying a happy repoſe, he employed his whole time in enforcing the laws, relieving the poor, encouraging virtue and merit, and ſuppreſſing vice and indolence. Amidſt theſe acts of piety and good government he was ſeized with a fever, which cut him off in a few days, and left the republic to lament the loſs of thoſe bleſſings they had but juſt taſted. One act of his adminiſtration, in favour of the poor, deſerves to be particularly mentioned: he got a decree paſſed, that all thoſe, of whatever quality, who demanded the redreſs of grievances, ſhould caſt lots whoſe ſuits ſhould be firſt preſented. By this method he prevented bribery, corruption, and influence, and put the poor, in points of juſtice, upon a level with the richeſt [p].

## *AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Doge LXXIV.*

THE ſenate having met for the election of a ſucceſſor, Agoſtino Barbarigo, brother to the deceaſed, was choſen in his room; a promotion extremely acceptable to the people, as Agoſtino was the perfect archetype of his brother. He was at this time procurator of St. Mark's, an office which he diſcharged with a fidelity and integrity auſpicious of his good conduct in a higher capacity. His firſt act was to ſend an embaſſy to the grand ſeignor, to thank him for preſents made to the republic a little before the death of his brother, and likewiſe to procure ſome privileges for the merchants of the ſtate trading to the Turkiſh dominions [q].

A.D.1486.

*Agoſtino Barbarigo.*

While he was thus engaged a quarrel aroſe between Sigiſmund, brother to the emperor Frederic, and the republic. Sigiſmund was lord of the country of the Griſons, and had for a number of years lived upon terms of ſtrict friendſhip with the Venetians: merchants traded into the cities of each without impoſt or duty, and particularly met at an annual fair kept in Bolzano, a town of the Griſons, to which numbers of the Venetian inland traders reſorted. Here they were this year, all of a ſudden, contrary to their eſtabliſhed correſpondence and the law of nations, ſeized, impriſoned, and their goods confiſcated, without any other reaſon aſſigned than that the ſubjects of Sigiſmund on the lake La Garda were ſome years before driven from thence by the Venetians.

A.D.1487.

*War with the Griſons.*

[p] Sanſov. ibid. [q] Foug. lib. iii. dec. iv.

Imme-

Immediately after the imprisonment of the Venetian merchants, Sigismund levied troops with all expedition, to the amount of ten thousand men, entered the Veronese, and over-ran the country along the Adice: the enemy were commanded by Gaudentio Amasio, who laid siege to Rovero, and took it after some resistance. We are told he laid the fort in ashes by means of bombs, at that time not much known in Italy [r].

The senate, to oppose this army, ordered the soldiers quartered in the Trevisan, Lombardy, and Friuli, to assemble, and requested of old Sanseverino to take charge of the army. Before he could get together a force sufficient to oppose the enemy, the Grisons had made incursions into the territories of Vincenza, Feltre, and Friuli: they were at last repulsed, and their detachments defeated by Jeronimo Savorgnano, who had raised a body of peasants for the defence of the country. Sanseverino no sooner joined the army than he entered upon action; but a detachment, which he commanded in person, falling into an ambuscade, was defeated, and himself saved by the bravery of his son from being taken prisoner [s]. Upon this check, he resolved to march into the enemy's country, and lay siege to Trente, which he doubted not would put an effectual stop to the enemy's incursions into the Venetian territories, by recalling them to the defence of their own country. The scheme, however, though plausible, was warmly opposed by old Lucca Pisani the proveditor: but as a majority consented, the resolution was taken, and the army ordered to proceed to the country of the Grisons. On his march he was attacked and his army surprised by a thousand regulars and a large corps of boors, assembled by George, count Pietro. The soldiers not expecting to see the face of an enemy for several days were put into confusion, and Sanseverino was killed in endeavouring to rally them. Thus died the brave old Sanseverino, one of the best and most faithful officers the republic ever employed. In this instance his good fortune seemed to forsake him, though not his courage, for he fell with his sword in his hand, fighting with the vigour and spirit of youth, at the age of ninety [t]. His death produced a total rout: the panic became general; nor could all the skill and diligence of the proveditors bring the soldiers back to their colours, or

A.D. 1488.

*Sanseverino's death, and the army fly in a panic.*

[r] Foug. lib. iv. dec. iv. [s] Ibid. p. 522. [t] Foug. lib. iv. dec. iv.

withstand

withstand the charge of a militia not sufficient to encounter one-fourth of their army. Andrea de Bargo, colonel of infantry, imagined that cutting the bridge and stopping their progress would, from necessity, recall their courage and presence of mind; this service he performed to the almost utter destruction of the army, though well and prudently intended; for so great was the consternation of the troops that they plunged into the water, and lost their lives endeavouring to escape by swimming [u]. Guido de Rossis alone, with his troop of horse, withstood the enemy: he made his way through the thickest of their ranks with about fifty men, and ravaging their country returned home loaded with plunder [w]. As for Bargo, he was recalled and imprisoned; but Guido and other officers appearing in his defence, and giving testimony of his bravery and diligence, he was not only reinstated but promoted. Orders for new levies were now issued by the senate; but before they were complete a peace was offered by Sigismund, and accepted by the republic, on condition, that the merchants seized at Bolzano should be set at liberty and indemnified, and that mutual restitution should be made of places taken during the war [x].

*Peace with Sigismund.*

Soon after this pacification, several sumptuary laws took place in Venice, the expences of private families in their table, cloaths, diversions, gaming, and travelling, were rated by a decree of the senate, in proportion to the ability of the individual. The regulation concerning dice was, that no family of the highest distinction and fortune should presume to stake above a fifth of an ounce of gold in one night [y].

This year likewise it was that the senate resolved in a manner to annex Cyprus to the dominions of the republic, by sending Cornaro to assist the queen his sister in her affairs. Two circumstances in fact determined the senate in their intention. The first was a Turkish fleet that sailed up the Mediterranean, creating suspicion that Bajazet formed designs upon the island: the other arose from secret intelligence, that Ferdinand was taking measures to annex this kingdom to his own dominions, by a marriage between the queen and his son. The senate had been left protectors of the queen, by James Lusignan her husband. Under their countenance she had gone-

[u] Bemb. lib. i.
[w] Foug. ibid. etiam Bemb. p. 31.
[x] Foug. lib. iv. dec. iv.
[y] Bemb. lib. i.

verned

verned peaceably for the ſpace of fifteen years, the firſt commotions quelled by Mocenigo excepted. As her only ſon was dead, the republic looked upon herſelf as the natural ſucceſſor of a queen who was daughter to one of her ſenators: thus, it was the buſineſs of the ſenate to exclude both Bajazet and Ferdinand, for which purpoſe Franciſco Priuli was ſent with a fleet to the defence of the iſland. Cornaro went before, and, exceeding his commiſſion, prevailed on the queen by his eloquence to relinquiſh the government to the ſenate, and return to her native country Venice, where ſhe ſhould always live with the dignity and affluence of a ſovereign [z]. The queen unwillingly aſſented to his arguments, and every thing was fixed for their departure: he diſpatched intelligence of his ſucceſs to the ſenate, who, approving his conduct, ſent rich preſents to the queen, and whatever could ſweeten the reſignation ſhe had made of pomp and grandeur. Before ſhe left Cyprus, the Venetian ſtandard was erected in the market-place of Nicoſia, the capital, by her orders; and thus the iſland became a Venetian province. At laſt ſhe arrived in Venice with a large retinue, and was met by the ſenate and chief ladies of the republic, who conducted her to the palace, where ſhe was entertained with the ſtate and magnificence her quality required. Soon after a houſhold was appointed her, and the caſtle of Azolo in the Treviſan, aſſigned for her reſidence, with a revenue of fifty pounds of gold for her yearly expence, and a preſent of ten pounds for her immediate uſe [a].

*Cyprus annexed to the ſtate.*

A.D.1490. In the courſe of this year, ambaſſadors from the prince of Tremizan, in Africa, came to Venice to deſire the ſenate would appoint a magiſtrate to diſtribute juſtice among the Venetians dwelling in three of his cities, leſt he ſhould be led into differences with the republic from ſuch inadvertencies or omiſſions as might ariſe from his ignorance of their laws. A magiſtrate, was accordingly appointed, and his revenue fixed at an hundredth part of all the merchandize ſold in that country.

About the ſame time the uſe of firelocks was introduced in Venice; and, for inſtructing the youth in the exerciſe, the council of ten paſſed a decree that two in each village ſhould be taught the manual exerciſe and evolutions; that theſe young men ſhould all meet on certain days to give proofs of their progreſs, by firing at a mark;

[z] Foug. et Bemb. ibid. [a] Bemb. lib. i.

and

and that the public taxes for that year should be remitted to the village of the best marksman, and a sum of money given him besides [b]. Little occurs deserving notice for the space of four or five years, except that the republic was daily growing in wealth, grandeur, and power. The discoveries of the Portuguese in 1494, round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, opened the way for the gradual decline of the Venetian commerce, but it did not become apparent for a number of years: at present the sea was covered, and all the harbours in the world crowded with the trading ships of the republic [c].

While she was reaping the benefits of her long tranquillity, an embassy from Charles VIII. of France came to Venice, to sound the inclinations of the republic, and demand the continuance of the league subsisting between the states, as he proposed marching into Italy to reduce Naples. The doge and senate assembled the great council to deliberate upon an affair of so much consequence: they foresaw that Italy must be wholly embroiled, and were willing to act with caution in a business so delicate. At last, after various debates, a kind of equivocal answer was returned to the ambassador, and he was dismissed, with strong assurances of the desire the republic had to live upon terms of amity with the king [d].

The report of Charles's intention made Ferdinand use every possible measure for his own defence: he levied troops, equipped a fleet, and did all in his power to draw pope Alexander into his alliance. Ferdinand was so expeditious in his preparations, that Lodovico Sforza, who excited Charles to this attempt, fearing he might be oppressed before the king could enter Italy, sent an envoy to Venice, requesting that the senate would march a body of troops to the river Oglio; but this minister was dismissed with mere professions [e]. Mean time Ferdinand died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Alphonso: he immediately upon his accession dispatched an embassy to the republic, to solicit their influence with Lodovico to desist from joining the French, and promising in return to leave him the undisturbed possession of Milan. The senate undertook to mediate, but could obtain no direct answer from Lodovico.

Many attempts were made by both parties to engage the Venetians in the quarrel, but they were deaf to all

[b] Foug. lib. iv. dec. iv. etiam Bemb. lib. i. [c] Bemb. lib. i. Foug. lib. iv. dec. iv. [d] Bemb. lib. i. Commines. tom. i. p. 56. [e] Bemb. lib. ii.

arguments

arguments and promises. Charles, by his ambassador, Philip de Commines, offered them a great share of the conquests he should make in Naples, if they would join him; but the senate replied, they had no right to a foot of ground in Naples, and it was their determination to adhere to the just maxim of their ancestors, never to carry on war for conquests, but to repel injuries, protect their liberties, and maintain their alliances [f]. It would be digressing from our purpose to pursue Charles in his conquest of Naples: it is enough to observe that the republic preserved a strict neutrality till the great power of France rendered it necessary to throw their weight in the opposite scale. Some haughty expressions the king dropt before the ambassadors of the republic, made them conclude it was full time to check his progress before he should be in a condition to over-run Italy. The purposes of the senate were greatly forwarded by the arrival of a Spanish armament, under Lorenzo Suarez, at Leghorn, for the defence of Sicily: this fleet consisted of sixty ships of war, having on board six thousand foot and five hundred horse. Suarez went in person to the Venetian senate and told them, "that the king his master, sensible of the ambition and power of the French king, had sent him with a fleet for the defence of Sicily: he was well assured that Charles would not stop at the reduction of Naples, if effectual measures were not taken to clip his wings and bound his ambition: his master, he added, authorised him to enter into an alliance with the republic, with whose wisdom he was too well acquainted to imagine she could be blind to the necessity of opposing a prince who measured right only by power." The senate lent a willing ear to Suarez [g]: such an alliance they saw was necessary for the security of Italy; they likewise knew that the pope was of their opinion, and that the emperor and duke of Milan might easily be induced to engage in the league against the French monarch. At last, in the month of April, 1495, a treaty was concluded between the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, Venetians, and the duke of Milan, with so much secrecy, that Philip de Commines, who resided the whole time in Venice, had not the least suspicion of the negociation [h].

*Treaty with the emperor, Spain, the pope, &c.*

It was stipulated among the confederates, that an army of twenty thousand foot and thirty-four thousand horse

[f] Bemb. lib. ii. [g] Foug. lib. v. dec. iv. [h] Commines, p. 67.

should

ſhould be raiſed, according to a ſtipulated proportion [n]. It was farther agreed, that if any of the contracting powers, by reaſon of their diſtance, found it inconvenient to ſend the forces ſtipulated, that in this caſe ſix hundred pounds of gold for eight thouſand, and the ſame proportion for a leſſer number, ſhould be paid to any of the other ſtates who would undertake to raiſe the trooops [o]. Charles had determined upon returning to France before he had intelligence of the league, but this haſtened his meaſures; he accordingly ſet out for Rome in a few days after, and from thence ſent an envoy to Venice to demand whether the ſenate was his friends or enemies. To this queſtion no other anſwer were given, than that wiſe men were directed by contingencies; and that it was in his majeſty's power to make the Venetians either the one or the other [p].

Charles was highly incenſed at the pope's departure from Rome, and his equivocal conduct; nevertheleſs, he paſſed through the territories of the church in a friendly manner, excepting at Tuſcanella, where the inhabitants were put to the ſword for refuſing quarters to his army: he likewiſe ſeized on Oſtiglia, and thereby gave great offence to the Venetians, and quickened their preparations. Antonio Grimani with the fleet, had orders to ſail directly for Apulia, and preparations were made in Lombardy to obſtruct the king's return and protect Milan. Gallas of St. Saverini was detached by Lodovico with ſeven hundred men at arms and three thouſand foot, to ſeize upon Aſti in Piedmont, where the duke of Orleans, with a ſmall corps lay; but, before his arrival, the duke received powerful ſuccours from France, acted offenſively, and took ſeveral towns [q].

In the mean time the vanguard of the king's army had reached Pontremo, and the Venetian and Milaneſe troops, to the number of eight thouſand infantry and two thouſand light horſe, were aſſembled in the duchy of Parma, under young Gonzaga of Mantua, a prince of conduct and valour ſuperior to his years. Here the king ſent a trumpet to the confederates, deſiring a free paſſage, and aſſuring them of the ſtricteſt regularity and diſcipline among his troops; but no reply was made to the meſſage. The Taro, a rapid ſtream, fortified on one ſide by the confederates with a number of batteries, ſeparated the

*The confederates deſign to hem Charles up at Aſti, and prevent his return.*

[n] Bemb. lib. ii. [o] Guicciard. lib. i. [p] Bemb. lib. ii.
[q] Bemb. ibid.

two

two armies, when Charles, unwilling to engage before he had tried the effects of a conference, sent a trumpet desiring a meeting with the Venetian proveditors. The conference was agreed to, but Charles, altering his purpose, did not chuse to wait the issue[r]: he ordered his van to pass the river, in spite of the enemy's fire from the opposite batteries. John Trivulcio, with a hundred lances, three thousand Swiss infantry, and three hundred archers and cross-bows on horseback, formed the van; Charles in person commanded the main body, which followed, and the count de Foix brought up the rear. Before Trivulcio had crossed the river and advanced to the right of the confederates, Gonzaga, at the head of five thousand infantry and six hundred men at arms, passed by a ford higher up, in order to attack the king's rear, ordering certain corps, under the proveditors, to charge him in flank[s]: this motion obliged the French to face about, when immediately a sharp action began. Gonzaga pressed on with great resolution, and was as bravely received and repulsed in several charges; but still renewing his attacks the enemy was put into some confusion, and the king's person was greatly endangered. Charles, however, was saved by the intrepidity and gallant conduct of his troops, who flocked round for his defence; so that here the battle was pretty equal. On the other side the marquis de Giës put the confederates in disorder, and would have totally defeated them, had not Gonzaga in time repassed the Taro and come to their relief[t]. Here the battle ceased, victory declaring for neither side, though the king's intention of crossing the Taro was frustrated. Next morning he proposed attacking the confederates in their camp, but was prevented by the violent rains which swelled the river in the night, and likewise by the advice of his officers, who thought it more advisable to march round, notwithstanding the inconveniences of the roads. This resolution was accordingly executed, his majesty decamping without beat of drum[u]. In the action the loss of the confederates amounted to three thousand infantry, and near three hundred men at arms; a circumstance which gave the French room to claim the victory, as their loss did not exceed two hundred men at arms. On the other hand, the Venetians formed the same pretensions, and challenged the glory of the day, because, besides the

A.D. 1496.

*Both sides lay claim to a victory.*

[r] Guicciard. lib. i. [s] Ibid. lib. ii. [t] Ibid. etiam Bemb. lib. ii. [u] Guic. ibid.

king's

king's being diſappointed in his deſign of croſſing the Taro, they had not only ſaved their own camp and baggage, but taken a conſiderable booty from the enemy, ſome rich apparel of the king's, and part of his artillery. Baronius taxes the republic with vanity on this occaſion [w], though we think very unjuſtly, as they undoubtedly had an equal claim with Charles to the victory, which is not always to be eſtimated by the number of ſlain, but a variety of other circumſtances and conſequences.

The confederates ſent a detachment of three thouſand men, under Sanſeverino, to moleſt the enemy's rear, but being forced to take a long circuit, as the river was not fordable from the late rains, he came up too late. Suſpicions concerning his fidelity aroſe, and ſome hiſtorians affirm, that, inſtead of annoying, he actually conducted Charles to Aſti, through the difficult paſſes and roads he had to encounter. It afterwards appeared that he acted in conſequence of ſecret orders from Lodovico, who began to waver in his alliance, and carry on a clandeſtine correſpondence with the king [x]. Gonzaga, however, as ſoon as the river was fordable, marched in purſuit of the enemy with his whole army; as he found he could not come up with them, he returned from the Tortoneſe, and joined Lodovico Sforza before Novara. The ſenate ſent two proveditors to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Novara, and a ſtrong reinforcement, ſo that the army amounted to three thouſand men at arms, three thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot [y].

During this ſiege the Venetian fleet at Genoa was ſucceſsful: it not only took Rappalla, putting the French garriſon to the ſword, but defeated the king's fleet, which he had ſent thither on his departure from Naples. This defeat, and his inability to relieve Novara, obliged Charles to make overtures of peace; for which purpoſe commiſſioners met, and, after a number of difficulties and obſtructions, ſigned a treaty between Charles and Lodovico. The Venetians complained loudly of Sforza's conduct in concluding a ſeparate peace, after they had refuſed hearkening to any propoſals without the conſent of their allies: they called him treacherous, perfidious, undeſerving of allies, and unworthy to be truſted. Lodovico, ſtung with the reproaches which were but too juſtly levelled, gave ſecret orders to the garriſons in thoſe places

*Peace between Charles and Sforza.*

[w] Baron. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. dec. iv. [x] Bemb lib. ii. [y] Foug.

*Sforza's treachery.*

through which the army of the republic were to pass, to block up the way, and prevent their return. Intelligence of this scheme coming to Contareni, he offered the council of ten to assassinate Lodovico in open council; but the republic rejected this proposal, as reflecting upon the honour of the state, and gave instructions that he should temporize with him until he got out of his dominions: this expedient was accordingly used so artfully, that the army arrived unmolested at Mantua, and then proceeded to Venice [d].

Charles had not left Naples long before Ferdinand returned to Calabria, and seized the city of Reggio. Grimani, the Venetian admiral, conquered Apulia, and some towns in the Hither Calabria, which success soon produced a general revolt in favour of Ferdinand. The senate, apprized of these transactions, sent orders to Grimani to wait inactive at Monopoli until farther orders; but the pope's influence prevailed upon them, a little after, to send the admiral to Naples to assist Ferdinand [e]. As Grimani was taken ill about the time he received these instructions, he contented himself with dispatching twenty gallies to assist at the siege of Tarentum; and, upon his recovery, sailed with the rest of the fleet to Corfu, it being suspected that the Turkish armaments were intended against that island.

About the same time the Pisans sent ambassadors to Venice, to beseech the protection of the republic against the Florentines, who were preparing to reduce them. The senators were divided in sentiment concerning this proposal, some not chusing to come to an open rupture with Florence; while others, moved either with compassion, or actuated by ambition, were for granting the request. Pisa, indeed, stood extremely convenient for extending the dominions of the state, gaining a sure footing in Tuscany, and stretching the boundaries of the republic as far as the Mediterranean sea, the gulf of Genoa, and the whole breadth of Italy. The latter opinion, for these reasons prevailed, and the manner of assisting the Pisans was referred to the determination of the council of ten.

Before any measures were formed by the council, the senate received ambassadors from the pope, requesting they would order part of the army, which had returned from the siege of Novara, to assist Ferdinand in expelling the French out of his dominions; in consideration of

[d] Bemb. lib. ii. [e] Foug. lib. v. dec. iv.

which

which aſſiſtance certain ſea-port towns ſhould be ceded to the republic; but neither did this embaſſy meet with immediate ſucceſs. At laſt Ferdinand's ambaſſadors, under the mediation of the pope, the emperor, and king of Spain, concluded an alliance with the Venetians, in which it was ſtipulated, that Brunduſium Trani, and Ottranto ſhould be annexed to the Venetian dominions, on condition the republic would ſend ſix hundred men at arms and three thouſand foot, to act under Ferdinand, and beſides, give him, by way of loan, one hundred and fifty pounds in gold. Commiſſioners were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the towns, and orders iſſued to Gonzaga of Mantua to lead the troops into Naples[f].

Charles, hearing of this league, ſent Philip de Commines to Venice, to demand the reſtitution of Monopoli, and remonſtrate to the ſenate on the late alliance with Ferdinand, contrary to the peace with him; for the Venetian proveditors being preſent at the concluſion of the agreement between him and Sforza, he included the republic in that treaty; but Commines was diſmiſſed with an unſatisfactory anſwer.

*Treaty for protection of the Piſans.*

Lodovico Sforza having intimation that the ſenate reſolved to protect Piſa, petitioned that he might be admitted as an aſſociate in the defence of this city: accordingly a treaty was concluded between the pope, the Venetians, and Lodovico; in conſequence of which the republic ordered two thouſand foot to be raiſed in Genoa and ſent to Piſa. The Florentines hoping to become maſters of the city before the allied army could be aſſembled, ſent ſix thouſand foot, one thouſand horſe, and a fine train of artillery, to inveſt it; but the Piſans ſallying out upon them before the trenches were opened, defeated and diſperſed the Florentine army[g].

Soon after Paolo Vitelli, deſerting the Piſans, was appointed to the command of a freſh army, raiſed by the enemy, amounting to ten thouſand men, with orders immediately to reſume the ſiege of Piſa; but the Venetians were ſo vigilant in the defence of the city, and Pietro de Medicis, then baniſhed, advancing with a powerful force againſt Florence, the army was recalled before it had made any conſiderable progreſs[h]. Piſa was ſcarce delivered from the impending ſtorm, when the ſenate received Faenza into their protection; a little ſtate well ſituated

[f] Guicciard. lib. ii. Bemb. lib. ii. [g] Foug. lib. vi. dec. iv.
[h] Bemb. lib. ii.

to check the Florentines, Bolognese, and the other powers of Romagnia.

A.D.1497. Charles, finding himself in danger of losing Naples, proposed returning in person with a powerful army into Italy; intelligence of which design being received, greatly perplexed Sforza, Ferdinand, and the Venetians [i]. Sforza, who was most exposed, took every measure for his own defence; he dispatched ambassadors to Maximilian the emperor, and to the senate of Venice, desiring their immediate assistance. The senate agreed to send troops to Alexandria, but raised scruples concerning the emperor's detaching forces into Italy: they knew that Maximilian was no friend to the republic, and dreaded the consequence of granting him a passage through their territories; yet fearing that the refusal might induce the timid Lodovico to enter into a treaty with Charles, they consented that an embassy should go to the emperor, to settle this affair [k].

To pass over circumstances in which the republic was not immediately concerned, Ferdinand, assisted by the Venetians, laid close siege to Atello, the garrison of which was driven to great extremities for want of water; at last it surrendered upon honourable terms. This success was followed by the reduction of several other places, in which the republic bore a considerable share. Ferdinand in the mean time dying, his uncle Frederic, a prince much beloved, was crowned, and he having no enmity to France, the war in Naples in a manner ceased, after Tarentum had yielded to the Venetian fleet [l].

The strong Venetian garrison in Pisa excited the jealousy of Sforza, who, by this circumstance, saw himself deprived of the dominion of a city he had spent so much labour to acquire. He began to vent his spleen by secret practices against the republic, endeavouring to bring the pope and the king of Spain to use their influnce that the Pisans might be restored to their liberty; but in this he was disappointed, neither his holiness nor the Spaniards chusing to hazard the loss of the Venetian friendship by such a proposition: however, he so far prevailed, that a congress was held, at which attended the Spanish, Venetian, Florentine, and Milanese ambassadors, with the pope's legate, but nothing was determined.

[i] Commines, p. 98. [k] Bemb. lib. ii. [l] Foug. lib. vi. dec. iv.

Lewis

Lewis XII. of France, who succeeded Charles, having resolved upon pursuing his claim not only to Naples but to the duchy of Milan, to which he was heir by his grandmother, sent ambassadors to the pope, the Venetians, and Florentines, to acquaint them with his accession to the crown, and desire their friendship; which compliment the Venetians returned with a congratulatory embassy, and strong assurances of the good disposition of the republic. They had now attained to the height of glory; caressed, esteemed, and feared by their neighbours, and respected by the kings of France, Spain, the emperor, and even the grand Turk, who had often experienced the power and valour of their fleets: ambassadors came to Venice from Matthias, king of Hungary, to contract an alliance with the republic, a request which the senate readily granted. Thus were they courted and solicited by the greatest monarchs [m].

*Lewis XII. of France claims Naples and Milan.*

Lodovico, in the mean time, envying their prosperity, and jealous of their growing interest in Tuscany, resolved to declare openly in behalf the Florentines against the Venetians and Pisans: he even prevailed on the pope to promise to join him with one hundred men at arms, and send a squadron of three gallies to block up Pisa by sea, and prevent the city's receiving succours and provisions. His holiness never, however, performed his engagements, from an apprehension of quarrelling with the republic; but Lodovico began to declare himself, by denying the Venetian troops, which were ordered to Pisa, a passage through his dominions, and obliging them to go round by Ferrara. He next prevailed upon the emperor to take some resolutions opposite to the interest of the republic: then he induced Giovanni Bentivoglio and the Bolognese to contract an alliance with him, and extorted a promise from the republic of Lucca not to join the Venetians [n].

*Sforza declares for the Florentines.*

During these transactions Lewis of France was making preparations to invade Milan. In this enterprize he hoped for the assistance of the Venetians, who he knew bore a mortal grudge to Lodovico; nor was he disappointed in his hope, for the republic readily executed a treaty with his ambassadors. It was stipulated that the king should invade the duchy of Milan on the side of Piedmont, while the Venetians attacked it on that of the Parmesan; and, the Milanese being reduced, the territory of Ghiradadda and the Cremonese should be ceded to the

*Treaty between Lewis and the Venetians.*

[m] Bemb. lib. iii. [n] Foug. lib. vi. dec. iv.

republic, on condition that, for a time specified, they should support the king with a certain number of forces. This contract was made so secretly, that it was some time before either the pope or Sforza could learn the particulars [o].

When Lodovico got intimation of this unexpected alliance, he was quite thunderstruck; but resolving to withstand the Venetians by any means, he secretly dispatched an envoy to Constantinople, to excite the grand seignor against the republic [p]. By some means the senate got notice of Sforza's intentions, and hearing that the Turks were preparing a great fleet, sent Zancani, a senator, to the Porte, to sound the emperor's designs, and renew the treaty with the grand seignor. Zancani was well received, and, the better to deceive him, the treaty was renewed, but in Latin, a language by which the Turk did did not think himself bound. The ambassador was soon informed of this part of the Mohammedan religion by Gritti, a Venetian, who had long resided in Constantinople; he therefore laboured with all his might to have the treaty executed in the Turkish language, but was disappointed [q]. Sforza likewise, by means of Hercules d'Este, endeavoured to reconcile the Venetians and Florentines, hoping, by this mediation, to moderate the indignation of the republic. To secure the success of his scheme he acquainted the Florentines, that as Lewis was preparing to invade his dominions, he should be under the necessity of recalling, for his own defence, those forces which acted against Pisa. D'Este attended the congress in person, and was made umpire of the differences between the Venetians, Florentines, and Pisans; but his decision proving unsatisfactory to all parties, the congress came to nothing. The Pisans, however, were so offended with the republic for some concessions unfavourable to them, that they took the guard of the city from the Venetian troops, and even obliged them to quit Pisa.

In the mean time Trivulcio had assembled a considerable army for the French king, about Piedmont, and that monarch was come to Lyons in his way to Italy, whence he sent an envoy to the senate, with orders that he should attend the Venetian army wherever it marched. Great honours were conferred on the French minister: he was presented with a fine horse richly caparisoned, and two

*French and Venetian army assembles.*

[o] Guicciard. lib. iv. [p] Foug. lib. vii. dec. iv. [q] Bemb. lib. iii.

pounds

pounds of gold, together with a complete field equipage [r]. Then the army, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand foot and an equal number of horſe, was directed to begin their march. Alviana had the command, who, croſſing the Oglio, entered the enemy's country, and ſoon reduced a number of towns and forts: at laſt, advancing to Caravaggio, he took it by aſſault, together with ſeveral other places on the river Adda. Lodovico began to tremble for his dominions; and diſpatched an ambaſſador to Venice, with orders to take Ferrara in his way. D'Eſte, who had always countenanced Sforza, ſent a gentleman before the Milaneſe ambaſſador, to requeſt that the ſenate would not deny him an audience [s]; but he was nevertheleſs forbid the city. Frederic of Naples, about the ſame time, acquainted the ſenate with his intention of ſending five hundred horſe to Sforza's aſſiſtance; and was anſwered, that Sforza required much ſtronger reinforcements; but that they would eſteem even that ſmall number an hoſtility commenced againſt the republic, which they would reſent accordingly [t].

Lodovico, deſtitute of all hopes of foreign aid, began to think of gaining the affections of his own ſubjects, by whom he was deteſted: for this purpoſe he remitted one-third of the taxes with which they were oppreſſed, and executed other popular acts; after which he enrolled the name of every perſon in the duchy fit to bear arms.

In the mean time he was hemmed in on every ſide, the Venetians having advanced to Lodi, while the French, after having reduced Alexandria, were proceeding towards Milan. Sforza, terrified at their approach, ſent his family to Germany, whither he was preparing to follow: this conduct determined the Milaneſe to acquaint him, by four of the chief citizens, that finding he diſtruſted their loyalty, they were reſolved to ſubmit to the French; and Lodovico, having no farther hopes, ſet out with five hundred light horſe for Germany, having with tears taken leave of the citizens. Bernardino di Corte, with three thouſand foot, in whom he confided, together with ſtore of arms, proviſions, and money, ſufficient for a long defence, were left in the citadel; but Sforza was not gone three days before the ungrateful Bernardino, whom

[r] Bemb. lib. iii. [s] Guicciard. lib. iv. [t] Foug. li vii. dec. iv.

he had bred from a child, and loved as his son, basely betrayed the city into the hands of the French.

*Milan and Cremona submit to the French and Venetians.*

In the mean time the Venetians advanced to Cremona, and summoned the governor to surrender; but the citizens desiring two days to consider of the proposals, the time was granted, and they seized the opportunity of sending to Trivulcio, the French general, to request he would take possession of the city. Trivulcio, however, replying that Cremona belonged to the Venetians by an article of the treaty between his master and the republic, they received the proveditors into the city, conducting them to their quarters under a canopy of state. Antonio Battaglioni, to whom Sforza had committed the defence of the citadel, being summoned next day to surrender, consented to betray his master for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds of gold, the rank of a gentleman of Venice, a house in the city, and another in the country near Padua. Cremona being thus annexed to the Venetian dominions, the senate sent magistrates thither to govern in the same manner and by the same laws used in other parts of the republic. Two ambassadors were likewise chosen, and these, together with the new magistrates, ordered to wait upon the king who was come to Mantua, and to compliment him in the name of the doge and senate [a].

A D. 1498.

While the Venetians were thus extending their dominions in Italy, and gathering laurels on the continent, they were threatened with a dangerous war in their islands, the Morea, and Greek dominions. The governor of Zara sent advice of the great preparations Bajazet had made by sea and land, and likewise of the arrival of two thousand Turkish horse, in the Zaratin. The senate immediately appointed Grimani admiral, who, unwilling to lose time, generously lent the state eighty pounds of gold towards equipping the fleet. Before the Venetians put to sea, the Turkish fleet came out of the streights, to the number of two hundred and sixty sail, commanded by Bajazet in person: they directed their course towards Romagnia, a circumstance which gave the senate hopes they had no design upon Rhodes. Grimani at last set sail with forty-six gallies, seventeen large merchant ships armed, and eighty small vessels, steering directly for Modon. Having intelligence that Bajazet sought him, he steered to the island of Sapienza, near Modon, and there drew up his

*War with the Turks.*

[a] Guicciard. lib. iv.

fleet.

fleet. The Turks ſoon appeared and offered battle, which was accepted by Grimani, who had been reinforced the day before by Andrea Loretano and ſeventeen gallies, which he had equipped at his own expence. Loretano began the engagement, and every where drove the Turks before him: the fight grew bloody and deſperate, when ſome Venetian ſhips taking fire, the whole fleet was in danger of being burnt, the wind blowing from that quarter[w]. Two or three gallies were actually deſtroyed; and Grimani found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſounding a retreat, to prevent its progreſs.

*Battle between Bajazet and the Venetians.*

The grand-maſter of Rhodes being under apprehenſions of a viſit from the Turks, ſent to Lewis of France and the republic for ſuccour. A ſquadron of twenty-two ſail was immediately equipped in Provence and Venice, and ſent to his aſſiſtance: on the arrival of this fleet, it was found that the Turks had ſome other deſign, and the allies returned to Zant, and joined Grimani. This admiral was accuſed of neglecting his duty before the laſt engagement: it was ſaid that he let ſlip a favourable opportunity of defeating the Turks the day before he engaged; and that now he omitted another fair occaſion of fighting, for which omiſſion he was recalled, and publicly cenſured. The Turks in the mean time had taken Lepanto[x]. Nor were they idle towards the continent; for, entering Dalmatia, they ſcoured the confines of Zara, and, finding no oppoſition, waſted and deſtroyed the country as far as Livanza, taking a great number of priſoners. Upon this intelligence Zancani marched to the frontiers with a ſtrong army; but failing in his duty, he was ſuperſeded and confined four years priſoner in Padua. Thus ſtood affairs with the Turks, while the Venetian and French troops, under Cæſar Borgia, ſon of pope Alexander, proceeded to Romagna, where they beſieged and took certain towns belonging to the patrimony of the church, which the pope reſigned up to Borgia.

*Turks enter Dalmatia.*

The ſenate, for the ſecurity of their own dominions during the war in Romagna, ſent three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe to Ravenna, under Alviana, to be diſtributed round their frontiers in ſuch a manner as to form a chain. When that officer arrived, he received a meſſage from Giovanni Sforza, requeſting that he might be taken into the protection of the republic, and ſcreened

[w] Bemb. lib. iii. Foug. lib. vii. dec. iv. [x] Bemb. lib. iv.

from

from the vengeance of Borgia, who hated him implacably; but Alviana told the ambaſſador, that he was perſuaded the ſenate would never protect a prince who had ſo mortally offended them in concealing Lodovico's ambaſſador, diſpatched with deſign to excite Bajazet againſt the republic.

A.D. 1499. Mean while Lodovico, returning with ſome ſuccours from Germany, conceived hopes of regaining his dominions, from the diſtaſte the Milaneſe expreſſed for the French government. The ſenate, upon intelligence that he was preparing to re-enter Italy, ordered their troops to file off towards the Cremoneſe, and reinforced the army with three thouſand Swiſs they had taken into the ſervice of the republic. Lodovico arriving at Coma took it without ſtriking a blow, the French garriſon ſurrendering at diſcretion, to prevent being encloſed between his forces without, and the diſaffected inhabitants within the city. Thence he ſent his brother Aſcanio towards Milan, where there was a ſtrong party formed in his favour. Trivulcio was governor of Milan, and being chief of the Guelph faction in Lombardy, was extremely obnoxious to the Ghibellines, who formed a majority of the citizens: this animoſity was carried ſo far that news of the ſurrender of Coma no ſooner arrived than Lodovico was proclaimed, and Trivulcio forced to retire with the garriſon to the citadel, and next day to Novara. In this manner Lodovico recovered the Milaneſe, with as much facility as the allies had reduced his dominions. Pavia and Parma preſently followed the example of the capital; Lodi and Placentia would have done the ſame, had not the Venetians prevented it by ordering ſome troops to march thither [y]. He did not long enjoy this proſperity; for while he was beſieging Novara, the French army aſſembled in Piedmont, and, joining the Venetians, poured into Milan, made Lodovico priſoner, and ſent him to France: Aſcanio was likewiſe taken and ſent after his brother, but releaſed at the death of Lodovico.

*Lodovico returns from Germany.*

*Recovers his dominions in the Milaneſe.*

*Is defeated and made priſoner.*

No ſooner was this affair concluded than the ſenate ſent Lodovico Manenti to Bajazet, complaining of his having attacked them by ſea and land, contrary to the treaty made the year before with Zancani; likewiſe to ſolicit the liberty of the Venetian merchants, reſtitution of Lepanto, and the renewal of the treaty. They were induced by two reaſons to try the effects of this embaſſy; the firſt

[y] Guicciard. lib. v.

aroſe

aroſe from the low ſtate of the exchequer, and the other from credible intelligence that Bajazet would not be averſe to moderate conditions: but their expectations were diſappointed; for Bajazet's demands were inſolent, and ſuch as might have been expected in conſequence of a war, in which he was every where victorious. He told Manenti that if the ſenate deſired peace they muſt reſtore to him Napoli, Modon, and Coron, the three principal cities the republic held in the Morea; and alſo pay one hundred pounds of gold yearly, by way of tribute. Manenti returning with this anſwer, the ſenate reſolved upon proſecuting the war with vigour [z]. Their firſt care was to fortify the frontiers of Friuli againſt the incurſions of the Turks; then they ſent Quirini and Lodovico Canalis with a ſmall body of foot, for the defence of Corfu: they likewiſe diſpatched ſtores and troops to Napoli, upon advice that Bajazet, with a prodigious fleet, intended a deſcent on the Morea. Melchier Treviſano, the Venetian admiral, aſſembled his whole force, amounting to ſeventy ſail, at Zant; but the Turkiſh fleet, which exceeded two hundred veſſels, arriving on the coaſt of Napoli, landed a body of horſe to ſcour the country as far as the walls of the city. The garriſon ſallying out upon them, obliged the Turks to retire; upon which they filed off towards Modon, ſending a large detachment to lay ſiege to Junca. The garriſon was well ſupplied with every neceſſary, and commanded by Contareni, the proveditor, a brave officer. Sallying out upon the Turks, they entirely defeated and forced them to raiſe the ſiege the day after the trenches had been opened. Treviſano, general of the Venetian army, dying, the command devolved upon Contareni, until the ſenate ſhould otherwiſe fill up the vacancy [a].

In the mean time Bajazet, with all his force, laid ſiege to Modon, which Contareni determined to relieve at all events. The garriſon was badly provided with ſtores and proviſions, the chief ſupplies having been ſent to Napoli, from a notion the ſenate entertained, that the firſt attempt would be againſt that city. Contareni ſailed from Zant with the fleet, determined to fight the enemy though greatly ſuperior: as ſoon as he deſcried the Turkiſh fleet, he bore down upon it in order of battle, and was received by one hundred ſtout gallies. Not diſcouraged at the enemy's numbers, Contareni began the engagement, which

[z] Bemb. ibid. [a] Foug. lib. viii. dec. iv.

con-

*A battle.* continued with great fury and advantage to the Venetians for the space of five hours; but the wind slackening, and a perfect calm succeeding, they lost the fruits of their superior skill in navigation, and were forced to fight upon equal terms: they had almost sunk under the powerful weight of the enemy, when a gale springing up enabled Contareni to disengage his fleet and retire to Zant, with the loss of two of his largest ships. Bajazet gained the honour of the victory, but his loss was more considerable than that of the Venetians; for besides a prodigious slaughter of his men, six gallies were sunk and destroyed [b].

The Venetian admiral, having refitted the fleet, was still bent upon sending succours to the besieged. He chose five of the stoutest gallies, with resolute officers, who engaged at all events to push through the Turkish fleet, and supply the city with provisions. Thinking it necessary to acquaint the besieged of his intention, he dispatched a yatcht, manned with certain desperadoes, to desire the garrison would make a diversion in favour of the squadron coming to their relief. The boat entered the harbour, amidst the enemy's shot, with the loss only of one rower; and the squadron soon following, kept a running fight with the Turks, and in spite of all their endeavours got safe into the harbour. Their arrival was joyful, but it occasioned the loss of Modon; for so eager were the garrison to receive supplies, that, neglecting their posts, they flocked in crowds to the shore; and the Turks, seizing the opportunity, scaled the walls, and entered the town in such multitudes, as baffled all the valour of the garrison [c]. Thus was Modon lost by the very means which might have saved it, in defiance of all the Turkish power. The garrison and inhabitants were all put to the sword, excepting the governor, who was sent in chains and presented before the walls of Junca, a spectacle which so intimidated the garrison that the fort was surrendered without a stroke. Coron soon after capitulated upon honourable terms; and of all the towns the republic held in the Morea, none of any consequence now remained besides Napoli [d]. This the Turks soon invested; but after a tedious and bloody siege were forced to abandon the enterprize, the city being well supplied, and the governor determined to bury himself in its ruins.

*Modon taken by the Turks, and all the other towns of the Morea, excepting Napoli.*

[b] Foug. lib. viii. dec. iv. [c] Bemb. lib. iv. etiam Foug. ibid. [d] Ibid.

About

About the time Modon surrendered, the Venetian fleet was dispersed and terribly shattered in a storm, which drove several ships as far as Candia. Benedetto Pessari, who was appointed admiral in the room of Trevisano, came to Zant while the Turks were besieging Napoli. As soon as he had collected and refitted the fleet, he determined to go in quest of the enemy; but Bajazet, having intelligence of his design, commanded the bashaw to raise the siege of Napoli, and return with the fleet to Constantinople. Pessari sent a frigate to view the enemy, who had sailed the day before the cruizer arrived, a circumstance which determined the Venetian to steer his course to Legina, the Turks having taken and garrisoned that island during the siege of Napoli: there he landed some troops, who soon reduced the fort, put the garrison to the sword, and brought the Turkish governor prisoner on board. Thence he went to Mitylene, where he was attended with equal success. The plunder of this island he distributed among his troops, and sailed for Tenedos, which having burnt to the ground, he attacked the rear of the Turkish fleet as it was entering the streights, and took nine gallies, the crews of which he put to death [e]. After this exploit he proceeded to the island of Samothrace, where, understanding that the inhabitants submitted from necessity to the Turkish dominion, he received them into the protection of the republic, and left a garrison and governor, upon whom the natives settled a salary of a tenth of the produce of the island. Next he went and sacked Cavista, and returned from thence to Napoli loaded with booty, and adored by the troops, whose hearts he had gained by his generosity and valour [f].

A.D. 1500.

Here receiving advice that the Spanish fleet, under Gonsalvo Ferdinandes, was come to Zant to join the Venetians, he immediately sailed thither. Passing by Junca, he ordered Charles Contareni to be beheaded on the prow of his galley, for having surrendered that strong fort to the Turks upon the first summons. Both fleets in conjunction went and besieged Cephalonia, which they carried by the obstinate intrepidity of the Spanish and Venetian infantry. Junca likewise was recovered by means of one Demetrius of Modon, who, concerting measures with some of his friends, succeeded so happily, that fifty Turks being killed, the rest made their escape over the walls, and abandoned the fort.

*Cephalonia taken by Pessari.*

[e] Bemb. lib. iv. [f] Foug. lib. viii. dec iv.

Pessari

Peſſari ſailed with fourteen ſtout gallies to Preveze, where he was told the Turks were preparing a fleet: here he took three gallies ready to put to ſea, and burnt ſeveral others on the ſtocks; then he ſteered to Corfu, where he ordered the fleet to rendezvous and refit. Before he went on this laſt expedition, Gonſalvo took his leave and retired to winter in Sicily. Peſari, having refitted the fleet, ſailed to the mouth of the river Bojan, with intention to deſtroy a Turkiſh ſquadron which lay there; but the enemy, drawing their ſhips fourteen miles up the river, prevented his deſign. The veteran commander, leaving a ſmall ſquadron to block them up, returned to Corfu: here the ſenate rewarded the courage of the troops by a liberal gratuity to every ſoldier who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and by taking care of the families of thoſe who had died in the ſervice.

*Treaty with the king of Hungary.*

While Peſſari was performing wonders at ſea, the ſenate ſent an ambaſſador to Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary, to engage him in an alliance againſt Bajazet. In this treaty the pope deſired to be included; and it was ſtipulated that the king, with all his forces, ſhould attack the Turks, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of three thouſand pounds in gold from the Venetians, and four hundred from the pontiff. Towards the cloſe of this alliance Agoſtino Barbarigo died, after he had governed fifteen years, with the reputation of a temperate and prudent prince, ſparing of the public, and profuſe of his own money; but his good qualities were tinctured with jealouſy and moroſeneſs, which rendered his character diſagreeable: the ſovereign was eſteemed, but the man was not beloved [g]. He was ſucceeded by Leonardo Loretano, a man equally reſpected for his birth and qualifications.

## *LEONARDO LORETANO, Doge LXXV.*

*Leonardo Loretano.*

THE new doge began his government by propoſing that Peſſari the admiral ſhould, in reward of his ſervices, be made a procurator of St. Mark's, in the room of Trono deceaſed. He was accordingly elected, in his abſence, to this dignity, one of the firſt in the ſtate [h]. Early in the ſpring the French and Portugueſe fleets came into the Archipelago, to aſſiſt the Venetians againſt the Turks; but thoſe auxiliaries proved of no ſervice to the republic, as peace was ſoon after concluded. The ſenate had juſt

[g] Sanſov. delle Vit. di Princip. [h] Sanſov. Cron. Venet.

received

received advice from Andrea Gritti, that Achmet, the grand vizier, was not averſe to an accommodation; they accordingly ſent an ambaſſador to Hungary, to deſire the king would ſend plenipotentiaries to Conſtantinople; and the king conſented, on condition of the republic's continuing to him a yearly ſubſidy of three hundred pounds of gold [i]. The treaty was accordingly concluded, on ſome trifling conceſſions which the republic made to Bajazet, who was by this time tired out with the war he carried on in Aſia as well as in Europe. The grand ſeignor diſpatched an ambaſſador extraordinary to Venice, who made his entrance with great magnificence, and was received with particular marks of diſtinction. A.D. 1503. *Peace with Bajazet.*

The republic was ſcarce delivered from this war, when ambaſſadors arrived from Lewis the Twelfth, to engage her in an alliance againſt Spain, which the ſenate abſolutely rejected, though they agreed to continue the ancient treaty. The death of pope Alexander the Sixth; the election of a new pope, who outlived his elevation but a few days; and the choice of a ſucceſſor to Pius the Third, occurred in this interval of tranquillity which the republic enjoyed. Upon the acceſſion of Julius the Second to the papal chair, the republic ſent an embaſſy of eight of the chief nobility to congratulate his holineſs: they were kindly received, and mutual profeſſions of eſteem were exchanged.

Theſe profeſſions produced no real cordiality. Julius was jealous of the extraordinary acquiſitions made by the republic: he even adviſed the duke of Valentinois to recover the towns the Venetians had torn from his dominions [k]. This diſpoſition obliged the ſenate to caution the proveditors in Romagna, to take every ſtep they thought neceſſary for the ſafety and intereſt of the ſtate: they accordingly laid ſiege to Taſignana and Meldola, two ſtrong towns, which ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. Highly incenſed againſt the ſenate, pope Julius ſent the biſhop of Tivoli to Venice to reprehend them, and procure the reſtitution of Faenza and Rimini, and alſo to requeſt the aſſiſtance of the republic towards recovering the other towns in the hands of Valentinois. The nuncio delivered his inſtructions, but was anſwered, that the pope had no authority over the towns he mentioned; that they never had been claimed by any of his predeceſſors, nor eſ- A.D. 1504.

[i] Foug. dec. iv. lib. viii. lib. ix. dec. iv.

[k] Guicciard. lib. v. Foug.

teemed

teemed a part of the church patrimony; and that they had been ceded in open consistory to the Valentinois family: they added, that this exertion of despotism was not suitable to professions of friendship and the good offices which had passed between his holiness and the republic, which they were willing to maintain as long as it could be done with justice to the honour and majesty of the commonwealth. The nuncio was then dismissed [l]; but Julius maintaining his point, yet knowing his strength unequal to support it by arms, had recourse to menaces and threats that he would stir up all the princes of Europe against the republic. Justiniano, their ambassador at Rome, endeavoured to appease the pontiff; but he would listen to no proposals, until the towns were first ceded. The ambassador acquainted the senate with the pope's declaration, and they immediately assembled to deliberate upon an answer; but while they were sitting, the nuncio returned with haughty letters, delivered with an air and speech no less imperious. Greatly perplexed in what manner to conduct themselves, the senate at length determined to send embassies to the emperor and king of France, to refute the complaints made by Julius. The remonstrances of their ambassadors had a good effect for the time. Both monarchs seemed satisfied of the equity of their plea; and the pope's ambassadors returned chagrined and disappointed, having obtained nothing more than that the princes would send commissioners to debate the cause at Rome [m].

*Quarrel between the pope and republic.*

A.D. 1505. However, the emperor soon forgot his complaisance to the republic; for next year he sent ambassadors to Venice, to desire that Faenza and Rimini might be surrendered. He had a right to this demand, he said, as the natural protector of the holy see; he desired, that if they thought the demand unreasonable, they would submit it to arbitration. He declared he would labour to procure the pope's consent; and lastly, that he would be umpire, and decide according to equity, without prejudice, passion, or partiality. The senate, being well assured of the emperor's inclinations, and in what manner he would determine the point in dispute, answered, that their claim was so clear as to render an umpire unnecessary.

A D. 1506. In the mean time a confederacy was formed between the emperor and the French king; upon which the latter sent John Lascaris to Venice, to intreat the senate to compromise matters with the pope, in order to pave the way

[l] Bemb. lib. iv. [m] Barre Hist. d'Allem. tom. viii. par. i.

for

for a general league against the Othoman empire: he added, that he had swore to the league with Maximilian, not to attack any Christian state, but only to support each other, if attacked. The senate replied, that they had taken all possible means to be reconciled to his holiness, and had even offered to hold the towns in dispute, of the church, and to pay any reasonable tribute: they congratulated his majesty on the treaty with Maximilian: but as it was stipulated in the treaty between the republic and the king, that neither should contract other alliances, they requested to know why his majesty had given them no intimation of his intentions. The ambassador was a good deal embarrassed at this unexpected question: however, he answered, that though he was ignorant of his master's motives for the treaty, he could assure the senate, that the Venetians could be joyfully received into the alliance.

Unsatisfied with mere compliments, the senate determined to try the issue of another ambassy to the pope, by which they made propofals; first, to restore Rimini and all they had taken in Romagna since the death of Alexander the Sixth, except Faenza and its appendages; secondly, to restore Faenza under certain restrictions and limitations. This last propofal the pope seemed to relish; but a series of intrigues and negociations between him, the French king, and the emperor, for the space of two years, frustrated the treaty. The Venetian grandeur and wealth excited the jealousy of those great powers as well as of the little princes and states, the neighbours of the republic. It would be endless, however, to recite all the embassies, treaties, and negociations, that occurred during this period; sufficient it is to observe that they ended in a confederacy against the republic, the most powerful which Europe had then ever beheld.

A year before the league of Cambray was formed, a kind of war broke out between Maximilian and the republic. It had been suggested to the emperor, that Lewis's design in coming to Italy was to seize upon the patrimony of the church, and to dismember the dominions of the holy see. This notion the Venetians, who were not pleased with the king's resolution, took care to confirm. The emperor upon this intimation, assembled the diet of Constance, wherein it was determined that his imperial majesty should go into Italy, attended by a retinue of eight thousand foot, twenty-four thousand horse, and a train of artillery. The pretext was, to receive the imperial

A.D. 1507.

*Diet of Constance.*

crown at the pope's hands, a ceremony which had not yet been performed, notwithſtanding he had wore the diadem for ſeveral years [n].

Both Lewis and the republic were greatly perplexed at this reſolution, and left no expedient untried to prevent it by means of the princes of the diet. Maximilian diſpatched four noblemen to Venice, to ſolicit a paſſage through the dominions of the republic, giving the ſenate the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would offer no moleſtation to the meaneſt Venetian ſubject. Lewis laboured hard to perſuade the ſenate to deny this requeſt, promiſing to aſſiſt the republic with all his forces to oppoſe the emperor.

A.D.1508. The king's requeſt was agreeable to the inclinations of the ſenate, who knew how deſirous Maximilian was of an opportunity of ſupporting his claim by force of arms to certain towns annexed to the republic, which the emperor pretended were a part of the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. The ambaſſador was therefore told, that the republic would chearfully grant the emperor a paſſage, if he would diſmiſs his formidable retinue, which they could not ſuffer to paſs into Italy conſiſtently with their treaty with the French king. Maximilian gave the republic to underſtand that he would force a paſſage, and accordingly prepared to execute his menaces. In the month of February, notwithſtanding the extreme inclemency of the ſeaſon, he paſſed the Alps, and, after a march ſcarcely credible, arrived within four leagues of Verona. The French governor in Milan ſent ſix hundred men to the aſſiſtance of the republic, which, with the Venetian forces, formed an army of two thouſand ſoldiers, under Alviana. Had the emperor known how to uſe the good fortune which almoſt always attended him, this body muſt have ſunk under his power; but, having ſurmounted the greateſt difficulty, he approached Vincenza without taking any meaſures to beſige it, though ſtrenuouſly adviſed to this enterprize by the marquis of Brandenbourg. As this city was but poorly provided againſt a ſiege, it muſt probably have ſurrendered before Alviana could have come to its relief; hence a way into the Venetian dominions would have been opened, and a retreat ſecured, beſides poſſeſſion gained of a town, otherwiſe of great importance to the ſucceſs of the expedition; but the emperor declined

*The emperor marches into Italy.*

[n] Baron. Hiſt. Eccl. ſub hoc an. Barre Hiſt. d'Allem. tom viii. par. i.

attack-

attacking it, under pretence that he was not prepared to undertake a ſiege of ſo much conſequence and hazard; that he would not lead to deſtruction troops it was his duty to ſave; but that, leaving the Venetians within their walls, he would retire to Trent, where the army could be better ſupplied. Thus abandoning the conqueſt in his power, he actually marched ſeveral leagues farther from the frontiers of Italy.

Thence he went to attend the diet at Ulm, leaving his troops a prey to the enemy. Alviana, ſeizing on a paſs left unguarded by the Germans, entered the valley Cadorino, and there attacked the imperial army. The Germans perceiving they were ſhut in, determined to force their way, a battle enſued, in which both ſides fought with great courage; at laſt, the Imperialiſts were broken and defeated, leaving five thouſand dead on the field. After this exploit, Alviana laid ſiege to Cadorino, Gradiſk, Goritz, and a number of other places belonging to the houſe of Auſtria. On the other ſide Contareni, with the fleet, inveſted Trieſte, Cap Iſtria, Rovigno, and Pola, with many other cities on the coaſts of Iſtria and Friuli. Every thing ſucceeded with the Venetians by ſea and land, and it would have been difficult to aſſign bounds to their conqueſts, had Trivulcio, with the French troops, remained firm to their engagements. Alviana had formed a deſign of beſieging Trent, in expectation of being ſupported by Trivulcio; but this general, underſtanding that the treaty between his maſter and the republic was only defenſive, refuſed to enter upon offenſive meaſures. *The Germans defeated.*

Beſides Trivulcio's refuſal, other impediments obſtructed Alviana's deſign; ſome of the wiſeſt perſonages in the republic declared againſt an open rupture with the emperor. Dominico Moroſini, in particular, a procurator of St. Mark's, aged ninety, of great experience and ſound judgment, employed all his eloquence to diſſuade them from ſuch a meaſure. The ſenate at that time determined nothing, but referred the iſſue to another ſitting: in a few days, intelligence was received that the emperor was levying forces on the confines of Verona, and in the country of the Griſons, which determined the ſenate unanimouſly to proceed in the war. Moroſini now eagerly preſſed this meaſure, which he had ſo lately oppoſed. The reſolution was tranſmitted to the proveditors upon the frontiers, and in Iſtria, with reinforcements of troops, and ſupplies of money and ſtores. In conſequence of theſe orders Alviana took Protonovi, then reduced Fama, a city of Schvonia, which he burnt; at length, croſſing the Alps, he in-

veſted and took Preſburg, a ſtrong town on the confines of Hungary [o].

While the Venetians were purſuing their conqueſts, the emperor's army aſſembled at Trent, attacked and defeated a corps of three thouſand republicans near Calliona; but this victorious army ſoon dwindled away, the ſoldiers mutinying and deſerting for want of pay. The Griſons, to a man, left the Imperial general, who was reduced to ſeven thouſand men, and forced to retire: upon which the Venetians, advancing as far as Trent, laid waſte the country, and took ſome towns and forts of little conſequence. Maximilian, being in great want of men and money, diſpirited by the loſs of Trieſte, and the ſucceſs of the republic, made overtures for a peace. After ſome altercation, a congreſs was fixed to ſit at Venice. The emperor's commiſſioners were the biſhop of Trent, and Lorentano his ſecretary. Lewis appointed Trivulcio and Charles Godfrey to attend; and the affairs of the republic were committed to Zachary Contareni, a perſon in great eſteem. The great point which the Imperial commiſſioners laboured was to diſunite the French and Venetians. To ſucceed the better in this attempt, they promiſed Contareni, to make him acquainted with the nature of the late ſecret treaty between the emperor and the king, if he would, on the other hand, renounce the alliance of Lewis. This propoſition was rejected by the Venetian with diſdain, who declared he would conquer or die with his allies [p]. The Imperialiſts, finding themſelves diſappointed in this project, made another propoſal, which was accepted, though in its conſequences it anſwered the emperor's purpoſe as well as the former. This was, that a truce of three years ſhould take place, including the three powers concerned in the Italian war, in order to ſettle preliminaries for a general peace: that in the mean time all conqueſts ſhould remain in the hands of the poſſeſſors, who ſhould have the liberty of fortifying all the places which they retained after peace was concluded. Contareni did not diſlike this propoſal, but he deſired leave to conſult the ſenate before he returned an anſwer. This circumſtance, which occaſioned the warmeſt diſputes, was obviouſly calculated as a bait for Contareni to draw him from the alliance of France, ſince Lewis reaped nothing by the war, and the emperor had loſt by it dominion as

*Trieſte taken by the Venetians.*

[o] Barre Hiſt. Allem. tom. viii. p. 2. [p] Guic. lib. v. etiam Bemb. lib. iv.

well

well as reputation. The French commiſſioners not only refuſed their aſſent to this article, but likewiſe to accede to the truce, unleſs it was made general, and the duke of Gueldres, whoſe ruin Maximilian had planned, was included [q].

The ſenate's inſtructions to Contarini were, that he ſhould cloſe with the propoſals of the Imperialiſts; that he ſhould endeavour to get Trivulcio and Godfrey to ſign them, but upon their refuſal conclude a ſeparate truce, with this proviſo, that ſix months ſhould be granted to the French plenipotentiaries to determine. In conſequence of theſe injunctions, Contareni ſhewed ſo much eagerneſs and zeal to finiſh the truce, as made the French plenipotentiaries ſuſpect the republic had very little regard to the intereſt of her allies; however, the treaty was concluded, and the French left to complain of the ingratitude of the republic, and the cunning of Maximilian [r].

In this meaſure the ſenate certainly miſtook their aim, as appeared by the conſequences. Nothing could be more contrary to the true intereſt of Venice, than a rupture with a monarch, the moſt powerful and natural protector of the republic. Lewis, by the acquiſition of Milan, had a ſtrong intereſt in preſerving the rights and privileges of the Venetians, and in ſupporting their cauſe againſt all enemies. Their contiguity to his duchy made them the natural guarantees of it, and this again obliged him to protect them by means of the large army which he neceſſarily kept on foot in Italy; but the iſſue is the beſt proof of the miſconduct of the ſenate [s].

Alviana, after having given orders concerning the fortifications of Goritz and other conqueſts, returned to Venice, where triumphal honours were decreed him. The order was new, and it is difficult to aſſign the ſenate's motives for falling in ſo late with a practice they had ſo long neglected. The moſt probable reaſon is, that they accommodated the reward to the diſpoſition and genius of the general, who eſteemed nothing ſo much as glory, and thought all his ſervices ſufficiently repaid by honours which diſtinguiſhed him above others. Barre alleges, that this inſtance of vanity conſiderably forwarded the league againſt the republic. Undoubtedly the emperor was greatly piqued at this triumph, which he thought a blot upon his own glory, as well as a reflexion on the empire;

[q] Commines, p. 126. [r] Guicciard. p. 475. [s] Barre Hiſt. d'Allem. par. ii.

and it is certain that he determined upon vengeance, and even to ſmother his reſentment againſt France, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. But the great ſpring of the league of Cambray was Lewis's indignation: he complained to Condelmere, the Venetian ambaſſador, of the injury done him by concluding a ſeparate treaty; of the ingratitude and ſelfiſh motives of the republic; and even dropt ſome menaces, which plainly indicated his intentions of ſeeking revenge [t].

*Riſe of the league of Cambray.*

Italy was, at this period, divided among ſix different princes and ſtates, namely, the pope, the king of France as duke of Milan, the king of Arragon and Naples, the republics of Venice and Florence, and the duke of Ferrara; this latter deriving his ſecurity from the mutual jealouſy of the Venetians and the holy ſee. To theſe may be added the emperor Maximilian, who, without poſſeſſing an inch of ground in Italy, laid claim to all that belonged to his anceſtors, and more particularly to the Venetian dominions on the continent. Thus did ſix powers imagine themſelves intereſted in a partition of the territory of the republic, and of conſequence in her deſtruction. Maximilian was eager to poſſeſs ſome place which would ſecure him an entrance into Italy, in order to re-eſtabliſh the imperial power: Julius the Second had formed the project of re-uniting to the church the places diſmembered from it; a deſign which could not be compaſſed without the ruin of the republic, ever attentive to oppoſe the aggrandizement of her neighbours: Lewis the Twelfth repented his having ceded the Cremoneſe and Ghiaradadda, carefully watching an opportunity to reclaim theſe places as well as the Bergameſe, Breſcian, and whatever formerly appertained to the duchy of Milan: Ferdinand of Naples, without having money to pay for them, was deſirous of wreſting theſe five maritime towns out of the hands of the republic: the duke of Ferrara longed to recover Rovigo and the Poleſin: and laſtly, the Florentines, incenſed at the aſſiſtance the Venetians had afforded to Piſa, joined with pleaſure in a league which was likely to give them the dominion of this city, at leaſt deprive it of the aid of Venice.

Theſe were the true motives of the league concluded at Cambray. Cardinal Amboiſe, and Margaret of Auſtria, governeſs of the Netherlands, met to ſettle preliminaries. She was inveſted by Maximilian with full powers to conclude

[t] Foug. lib. x. dec. iv.

a treaty,

a treaty, upon ſuch conditions as ſhe thought proper. Margaret and the cardinal formed a league to the following effect[u]: that the pope, emperor, and the kings of France and Arragon, ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other for the recovery of all thoſe places uſurped by the Venetians; that Ravenna, Corvia, Rimini, Faenza, and the other towns of Flaminia, ſhould belong to the pope; that Verona, Padua, Vicenza, the Treviſan, Friuli, and all the country bordering on the Adriatic, ſhould be reſtored to Maximilian; that the Breſcian, the Bergameſe, Cremoneſe, Crema, Ghiaradadda, and all the ancient dependencies of Milan ſhould be ceded to France; and that Ferdinand of Arragon ſhould have the towns of Apulia, which had been ceded to the Venetians by the late alliance. It was farther ſtipulated, that their armies ſhould take the field in April; to obviate the difficulty of the truce for three years, which the emperor had concluded with the pope, it was agreed, that the pope ſhould ſummon him as protector of the church, to his aſſiſtance; that in the mean time the other three powers ſhould attack the Venetians with all their forces, the pope all the while thundering out anathemas and excommunications againſt them, if they refuſed to reſtore what they had unjuſtly uſurped. It was farther ſtipulated, that the kings of England and Hungary, the dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, together with the marquis of Mantua, ſhould be invited to join in this alliance; that during the courſe of this war the emperor, or his ſon the prince of Spain, ſhould in no ſhape moleſt the king of Arragon, touching the pretenſions of the young prince to Caſtile in right of his mother; that Maximilian ſhould grant a new inveſtiture to Lewis of the duchy of Milan, comprehending all the above mentioned dependencies; that if the republic ſhould have recourſe for aſſiſtance to the Turks, in this caſe the allies ſhould redouble their efforts, and eſteem the preſent confederacy a league againſt infidels; that no party ſhould conclude either truce or peace without the joint conſent of all the allies; and laſtly, that no differences between the emperor and Ferdinand might ariſe to diſturb this alliance, arbiters were choſen amicably to terminate their diſputes[x].

*Conditions of the league.*

Thus was the league of Cambray concluded, the moſt formidable confederacy Europe had ever beheld, and kept ſo ſecret, that the ſenate had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the

[u] Hiſt. de la Ligue de Cambrai, tom. i. lib. i. Edit. P. Pariſ. Bembo, lib. vii. [x] Guicciard. lib. viii.

impending storm. Cardinal Bembo relates, that the Venetian ambassador in France, asked the king the purport of that long congress at Cambray, and received for answer the most solemn assurances that nothing was intended against the republic, for whom he had the sincerest esteem; an answer, which the minister reported to the senate, and which tended to confirm their security.

Pope Julius, in the mean time, weighing with himself the consequences of this league, and the probability that it might establish in Italy a power more formidable to the papal authority than the Venetian, began to enter upon measures for recovering the towns of Romagna, without acceding to the league [y]. For this purpose he insinuated to Bodoario, the Venetian resident at Rome, that if the senate would yield Rimini and Faenza to him, he would not only break off from the confederacy, but prevail on Maximilian to follow his example. Constantine, a French refugee, was employed to insinuate this affair to Bodoario, who tampered so artfully with the refugee, that he drew from him the whole secret, and every particular of the league, which he immediately transmitted to the senate. The pope's proposal was then debated in a full assembly, and rejected with indignation.

In the mean time Stella, who had long resided at the emperor's court, and enjoyed his friendship, was dispatched to Maximilian, to endeavour to disengage him from the alliance; but this point miscarrying, the republic thought seriously of making preparations for war. The French ambassador was ordered to quit the city, and Condelmere was recalled. Lewis, on his departure, either out of personal esteem or policy, presented him with a gold chain of great value, which the ambassador refused, saying, that he never accepted the favours of those who were enemies to Venice. An army of eight thousand heavy armed cavalry, three thousand light horse, and thirteen thousand foot, was levied, two thousand of whom were auxiliaries from Epirus. At the same time the senate issued orders for equipping a considerable fleet, both to make incursions upon the coasts of Naples and defend their own harbours. Andrew Bodoario was likewise dispatched to England, to solicit succours from that monarch, or prevail on him to make a descent on France. Bodoario had resided long at the court of London, and was perfectly skilled in the English language. A treaty likewise was made with four

*French ambassador ordered to leave Venice.*

[y] Bemb. lib. vii. Guic. lib. viii. Baron. ad ann. 1509.

of

of the Swiſs cantons, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of two hundred pounds weight in ſilver, to be paid them annually for the ſpace of ten years.

During theſe preparations pope Julius ratified the league with Maximilian and the French king; but with this proviſo, that he ſhould be the laſt to commence hoſtilities: the duke of Savoy alſo acceded to the propoſals made to him, and became a confederate againſt the republic, with the flattering expectations of having the iſland of Cyprus yielded to him in the partition to be made of the Venetian dominions. Maximilian was raiſing money for the war in the Netherlands; Lewis had levied an army of five thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot, with which he entered Italy in the month of April; the king of Arragon was buſy in raiſing forces and equipping a fleet; and the pope had got together an army of ten thouſand men, rather to be ſpectators of the event than to engage in the quarrel (for ſtill he was endeavouring by negociation to obtain the ceſſion of Faenza and Rimini) at the ſame time that he was playing his ſpiritual weapons againſt the republic. He began with laying the Venetians under an interdict, while the ſenate paying but little regard to the thunder of the Vatican, aſſembled an army little inferior in number to the confederates, but raw and undiſciplined. Count Petellian was appointed general, Bartolemeo Alviana lieutenant-general, and Georgio Cornelio and Andrea Gritti were declared proveditors[z]. Petellian was an officer of great prudence and experience, Alviana of fire and courage: their ſentiments generally claſhed, and the iſſue of the firſt engagement was unfortunate, but perfectly conſiſtent with the diſſenſions of thoſe two officers. The latter accuſed the former of cowardice, while he in his turn reproached Alviana with miſconduct and temerity. Petellian was for diſpoſing the army in ſuch a manner as to protect the frontiers and country of Ghiaradadda; Alviana propoſed carrying terror and deſolation into the Milaneſe and the enemy's country. The ſenate joined in opinion with the former, well knowing, ſays Bembo, how difficult it is to withſtand the impetuoſity and firſt fury of a French army.

*Duke of Savoy embraces the league.*

Before Lewis entered Italy he ſent a herald to Venice to denounce war, and publiſhed an edict commanding all his ſubjects in the Venetian dominions to withdraw on pain of death. The ſenate oppoſed this edict by a decree, for-

[z] Barre ad ann. 1508.

bidding

bidding all artizans and uſeful members of ſociety to depart, under the penalty of cloſe impriſonment and confiſcation of goods and chattels. This meaſure had its effect, and preſerved to the republic a great number of valuable mechanics: leave was likewiſe granted to the German merchants to trade as uſual into their dominions, notwithſtanding the ſtate was at war with the emperor; and every ſtep and precaution were taken that could poſſibly enable them to weather the terrible ſtorm impending.

A.D.1509. The French herald, leſt his menaces might terrify the people, was met without the city, and introduced into the ſenate, where he made his declaration in the moſt inſolent and acrimonious terms. The doge anſwered him with a compoſure and gravity that aſtoniſhed the Frenchman: he told him, that the infidelity of which their maſter accuſed the republic belonged properly to himſelf; but as the Venetians were not accuſtomed to make war with their tongues, they doubted not but the juſtice of their cauſe would furniſh them with weapons more becoming their dignity, and more worthy of the perfidy of his maſter[a].

*War declared by France againſt the Venetians.*

The king's forces had now paſſed the frontiers of Italy. Chaumont, with a body of three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, croſſing the Adda, advanced directly to Treviglio, which he took, plundered, and deſtroyed, having made priſoners one thouſand Venetian infantry that compoſed the garriſon. The marquis of Mantua laid ſiege to Caſſel Maggiore, which was ſurrendered to him, and in conſequence a number of other places of leſs importance. The Venetian army advancing obliged Chaumont to repaſs the river; then Petellian retook Treviglio before Lewis could arrive from Milan to its aſſiſtance. Both armies remained for ſome days within a ſmall diſtance of each other, Lewis deſirous of coming to a battle, which the Venetian general cautiouſly avoided: at laſt the king, finding means to cut off the communication between the Venetians, the Cremoneſe and Cremaſco, whence they were ſupplied with proviſions, forced Petellian to a motion which produced an action. The French van attacked the rear of the Venetians where Alviana commanded, and were received with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, that being ſoon put in confuſion, they muſt have retreated had not the king ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to their relief. The action was now renewed with

[a] Bemb. lib. viii.

freſh

freſh vigour, Alviana performing wonders, and expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers: he placed ſix field-pieces upon an eminence, from whence they played with great ſucceſs upon the enemy; but at laſt the Venetians were oppreſſed with numbers, and conſtrained to quit the field with precipitation. Had he been properly ſeconded by Petellian, it is more than probable Alviana would have been victorious, notwithſtanding Lewis and his troops behaved with great courage: a wound he received, which diſabled him and occaſioned his falling into the enemy's hands, was another cauſe of the defeat of the Venetian army [b], whoſe loſs on this occaſion amounted to five thouſand men, which was nearly equalled by that of the enemy.

Though this victory was glorious to Lewis, and attended with important conſequences, yet was it by no means deciſive, as Petellian and the greater part of the Venetian army was not engaged, that old general retiring in good order, and imagining he had diſcharged his whole duty in rigidly following the ſenate's directions to avoid a battle, though by ſuccouring his lieutenant he might have gained a complete victory; and, indeed, his conduct was greatly applauded at Venice, where he was regarded as a ſecond Fabius in caution and wiſdom [c].

After this battle, fought on the 14th of May, 1509, Lewis marched to Caravaggio, which he took by capitulation, and ſoon after received the ſubmiſſion of Breſcia and Bergamo. The rapidity of his conqueſts made the ſenate try once more to effect a reconciliation with the pope and emperor: they wrote to the cardinals Grimani and Cornaro, both Venetians, at Rome, to offer his holineſs the ceſſion of Faenza and Rimini. Propoſals equally advantageous were made to the emperor, the ſenate having commiſſioned Antonio Juſtiniano to inform him, that they would ſurrender Trieſte, Portonovo, and all the places taken from him during the preceding year, and acknowlege his ſovereignty in Friuli, Lombardy, and the country anciently called Venetia. The emperor would hear of no terms, and the pope recovered Faenza, Ravenna, and the other towns to which he laid claim, in conſequence of the late victory; ſo that the republic was forced to redouble her endeavours to proſecute the war. But the progreſs of the French conqueſts confounded the wiſeſt reſolutions of the ſenate, all the provinces and towns ſtipulated by the

*The ſenate makes propoſals to the pope and emperor.*

[b] Bemb. ibid. etiam Baron.

[c] Barre Hiſt. Allem.

treaty

treaty of Cambray to belong to the king and the holy ſee being already reduced (G). The Poleſin was yielded to the duke of Ferrara; the towns of Azole and Lunet to the marquis of Mantua; and the emperor's army, commanded by the duke of Brunſwic, was in the very heart of Friuli, after having reduced the cities of Trieſte, Feltre, and Belluni. Beſides theſe loſſes, the republic ſuſtained others from new enemies, each of whom hoped to profit by her misfortunes and ſhare in the ſpoils. The count of Sodron had ſeized upon certain caſtles and towns, contiguous and convenient for him; and the biſhop of Trent reduced Riva di Trente and Agreſta, to which he had no other pretenſions than what opportunity afforded. Padua and Treviſo alone remained firm to the republic in her diſtreſs: the former raiſed the ſum of ſixty pounds weight of gold for the payment of the army; the other, though abandoned by the Venetian garriſon, drove out the emperor's commiſſioner, and again erected the Venetian ſtandard: however, theſe inſtances of fidelity were ſo rare, that the ſenate had once thoughts of entirely abandoning the continent, imagining that by this meaſure only they could preſerve the city [d].

But nobler reſolutions ſoon took place of theſe gloomy reflections. Orders were iſſued for fortifying the city; engineers were appointed to examine the places where forts and outworks were requiſite; batteries were erected at all the fords; a militia was raiſed, and fleet equipped, for the ſafety of Venice: magazines were formed, and every precaution taken as if a ſiege was expected. Nor indeed was the apprehenſion ill founded; for Maximilian had actually propoſed to inveſt the city, but was forced to lay aſide the deſign, on account of Ferdinand's refuſal to ſupply him with a fleet [e]. He then directed the prince of Brunſwic to lay ſiege to Padua: ſome hiſtorians allege that he led the army thither in perſon. This city was inveſted by an army of forty thouſand horſe and foot: the trenches were ſoon opened, the batteries began to play

*Padua beſieged.*

[d] Baron ad ann. 1509. [e] Bemb. et Guic. ibid.

(G) A circumſtance, atteſted by all the hiſtorians, reflects great honour on the Venetians. They refuſed the aſſiſtance offered them by the grand ſeignor; and though reduced to the utmoſt extremities, reſolved to ſuffer every diſtreſs rather than give their ancient enemies, the infidels, a footing in Italy.

with

with great fury, and ſeveral breaches were made in the walls, which the Imperialiſts ſtormed, but always with little ſucceſs. Petellian commanded in the city, and the Paduans were even emulous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the ſervice of the republic. The enemy were repulſed in every aſſault with great loſs; but ſtill continuing their reſolution either to periſh or ſubdue the city, Petellian aſſembled the inhabitants, and after animating and exhorting them to perſeverance, received an oath of eternal fidelity to the republic. The emperor having placed a battery of cannon of enormous weight againſt the baſtion of Codolonga, continued to play upon it for nine days without intermiſſion: having at laſt effected a breach, orders were given to a ſtrong body of choice troops for ſtorming. They were obeyed, and the breach mounted with great reſolution, and defended with equal courage. The engagement was long and bloody, when at length the Imperialiſts were totally routed, with prodigious ſlaughter, and the loſs of many priſoners of the firſt diſtinction: upon this repulſe, the emperor, deſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, and retired to Limini, after he had lain twenty days before Padua[f]. *Stormed, and the ſiege raiſed.*

This happy event inſpired the republic with courage; it was the firſt they had experienced during the war, but it ſufficiently proved what courage was able to effect, and that the enemy was not invincible. Maximilian's return into Germany, and ſome growing differences between the pope and Lewis the Twelfth encreaſed their reviving hopes: his holineſs had never heartily eſpouſed the league, and above all things dreaded the extention of the French dominions in Italy: he now acquired, by a ſudden revolution of affairs, the patrimony of the church which he claimed, and this point being gained, his enmity to the republic ceaſed: he would even have repealed the interdict, had not the ambaſſadors of France and Arragon ſtrongly inſiſted upon the performance of his engagements[g].

In the mean time the Venetians, willing to make the moſt of the diſſenſions among the confederates, ſent the proveditor Gritti with a body of forces to Vicenza, upon ſome aſſurances that the citizens were deſirous of the Venetian government. Gritti was immediately admitted into the city, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, who compelled the prince of Anhalt to retire with the garriſon into *The Venetians recover Vicenza.*

[f] Guic. lib. x. Bemb. lib. viii. [g] Moreva, Hiſt. lib. xv.

the

the citadel, which likewiſe, after a ſiege of four days, was ſurrendered: their fleet at the ſame time entering the Po ſcoured the enemy's country on both ſides as far as the lake of Sourra.

It was high time that fortune ſhould begin to ſmile on the republic; the rapidity of the enemy's conqueſts threatened the city with civil diſturbances. The people exclaimed loudly againſt the ſenate for having ſo eaſily quitted towns, won to the republic by the blood of their anceſtors: they ſaid, that if ſome places had been terrified out of their allegiance, and others ſubdued by force of arms, that was no reaſon for abandoning others which were able and willing to withſtand the enemy.

To theſe and other complaints the ſenate anſwered, that, like prudent mariners in danger of ſhipwreck, they had lightened the ſhip of part of her cargo, with a view to preſerve the remainder and their lives; that ſuch towns only were ceded as by reaſon of their diſtance could not be defended; that they were tubs thrown out to the whale, to ſtop the progreſs of an enemy they were unable with their broken forces to reſiſt; and that the event had plainly proved the wiſdom of ſuch meaſures, ſince the pope's ambition being gratified there was more than a probability he might ſoon be gained. Theſe diſputes might have riſen to a dangerous height, if ſome lucky ſtrokes of fortune had not intervened and put the people in a good humour.

A.D. 1510. Baſciana, Feltre, and ſome other places were recovered, and their army marched to reduce the Poleſin, which aim in a ſhort time it effected: the Venetians then ſeparated in three diviſions, for the greater ſecurity of the towns in their poſſeſſion; for Chaumont had advanced to Vincenza with a ſtrong detachment. The duke of Ferrara was in the utmoſt diſtreſs, being cooped up on all ſides by the Venetian fleet and army; but the arrival of Chaumont relieved and inſpirited him. An attack was made with ſuch vigour on the fleet, that, unable to withſtand the enemy's efforts, the Venetians were put in confuſion, and the admiral Treviſano obliged to ſave himſelf in a ſkiff[h].

*Siege of Ferrara raiſed.*

*Padua ſurrenders to the emperor.*

Thus ended the ſiege of Ferrara, after it had been ſucceſsfully proſecuted for near a month, and the city on the point of ſurrendering. Loretto ſoon fell into the enemy's hands; and Padua, diſtracted by differences among the leading citizens, ſurrendered to the emperor, without the formality of a ſiege. Some propoſals for a truce were

[h] Bemb. lib. ix. Marian. lib. xvii.

now

now made to the Venetians by Maximilian; and the emperor having obtained what he at firſt demanded, would have gladly ended a war which his finances could not ſupport; but the Auſtrian pride ſubdued all his policy, and made him inſiſt on terms too arrogant for the republic to grant even in this her ſtate of humiliation. The pope was diſappointed that the treaty with him was broke off; for, jealous of the French, he had formed a ſcheme to join the Venetians, if the republic would have rid herſelf of ſo formidable an enemy as Maximilian [i]. Julius had no regard to public faith, or private honour. Ambition and avarice were his predominant paſſions; in which all the others, together with juſtice, truth, and virtue, were abſorbed.

In the mean time the ſenate formed a project for the recovery of Padua, which was conducted with ſo much addreſs, that it ſucceeded beyond expectation. The reſolution was taken, after long and warm debates in the ſenate, to ſend Gritti with an army thither, and rely upon the affections of the inhabitants, who by this time were probably tired of the imperial yoke. Some alleged ſuch an attempt would, in all probability, terminate only in increaſing the emperor's indignation, and more cloſely uniting him with his allies, already too powerful: that if the attempt ſucceeded, the republic could not long expect to retain the conqueſt, ſince, without doubt, the allies would employ all their ſtrength to recover a place ſo neceſſary to their farther ſchemes. The doge and majority were of this opinion, which was oppoſed by the nobler reſolution of Molini and ſeveral other ſenators: they affirmed that the republic would be wanting to itſelf, if it omitted any opportunity of recovering thoſe cities ſo unjuſtly taken from them; that the apprehenſions of rouſing the enemy, and heightening their reſentment, was vain, ſince they were actuated more by views of ambition and intereſt than of pique; that at all events the ſenate was uſing the means, and whatever the iſſue might prove, they could not fail of the applauſe of their own hearts, in having purſued meaſures worthy of the honour, the dignity of the commonwealth, and of the memory of their anceſtors. He expatiated on every topic that could rouze their ardour and re-animate their ſpirits; and enforced every poſition with ſuch ſtrength of argument, as left no room for objection; ſo that the ſenate unanimouſly re-

[i] Bemb. ibid. etiam Guicciard. lib. x.

ſolved

solved to attempt the recovery of Padua. A decree was immediately passed for giving Gritti ample powers to transact this delicate business; and that nothing, in the mean time, might transpire which could frustrate the attempt, they all bound themselves by a solemn oath of secrecy [k].

*Padua recovered.*

Gritti marched in the night towards Padua. Having conveyed some choice troops into waggons covered with straw, under pretence they were a convoy of provisions, he seized upon a gate of the city, and pursuing his advantage, got possession of Padua. The Imperialists made a vigorous defence; but Gritti, joined by the greater part of the inhabitants, totally defeated them, making near two thousand prisoners. Thus, by the advice of Molini, and address of Gritti, the republic became once more possessed of the most valuable city she had upon the continent. The recovery of Padua was attended with all the happy consequences, which Molini had predicted: the public clamour was appeased, and the pope, observing that the republic was not to be terrified by the power of the league, relaxed his severity, and regarded the Venetians as the only barrier against the power of France. The first favourable step his holiness took, was to grant the republic absolution. Maximilian and Lewis laboured hard to divert him from this purpose; but it was necessary to the plan formed, and nothing could induce Julius to deviate from what he esteemed his interest. He even proceeded farther: he permitted his subjects to inlist in the Venetian service; he granted Paul Baillon leave to command their army, in the room of Petellian deceased; he used all his influence in an indirect manner to induce Maximilian to quit the league; he laboured to prevail upon the English to declare war against France; and lastly, he drew off the Swiss from their alliance with Lewis, and even concluded a treaty between them and the Venetians. In this manner, and from a few spirited strokes, did the face of affairs receive a total and favourable alteration [l].

The Venetians being tempted by their good fortune at Padua to make a similar attempt on Verona, where they were also invited by the inhabitants, marched thither with great expedition and secrecy: but the ladders they applied to the walls being too short, they were discovered, and the enterprize frustrated, to the utter destruction of many of the principal citizens, who, upon suspicion, were put to death by the governor. This accident did not put a stop

[k] Bemb. lib. ix. [l] Bemb. ibid. Guicc. lib. x. Baron.

to

to the treaty negociating between Julius and the republic, which at length was concluded on theſe conditions; that the Venetians ſhould cede their claim to the cities of Romagna to his holineſs; renounce their right of placing a magiſtrate, whom they called biſdomino, in Ferrara; and permit a free navigation to the ſubjects of the holy ſee in the gulf of Venice. *Treaty between the pope and Venetians.*

Lewis and Maximilian, having got intimation of this treaty, charged the pontiff with a breach of the league of Cambray, in which it was ſtipulated, that none of the parties ſhould make peace with the republic but with the joint conſent of his allies, and until all were reinſtated in their poſſeſſions uſurped by the Venetians. In ſhort, they preſſed him ſo hard, that, unable to deny the fact, he had recourſe to equivocation, and other arts in which he was perfectly well verſed; and at laſt promiſed to adhere to the articles of the treaty. But the performance of this agreement was very wide of his intention: he had two grand projects in view, each of them diametrically oppoſite to the intereſt of thoſe two monarchs. The firſt was to invade the duchy of Ferrara, and the ſecond to drive both Lewis and Maximilian out of Italy. This was the object of his late treaty with the republic; but he found her ſtrength, united to his own, unequal to the enterprize, a conſideration which made him labour to engage other powers in his intereſt, and conclude the treaty we have mentioned with the Swiſs. He left nothing untried to induce the Venetians to conclude a peace, upon any terms, with Maximilian, even at the expence of the Trevifan and Padua. He wrote to the ſenate, that no other means remained to expel the French out of Italy, but detaching them from the houſe of Auſtria; this aim once effected, it would be no difficult matter to recover the Trevifan and Padua from the emperor: in a word, he offered his mediation, and it was accepted [m].

A congreſs was appointed at Scala, to attend which Julius ſent the biſhop of Peruſia, an artful prelate, whom he had employed in a variety of intrigues. The Venetians offered to reimburſe the emperor in the expences of the war: the ſum was immenſe, and they doubted not but the poverty and avarice of Maximilian would gladly embrace the propoſal. Their conjecture was well founded, but the event turned out different from their expectations from an unforeſeen accident. Maximilian, in his return *Congreſs for a peace.*

[m] Marian. Bell. Carn.

to Germany, to attend the diet at Augsburg, was grossly insulted by the Venetian peasants: some rustic jokes on his poverty so highly incensed him, that he vowed revenge, and to return the following spring. Deaf to his wants and his passion for money, he sent positive orders to the bishop of Gurtz, his plenipotentiary at the congress, to accept of no terms less considerable than the entire cession of Padua, Vincenza, and the Trevisan, together with a reimbursement of the expences of the war. The bishop obeyed his orders, and the congress was dissolved [n].

Julius sent a nuncio, and the Venetians employed certain agents privately to attend the nuncio, to the diet, which sat in January. Their intrigues and opposition protracted the deliberations of this assembly to a great length, though in the end they could not prevent the states of Germany from concurring with the emperor's design to establish in Italy the ancient authority of the empire. The emperor was warmly supported by Helian, plenipotentiary from Lewis the Twelfth. This minister spoke in the assembly with great vehemence; he pronounced against the Venetians a discourse full of fire and spirit. The nuncio was going to reply to this bitter harangue, when unfortunately dropping some expressions severely reflecting upon Maximilian and Lewis, a confused noise arose in the diet, which was appeased by turning the nuncio out of doors, putting the republic under the ban of the empire, and renewing a treaty offensive and defensive with France [o].

A.D. 1511. *The pope breaks the league.*

Julius, incensed at the affront offered him in the person of his nuncio, immediately vented his spleen against the duke of Ferrara, the friend and ally of Lewis, by invading that prince's territories; an invasion that greatly perplexed the French monarch, who was desirous of keeping fair with the church. The Venetians turned this step of his holiness to the advantage of the republic; they recovered, during the incursions of the pope's army into the territory of Ferrara, the towns of Este, Monsclesia, Montagnana, Marostia, Bassano, and several other places. They laid siege to Verona, and were upon the point of carrying it, when Chaumont arrived with a superior army, and obliged them to retreat: however, they found means even in their flight to reduce Orzola. Their fleet joined the pope's, to make an attempt upon Genoa; but returned

[n] Bemb. lib. ix.

[o] In Append. ad Hist. Venet. Justin. edit. Gerem.

without

without executing their deſign, upon finding the city prepared to receive them, and that no encouragement was given by the malecontents.

*Declares war on Lewis and the duke of Ferrara.*

In the mean time Maximilian was uſing all his influence to prevail on Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary, to declare war againſt the Venetians; but all he could procure were ſome menaces and a ſlender body of Hungarian auxiliaries. Julius kept no terms with the king of France; he even declared war againſt him, a circumſtance which obliged Lewis to unite himſelf more cloſely with Maximilian, and conſult his clergy how far it was allowable to repel the inſults of the pontiff. The clergy were unanimous, that if St. Peter, inſtead of his repreſentative, were to attack the temporal rights of Chriſtian princes, they might in conſcience defend themſelves. Upon this aſſurance Lewis renewed the pragmatic ſanction; an example followed by Maximilian, who carried his views to the papal chair, the depoſition of Julius, and ſucceſſion to the papal dignity. Julius, not daunted by the chimerical projects of the emperor, purſued his reſentment againſt France, in the perſon of the duke of Ferrara: he ordered his fleet to join the Venetians, and inveſt Ferrara on the ſide of the Po, while his army laid ſiege to it by land; but the duke's brave conduct fruſtrated the deſign, the fleet being twice defeated with conſiderable loſs to the Venetians, who ſtood the brunt of the action, while the pope's ſquadron retired into a place of ſecurity [P].

*The Venetian fleet and the pope's army inveſt Ferrara.*

The Venetians were likewiſe diſappointed in a project formed againſt Breſcia, which was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution; but they were more ſucceſsful before Concorda and Mirandola, where they acted jointly with the pope's forces. The firſt place ſtood a ſiege of a few days only; but the laſt, being well provided with every neceſſary, made a brave defence. His holineſs, thinking his preſence might animate the troops, entered the trenches, contrary to the remonſtrances of the cardinals, and even of the Venetian officers, who could not help bluſhing to ſee the head of God's church preſide at a ſiege, and view the effuſion of human blood ſacrificed to his ambition: indeed, he neglected nothing which could forward the works or diſtreſs the beſieged. At laſt a breach was effected, upon which the garriſon hung out a flag of truce, and ſent commiſſioners to his holineſs with offers to ſub-

*The pope commands in perſon.*

[P] Bemb. lib. x. Guicc. lib. ix.

mit if he would only ſpare their lives; a requeſt he was with difficulty prevailed upon to grant [q].

About this time a cartel was ſettled, and an exchange of priſoners made between the French and Venetians, in which the numbers appeared pretty equal, as likewiſe did their reciprocal complaints of hard uſage and cruelty. Treviſano the admiral, who commanded their fleet upon the Po, was baniſhed for three years on account of his miſconduct. He would have met with more ſevere puniſhment, ſays Bembo, had not the friends of other officers who likewiſe miſbehaved, zealouſly exerted themſelves in his behalf, fearing leſt the enquiry might become general. This year likewiſe an edict of the ſenate paſſed for recalling all perſons outlawed on account of murder or other crimes, on this condition, that they earned their pardon by a future regular conduct, and by ſerving the ſtate for ſix months at their own expence. Another law paſſed for raiſing the ſupplies by a tax on all who received daily, monthly, and annual penſions and pay, for mechanical ſervices to the ſtate: this was regulated in the proportion of a tenth of every man's income, if it exceeded a ſum ſpecified in the law. The council of ten paſſed a decree, entitling every citizen, who ſhould pay twenty pounds weight of gold into the treaſury, to the privileges of a ſenator for one year, except that of voting [r]. The decemvirs enacted another law, importing, that no citizen whoſe ſon, brother, nephew, or near relation was an eccleſiaſtic, ſhould be admitted into the ſenate when affairs which related to the pope and the church were debated. The intention of this law was to prevent the actions of the ſenate from being carried to the pope by thoſe who might, in hopes of preferment, be induced to betray the ſecrets of their country. Bembo ſays, that this law was repealed next year, but we find it afterwards renewed.

*Attempt on Genoa unſucceſsful.*

Early this year a freſh attempt was made upon Genoa, at the inſtigation of the pope. It proved equally unſucceſsful with the former, and in its conſequences more unfortunate; for the Venetian fleet was in its return greatly damaged by a ſtorm, though none of the ſhips periſhed. Verona was alſo beſieged in form; but before a practicable breach could be effected, the garriſon was relieved by a ſtrong detachment from Trivulcio's army, under the

[q] Marian. lib. xxix. [r] Bemb. lib. x.

conduct

conduct of Gaſton de Foix, who ſoon after made priſoners of three hundred Venetian horſe [s].

Trivulcio in the mean time advanced to Bologna, where Julius then was. The French had a ſtrong party in the city, headed by the Bentivoglios, a conſideration which induced Trivulcio to attempt the ſiege, and put the pope in great conſternation for its ſafety. Determined to do every thing in his power for the defence of Bologna, he ſent repeated orders to his general to march directly thither with his army, and, if poſſible, to gain a march upon Trivulcio. At the ſame time he aſſembled the chief citizens, reminded them of his kindneſs, exhorted, intreated, and animated them to a defence of their liberty, and the intereſt of the church. He was anſwered with aſſurances of zeal and affection for his perſon and the holy ſee; upon which he retired to Ravenna, not caring to hazard the iſſue of a ſiege, and fully perſuaded that the Bologneſe would be ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt Trivulcio. But he was no ſooner gone than they began to waver in their fidelity; ſome eſpouſed the cauſe of the Bentivoglios, who were in the intereſt of the French; others continued attached to the church, and thus, before the arrival of the enemy, the city was almoſt deſtroyed by the civil diviſions of its own citizens. The cardinal of Pavia, who was left governor, terrified at thoſe civil commotions, endeavoured to introduce a thouſand Venetian infantry into the city for his own defence, and to reinforce the pope's garriſon, which conſiſted of no more than three hundred light horſe and two thouſand foot; but being warmly oppoſed by the greater part of the inhabitants, he deſerted his government. Immediately the Bentivoglio faction took arms, ſeized upon the gates, ſent for the Bentivoglios, and introduced them with ſeveral troops of French horſe into the city; while the Venetians, with great difficulty, made their eſcape by the paſſes through the mountains of Romagna, leaving their cannon and baggage to the enemy [t].

*French take Bologna.*

Intelligence of the ſurrender of Bologna being received at Venice, orders were inſtantly ſent to Gritti, who was on the point of marching, to lay ſiege to Legnano, to drop that enterprize, to ſend the artillery on the Po with a detachment for the ſecurity of Padua, and to be watchful of the preſervation of the other towns and cities belonging to the republic.

[s] Bemb. lib. xi. [t] Coccin. de Bell. Ital. 159.

Maximilian was all this time equally desirous of revenging the late insults of the Venetian peasants, and irresolute about the manner of proceeding. The expences of the war were great, and the means of continuing it afforded him by the diet were but slender. After advancing to Rovero with his army he again returned to Trent, and there conferred with the Venetian commissioners, but without any intention of effecting an accommodation. The count de Palice, the general, was not idle; he took Castelnuovo, and then entering Friuli, almost reduced the whole province before the Venetian army arrived. At the approach of Baillon he retired to the Milanese, and was no sooner gone, than the Venetians robbed him of all his conquests.

A.D. 1512. In this manner stood affairs in Italy when Julius, by his intrigues drew over the king of Arragon to his party, and prevailed upon him to sign a treaty with him and the Venetians for their defence. The professed intention of this alliance was to preserve the unity of the church; exterminate the acts of the council of Pisa; recover the Bolognese, Ferrara, and all the other pretended patrimony of the church; oppose all enemies to these resolutions, leaving room for the emperor to engage in the alliance if he chose it; and finally to defend Italy against the encroachments of all strangers and foreigners whatsoever. It was stipulated, that the allied army should consist of two thousand five hundred men at arms, three thousand light horse, and twenty-four thousand foot, in certain proportions specified in the treaty. They were to be commanded by Don Raymond de Cordona, viceroy of Naples, who was to take the field early in the following spring [u].

*Treaty between the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians.*

We have observed that Maximilian was greatly offended at the return of the French army to the Milanese. Though he had not a man in the field, and had not performed one article of his treaty with Lewis, yet was he highly displeased that Palice did not undertake the siege of Treviso, and to the full extent obey his imperial mandate. He bitterly complained of Lewis, and was on the point of concluding a treaty with the kings of England and Arragon against France, when his natural inconstancy suddenly checked his intention [w]. In the mean time the pope laboured to induce him to settle a truce with Venice, in order to pave the way for a treaty of alliance. While

*The temporising conduct of Maximilian.*

[u] Guicc. lib. x. [w] Bemb. lib. xi.

Maxi-

Maximilian perceived that the pope and Venetians were inferior in power to France, he paid his court to Lewis; but finding that the address of Julius had engaged the courts of Spain, England, and Venice in his quarrel, he only sought a pretext for quarrelling with his old friend. He first complained that he had derived no advantage from the league of Cambray; that the towns stipulated to be ceded to him were still in the hands of the Venetians: he demanded that Lewis would reduce Padua, Treviso, and the other places on the continent, to be annexed to the empire; that he would enter into a contract of marriage between Rencè of France, his second daughter, and the infant Ferdinand, the emperor's youngest son, and brother to the archduke Charles; that he would give her in dowry the duchy of Burgundy, afterwards to be united to the imperial dominions; that he would consent to have arbitrators chosen to determine the difference between the pope and France concerning the duchy and city of Ferrara, the Bolognese, and the validity of the council of Pisa; that the French governor of Milan (Gaston de Foix) should attack no place in Italy, or enter upon any enterprize but with the consent of a German prince, whom he would send to Milan to preside in the council; and lastly, he demanded that Lewis would surrender all his conquests in Italy, the bare duchy of Milan excepted. Propositions so extraordinary sufficiently indicated the emperor's intention to break with Lewis: he hoped for great advantages from an alliance with the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, especially as there was a prospect that the king of England would accede: he now earnestly desired to become a party in the league, and actually embraced it on no other terms than a general and vague promise, that the duchy of Burgundy and Milan should be given to his youngest son Ferdinand of Austria [x].

But, previous to this, a variety of transactions passed in Carniola and Istria. Christopher Fragipani, the emperor's lieutenant in Istria, made an attempt upon Maglia, which he hoped to terrify into submission; he came with a small body of troops before the walls in the night, and ordering a great number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded, as if the town was invested by a numerous army, he immediately summoned the Venetian governor to surrender; but was answered, that day-light must first discover his authority, upon which he thought proper to

[x] Pet. Justin. lib. xi. Rainald.

retire and conceal his weakneſs. The French, likewiſe, made an unſucceſsful attack upon Treviglio, from whence they were forced to retire with the loſs of ſeveral hundred men, and ſome officers [y] (E). The Venetians were very ſucceſsful in Carniola and Iſtria, not only in foiling the enemy's attempts to extend their conqueſts, but in reducing towns to the obedience of the republic. In the latter they took Roſa, one of the emperor's beſt officers, priſoner, notwithſtanding he had, with unequal numbers, defended himſelf with great valour. Fragipani a ſecond time took the field, and with greater force attacked Maglia, but he was defeated and wounded by Andrea Curani, who engaged him in ſingle combat, both armies being ſpectators. Curani, as ſoon as he was victorious, ordered his men to attack the Imperialiſts, who were already diſpirited by the diſgrace of their leader, and ſoon obliged to quit the field. Gradonico was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the French garriſon in Cremona; for going with a ſmall party to the walls, he ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender, telling them, that unleſs they expelled the French before his army arrived, he would lay the city in aſhes; a peremptory declaration which produced the deſired effect, and occaſioned the immediate ſurrender of the place [z] (F).

*Succeſs of the Venetians.*

Max-

[y] Bemb. lib xi. [z] Ibid. lib. xii.

(E) This year was choſen a new magiſtrate at Venice, to preſide in chief over national affairs, have a ſeat in the privy council of the doge, in the ſenate, and council of ten, where he was to make a ſeparate report of the ſtate of the navy. The firſt perſon elected was Antonio Trono, a procurator of St. Mark's. Warm conteſts aroſe about the election of a governor of Cyprus, there being a great number of candidates for that lucrative and honourable employment: G. Gradonico was at laſt elected (1).

(F) This year, according to Sanſovino, died the queen of Cyprus, at Venice, of a ſudden diſorder with which ſhe was ſeized. By her death the kingdom of Cyprus became inſeparably annexed to the Venetian dominions. Catherine had, indeed, in conſequence of the artful conduct of her brother, rather than from inclination, made a ſolemn ſurrender of her rights to the republic ſome years before; but ſtill with a reſervation of the title of ſovereign, and of the affections of her ſubjects. The penſion ſettled upon her by the republic was great, and agreeable to her dignity; but ſhe

(1) Bemb. lib. xii. p. 490.

ſtill

Maximilian, though he was deſirous of nothing more than being reconciled to the Venetians, and of joining in the league againſt the French king, yet he made a point of having four Venetians of diſtinction ſent to him as hoſtages for the ſincerity of the republic's performance of ſome very indefinite promiſes. The ſenate was at length prevailed upon by the pope to comply with this ridiculous demand. Bembo, indeed, alleges that the hoſtages were never ſent, nor do we find their names in any other hiſtorian. Before this point was ſettled, the troops of Arragon, Venice, and the church, attacked Baſtia with great fury: the garriſon made an obſtinate defence; but the walls being levelled with the ground, the allies entered, and put all indiſcriminately to the ſword. It was a few days after recovered by Alphonſo, duke of Ferrara, and the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred Spaniards, were made priſoners [a]. At length Maximilian with great ſecrecy, ſigned the treaty with the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians; and, the better to conceal his deſign, ſuffered his troops ſtill to remain with the French army: he likewiſe endeavoured to apologize to the French ambaſſador for permitting the Swiſs to paſs ſix thouſand troops into Italy through his dominons; this permiſſion, he ſaid, was in conſequence of a treaty with them A. D. 1499, though in fact the interpretation of the article alluded to was falſe. The approach of the Swiſs, the diſpoſition of the emperor, and the formidable army of the allies, obliged Lewis to offer terms of peace, which he would not have liſtened to a few months before; but they were rejected, and his army was forced to ſecure itſelf in Pavia and other ſtrong towns [b].

*Baſtia beſieged and taken.*

*Lewis offers terms of peace.*

The ſenate, at the inſtigation of Avogari, and upon an invitation from the inhabitants, who were tired of the French yoke, and deſirous of returning into the obedience of the republic, had formed a deſign of recovering Breſcia. Avogari wrote to the council of ten, that if an army was ſent before the city, he would ſecure an entrance and take

a Coccin. Bell. Ital. p. 164. b Guicc. lib. xi.

ſtill languiſhed and pined after authority, the ſituation of a ſubject not being very agreeable to the diſpoſition of a lady who had long been uſed to ſovereign power. She was interred with great magnificence by the republic; and a beautiful tomb erected to her memory by that brother who had prevailed on her to abdicate the crown.

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the gates, a circumſtance which would facilitate the reduction of the citadel. Orders were, in conſequence of this application, ſent to Gritti to march thither, and appear at a certain gate of the city at an hour agreed upon with Avogari: but, before his arrival, Avogari's deſign and correſpondence were diſcovered by the wife of one of the faction who was enamoured of the French governor. Avogari made his eſcape out of the city, and raiſed a great army of peaſants, with which joining Gritti, the city was attacked, and their efforts being ſeconded by the inhabitants, the French were conſtrained to ſurrender the town and citadel at diſcretion.

*Breſcia taken by the Venetians.*

All the inhabitants on the lake La Garda, the country adjacent, and the mountains, returned to their allegiance, and the republic once more became miſtreſs of the Breſcian [c]. In Breſcia above two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were made priſoners; and its conqueſt was ſucceeded by other ſignal advantages. La Palice, finding himſelf too weak to defend the Milaneſe, retired to Piſqueltana, and from thence to Pavia, while the Venetians, with the Swiſs auxiliaries, after the reduction of Valegia and Peſcara, purſued their conqueſts. Bergamo and the Bergameſe, with all the towns, forts, and caſtles upon the Adda ſubmitted to the republic.

A.D. 1513.

*Milan, Parma, &c. ſubmit.*

At Pavia, La Palice was joined by Trivulcio, but the army being entirely compoſed of cavalry, they were ſtill unable to cope with the allies, who were advancing by long marches. In their route the confederates received the ſubmiſſion of Milan, Legnano, Parma, Placentia, and other places; and the Venetians even brought about a revolution in Genoa, from whence the French were driven. Coma, Crema, Bologna, and Pavia were at length ſurrendered; nor did Maximilian determine to ſupport the league, although he had ſigned it, until he ſaw the French almoſt totally expelled from Italy. He urged a thouſand difficulties, and inſiſted upon high terms with the Venetians, who were then not to be terrified into conceſſions. The biſhop of Gurtz, the imperial envoy, had the addreſs to gain over Julius to his maſter's intereſt. Maximilian demanded Verona and Vincenza to be ceded in perpetuity to him, and homage to be done him by the Venetians for Friuli, and the places to which he pretended a prior right. He was peremptory in his demand, and the republic no leſs poſitive in her re-

[c] Bemb. lib. xii.

fuſal,

fusal, although the pope menaced them with spiritual and temporal vengeance. Julius finding them obstinate, concluded a seperate treaty with Maximilian, and endeavoured to engage the Spanish ambassador to accede to his measures; but he declined the proposal, under pretence of having no instructions for that purpose [d].

## SECT. VII.

*Containing the Treaty with Lewis XII. and Motives which induced the Republic to this Alliance; the Progress of the War in Italy; the Accession of Charles V. and Francis I to the imperial and French Crowns; their Rivalship and Renewal of the War in Italy, together with its Consequences to the Venetians.*

TO fortify themselves against this new alliance, the republic entered into a treaty, defensive and offensive, with Lewis XII. by means of Andrea Gritti, then a prisoner in France. It was agreed that the Milanese, the Cremonese, and the country of Ghiaradadda, should belong to the king, who was to cede all claim upon the Bergamese, Brescian, and other provinces, then in possession of the Venetians. This treaty was to remain in full force, and the parties were mutually to assist each other with all their forces, until the Milanese and its dependencies were recovered by Lewis, and the Venetians reinstated in all their former possessions on the continent. Julius, hearing that such a treaty was in agitation, sent embassies and acknowlegements to Venice of his sorrow for having broke off his alliance with the republic; but died of a slow fever before he had taken any measures to regain their confidence [e]. *Venetians enter into a treaty with Lewis.* *Pope dies.*

A few months before this treaty and the pope's death, a detachment from Trivulcio's army recovered Brescia; upon which occasion Avogari, the strenuous asserter of the republic's claim, was put to death. The Venetians made another attempt upon it, which proved unsuccessful; and it was at last taken from the French by the Spanish troops a few days before the treaty between Lewis and the republic was signed [f]. *French recover Brescia.*

Leo the Tenth being raised to the pontificate, pursued his predecessor's scheme of humbling the power of France, *Leo X. made pope.*

[d] Bemb. lib. xii. [e] Paolo Paruta, lib. i. [f] Guicc. lib. xii.

but

but in a manner different from Julius. He was no sooner raised to the pontificate than, under pretence of acquainting Henry VIII. of England with his exaltation, he addressed a brief to him, intimating his intention to adhere to the league with the emperor and the king of Arragon, and a desire of contracting a fresh alliance with England. At the same time he was striving to reconcile Maximilian with the republic, and to disengage the latter from France. All those practices could not long be concealed from Lewis; Leo became suspected, and Lewis united himself more closely with the Venetians. All the endeavours of the pope could not prevail on the republic to desert her allies: instead of yielding to his remonstrances, or joining with the stronger party, she pressed Lewis to hasten reinforcements into Italy, in order to strike some blow of consequence before the enemy was prepared [g]. Immediately twenty thousand French, under Tremouille and Trivulcio were ordered to join the Venetian army upon the frontiers of Italy. The republic's army consisted of eight thousand foot, one thousand five hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horse, under the conduct of Bartolomeo Alviana, and the two proveditors Contareni and Loretano. Alviana determined to make an attempt upon Verona, although he had the senate's orders not to pass the river Adda: for this purpose he began a clandestine correspondence with some of the inhabitants, which being discovered, frustrated the enterprize; but he had the good fortune to balance this unsuccessful attempt by the reduction of Valegia, Pescara, and Cremona [h]. In this latter he erected the ensign of France, saying, that he held it for Lewis; but the Venetian affairs wore a different aspect in the Vincentine and Veronese.

*Venetians worsted in the Veronese.*

Alviana had no sooner departed, than Roccondolph, an imperial general, and Gonsalvo, an Arragonian, draughting some men from the garrisons of Verona and other towns, attacked and defeated Cavalla and Fortino, whom Alviana had left there with a body of one thousand horse and foot. The defeat was so total, that the enemy, pursuing the Venetians to Cologna, entered the town with them, and made them all prisoners, and seized upon the garrison. Elated with this success they formed an enterprize upon Vincenza, which was rendered abortive by the vigilance of the governor [i].

[g] Guicc. lib. xii. [h] Paruta, lib. i. [i] Bemb. Epist. lib. iii.

Com-

Commotions were excited in the city of Milan, and the whole Milaneſe, upon the arrival of Alviana, and intelligence that the French army had paſſed the Alps. A few months before they rejoiced at the expulſion of Lewis's troops and the reſtoration of the Sforzas; but not reaping the expected advantages, they now again panted after a French governor: Maximilian Sforza retired to Novara, there to wait for a body of Swiſs, who were on their march for the defence of Milan. His departure afforded a free acceſs to the Venetians; while Trivulcio entered the Milaneſe on the other ſide, and, in a ſhort ſpace, entirely reduced it to obedience. Ronzo de Cera, going with a body of Venetians to Breſcia, ſummoned the city, and had it immediately put into his hands, the Spaniſh ſoldiers finding themſelves unable to ſtand a ſiege, both on account of their weakneſs, and the ſtrong affection the inhabitants ſhewed for the republic [k].

*Breſcia ſurrenders to the Venetians.*

During this ſtate of affairs the Swiſs were aſſembling in great numbers upon the frontiers; but the French making light of enemies unprovided with cannon and magazines, whom they imagined they could purchaſe with money, went and laid ſiege to Novara, inſtead of attacking the Spaniſh army, which they might have defeated before reinforcements could arrive. Gritti ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt this ſtep, and was ſeconded by the opinion of the ſenate; but it availed not; the French undertook the ſiege, trifled away ſeveral days before the walls, and were at laſt compelled to abandon the enterprize. The ſiege was no ſooner raiſed than ten thouſand Swiſs entered Novara, and there formed the reſolution of ſurpriſing the French camp, which was pitched within three leagues of the city. They began their march in the evening, and, arriving before day-light, attacked the French ſo unexpectedly, and with ſo much reſolution, that they were entirely broken and diſperſed [l].

This defeat was attended with fatal conſequences to the republic, of which the firſt inſtance was an entire revolution in Milan, and the abſolute reſtoration of the Sforzas. The viceroy of Naples marched to Cremona, with intention to attack the Venetians; but Alviana, apprehending he might be ſhut up between the Spaniſh and Swiſs armies, abandoned the Cremoneſe, retiring to the Veroneſe: here he determined to lay ſiege to Verona; and while he was thus employed, the enemy became maſters

[k] Paruta, lib. i. [l] Fugger, lib. vi.

sters of Cremona, Bresсia, and Bergamo. The tables were now turned upon the French and Venetians, who were no less unfortunate towards the end, than they had been successful in the beginning of the campaign. Alviana continued to batter Verona with great fury, and had at last made a breach of forty yards, which he ordered to be stormed. The defence and attack were equally vigorous. As the wall was exceeding high on the town side, the Venetians fought to great disadvantage on account of the depth of the descent; besides, the garrison amounted to four thousand choice troops, Germans and Swiss. After great loss of blood, Alviana, perceiving that the inhabitants, as he expected, did not stir in his favour, sounded a retreat. His chagrin at this disappointment made him raise the siege, and lay waste the whole country, in hopes thereby to excite the people to a revolt[m]. But the approach of the Spanish army obliged him to retire beyond the river Adige, where he took every measure to strengthen his army and oppose the enemy. For the security of Treviso he sent a strong detachment under Baillon, leading in person the main body towards Padua.

*Alviana storms Verona and is repulsed.*

In the mean time Leo the Tenth renewed the subject of peace between the emperor and the republic. He did not doubt but Maximilian would listen to reasonable terms, as by the friendship of the Venetians he would more easily procure Burgundy for his grandson. On the other hand, he imagined, that the defeat of the French, the little probability that Lewis, who was likely to find sufficient employment at home, could for that year send another army into Italy; the approach of the Spanish army; the lowness of their finances, together with the great want of soldiers, particularly infantry, would induce the Venetians to forsake Lewis, and be reconciled to Maximilian: but rational as these conjectures were, yet was he disappointed. The senate would hearken to no terms until Vicenza and Verona were yielded to the republic: on the contrary, they warmly solicited Lewis to recruit his army, assuring him of their fidelity, and sincere regard for every article of the treaty. They, at the same time, exhorted him to a reconciliation with the pope; in which particular they fell in with the sentiments of the whole French nation. Lewis promised assistance; but he took more immediate steps to gain the friendship of his holiness. For this purpose he sent the bishop of Marseilles, in quality of

[m] Paruta, lib. i.

plenipotentiary,

plenipotentiary, to Rome, inſtructing him to aſſure Leo, that he had revoked the decrees of the council of Piſa, and would permit no other than thoſe of the Lateran, to teſtify his reverence for his holineſs, for the apoſtolic ſee, and his determination to defend the church with all his power againſt all enemies whatſoever. The republic likewiſe ſent an ambaſſy of ten chief magiſtrates and ſenators, ordering their reſident at Rome to attend all the ſittings of the Lateran. But the reception they met, convinced the ſenate of the pope's diſlike to the republic. He ſeverely chid the ambaſſadors; taxed the Venetians with having brought back the French into Italy; and even inſinuated his ſuſpicion of their having formed a deſign to recover Romagna. Inſtead of affording them any marks of regard, as the ſenate expected, he ſent the emperor the body of troops ſtipulated in the treaty [n]. It was now apparent that nothing but vigour could ſave the ſtate; the republic therefore exerted herſelf in levying forces, equipping a fleet, raiſing money, and forming magazines. Alviana, who was encamped on the banks of the Adige, receiving intelligence that the Spaniſh army was proceeding towards Padua, and that Colonna, after being joined by the pope's forces, was in full march to attack him, croſſed the river, and encamped at Montagno, as well for his own ſecurity as the protection of Padua and Treviſo. By this retreat Rovigo fell into the enemies hands, together with the town of Peſcara and all the garriſon. In the mean time the biſhop of Gurck, coming to the Spaniſh army, ſtrongly adviſed the ſiege of Padua, which, he ſaid, would be giving the Venetians a mortal blow, and ſecuring the emperor in the poſſeſſion of all the towns to which he laid claim. The viceroy, and other officers, joined with him in opinion concerning the importance of the conqueſt; but repreſented the difficulty and hazard of beſieging a city ſo well fortified and provided: however, the biſhop perſevering in his opinion, the ſiege was undertaken. Alviana had already ſent his baggage and artillery to Padua, that he might, with the greater expedition, throw himſelf into this city, or Treviſo, as the ſituation of things might require; he now reſolved to enter Padua with his army, and to defend it to the laſt drop of his blood. Courage nor conduct he wanted not; but there was a fire and impetuoſity in his temper, that fitted him to execute with rapidity rather than deliberate with pru-

*The ſenate reſolves to puſh the war.*

*The viceroy of Naples lays ſiege to Padua.*

[n] Guic. lib. xi. Paruta, lib. i.

dence.

dence. Although the city was already ſufficiently garriſoned againſt a greater force than the enemy could bring againſt it, yet the ſenate, knowing its importace, ſent thither a reinforcement of new levies of Venetians and Iſtrians, together with a ſtrong convoy of ammunition and ſtores. Alviana ordered all the trees, houſes, and every thing that could ſhelter the enemy, to be cut down and razed for a mile's diſtance round the city, a precaution which rendered the approaches difficult, as they were greatly expoſed to his cannon. This circumſtance, the vigorous ſallies of the beſieged, and ſmallneſs of the enemies army to inveſt a town of ſo great extent as Padua, made their operations ſlow, and ſhewed the officers the abſurdity of the attempt, although the biſhop ſtill adhered to his ſentiments. As they were likewiſe deſtitute of pioneers, and of every thing that could ſkreen the ſoldiers from the enemy's fire, it was at laſt determined to remonſtrate to the biſhop, and if he ſtill remained obſtinate, to ſave the army, and acquaint the emperor with the circumſtances and occaſion of their conduct. Thus, after continuing twenty days before Padua, they abandoned the ſiege without erecting a battery, or firing a ſhot, and took the rout of Vincenza, which was deſerted on their approach by the Venetian magiſtrates and the principal inhabitants. Here they made plunder of every thing ſacred and prophane, rather from neceſſity than any diſpoſition to rapine; for the army was entirely ſupported by plunder.

*Siege of Padua raiſed.*

The viceroy permitted his troops to make incurſions even within ſight of Venice, and even took an opportunity of inſulting that capital, by ordering ſome cannon to be diſcharged at the city. Alviana, ſhut up in Padua, could no longer endure this preſumption; he ſolicited, begged, and intreated the ſenate for permiſſion to ſally out upon the enemy, but was denied, and ordered to keep within the walls, they being determined rather to undergo affronts than to run hazards upon ſo critical a conjuncture. At laſt Alviana's preſſing inſtances prevailed, and he had leave to take the firſt favourable opportunity that ſhould offer, for attacking the enemy. In conſequence of this permiſſion, he marched out of the city, ſending to Baillon, who commanded in Treviſo, to join him with a reinforcement: his deſign was to cut off the enemy's return to Vincenza; for which purpoſe he ſeized on the avenues leading to Barberana, ordering the peaſants at the ſame time to block up the paſſes to Germany with felled trees, and ſtrong intrenchments. Alviana encamped with the main body at Olma,

Olma, on the road from Vincenza to Verona, there reſolving to wait for the enemy. The viceroy had advanced within four miles of the Venetian camp, and finding all the paſſes guarded, and that he was blocked up in a country deſtitute of every neceſſary for the ſupport of an army, reſolved, after a variety of conſultations, to open a path by the ſword. As the dangers to which they were expoſed could not long be concealed from the ſoldiers, he thought it moſt adviſable to acquaint them with the circumſtances, and exhort them to their duty, as the only means left of ſafety. His diſcourſe was ſo ſpirited and animating, that the ſoldiers cried out to be led againſt the enemy, promiſing to acquit themſelves in a manner worthy of the troops of ſo brave a general. It was not, however, the viceroy's intention to attack Alviana, whoſe camp he knew was advantageouſly ſituated and well fortified, but to force a way by Baſſana. He decamped without beat of drum, taking the advantage of a thick fog, and had marched ſome miles before Alviana ſuſpected his being in motion: upon the firſt notice of his march, the Venetians were ordered to purſue and attack the enemy's rear, which they did with great fury, but in good order: they were received by Proſpero Colonna with equal reſolution, who finding himſelf hard puſhed, ſent to the viceroy for reinforcements. The battle continued obſtinate for an hour, when ſuddenly the Venetians were ſeized with a panic, put in diſorder, and totally routed, in ſpite of all the endeavours of Alviana to rally and bring them back to the charge. All the baggage and artillery were loſt, and about four thouſand Venetians killed or made priſoners. Alviana himſelf performed miracles of valour, was every where preſent, animating, exhorting, and menacing his troops; but nothing was able to ſurmount their unaccountable terrors, by which alone they were overcome (A). So ſenſible was the ſenate of Alviana's valour, that upon receiving news of the defeat, they ſent an ambaſſador to conſole and aſſure him of their ſenſe of his merit and good conduct: but their behaviour to ſeveral of the inferior officers was different,

*The Venetians defeated.*

(A) The Venetians left upon the field four hundred men at arms, and four thouſand foot and light horſe; Baillon and Loretano, the proveditors, were taken priſoners, with a great number of other officers; and in conſequence of the victory, the citadel of Milan and Vicenza ſurrendered to the conquerors: in ſhort, the French were diſpoſſeſſed of all they held in Italy. Marian. Hiſt. lib. xxx. p. 97, 98.

whom they cashiered and punished, with other marks of infamy [o].

Alviana was no less affected with the goodness of the senate than with his defeat; but resolving, after their example, bravely to sustain a misfortune with which he could not charge himself, he took measures for securing Padua and Treviso. The doge Loretano exhibited manifold instances of firmness, intrepidity, and affection for the state. After exhorting the senate to bear up with spirit under their misfortunes, he told them, that now offered an opportunity to shew their fortitude and zeal for their country: that, for his part, he was determined to hazard his all for the defence of his people, and hoped the senate would make use of his private purse in the same manner as they would use the public treasury. It all belonged to the republic, he said, and the man who had not gratitude to return it when wanted, deserved not to live. Nor was this all; he had two sons, he said, who could never die more gloriously than in the cause of Venice; he therefore ordered they would directly set out as volunteers for Treviso and Padua. All the senators were moved with the generosity and affection of the doge, and their conduct plainly shewed, what great things the example and influence of a prince can effect. A contribution for levying a new army was raised among them, which soon became general all over the city, and demonstrated that private coffers were not empty, however languid and exhausted the state of the treasury might have been [p].

*A voluntary contribution raised in Venice for the support of the war.*

But the conduct of Prospero Colonna tended more to the preservation of Treviso than all the preparations of the republic. After the late victory, it was proposed by the viceroy in council, that Treviso should be invested; but Colonna, beginning to apprehend danger to the balance of power in Italy, from the ruin of the Venetian state, had influence and address enough to get this resolution procrastinated: his excuse was the difficulty of the attempt, and the hazard of being obliged to abandon it shamefully as they had lost Padua. It was, therefore, determined to wait the arrival of the bishop of Gurck, and to be directed by his opinion: this delay not only gave the Venetians time to provide for the security of the city, but rendered the attempt impracticable on account of the approach of the winter.

[o] Paolo Paruta, lib. v. Guic. ibid. [p] Baron. ad An. 1514.

The

The rigour of the season prevented the armies from keeping the field; negociations, therefore, were set on foot by Leo for a peace between Maximilian and the republic. Leo had it always in view to prevent Lewis from recovering the Milanese: he was no less anxious lest it should fall into the hands of the house of Austria, and dreaded every overture towards a marriage between Renè of France and Charles of Austria. He even endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Lewis and the Swiss, in order that the king might be less inclined to accept terms from the emperor and Henry the Eighth; and he wished to see the French monarchy ratify that article of the treaty of Dijon which regarded the duchy of Milan: but all he could effect was to prevail on him to accept a truce for three years in reference to the Milanese; and on the cantons of Switzerland to suspend the effects of their enmity to France [q].

*Negotiations set on foot by Leo.*

Seeing, therefore, that little could be done in this way, he turned to the side of the Venetians, in order to bring upon the carpet again the negociations between them and the emperor: he was sensible that Lewis could not be effectually excluded from the Milanese but by the assistance of the Venetians, at least not while they were in his alliance. Ferdinand, having notice of the negociations with the Swiss, and fearing he should be left unsupported, concluded a truce for one year with France, in which was a secret clause, that Lewis should not attack the Milanese during the year 1514. The pope, who was ignorant of this clause, apprehended that Ferdinand might have ceded the Milanese to Lewis; in this apprehension, he was indefatigable in bringing about a reconciliation between Maximilian and the Venetians. By mere dint of solicitation, he wrought so far on both parties, as to consent to a cessation of hostilities for a year, in order to adjust preliminaries. Leo, by a writing under his hand, promised not to pronounce sentence but with the consent of both parties [r].

*Truce between Ferdinand and Lewis.*

*Compromise between Maximilian and the Venetians.*

The reconciliation, however, was equally obstructed by the breach of the truce on both sides. When the season for action arrived, the pretensions of each, either rose or sunk according as they were successful in the field: when the Venetians were hard pressed, then would they consent to yield Verona to the emperor; but he insisted upon Padua, Treviso, and Vincenza likewise. Upon any change

[q] Spalatin. Vit. Leon. Guicc. lib. xii. [r] Paruta, lib. i.

of fortune, the republic would hearken to no terms in
A D. 1514. which Verona was not included. Leo perceiving this fluctuation, propoſed that both parties ſhould lay down their arms; that Maximilian ſhould depoſit in truſt to him Vincenza, and whatever the Spaniſh army had conquered in the Treviſan and Paduan; that the republic ſhould do the ſame with regard to the Cremaſco, and beſides pay to the emperor the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns; but that this agreement ſhould be void, if the principals of both parties did not ratify what their ambaſſadors had ſigned. The Venetians objected to this propoſal, from a perſuaſion, that in the preſent ſtate of affairs, a truce would be more prejudicial to them than the continuation of the war. Piqued at their refuſal, Leo ſent Colonna and Savelli to inveſt Crema; but Rence di Ceri, the brave governor, ſallying out, defeated Savelli and the pope's forces, a check which obliged Colonna to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Romagna[s].

In the beginning of this year the ſenate ſent an ambaſſador to the grand ſeignor, to prevent his breaking with the republic. Their apprehenſions from that quarter were ſoon quieted, on Selim's march into Aſia againſt the ſophi, and appearance of the war carrying on with Achmet his brother. As ſoon as the negociations broke off, hoſtilities commenced in Friuli. Alviana, after taking ſome towns from the emperor, inſtead of amuſing himſelf with repairing the fortifications, made a forced march, and attacked the enemy's head-quarters at a time when they expected he was at the diſtance of twenty leagues: here he revenged his defeat in the laſt campaign; for, he totally diſperſed the enemy, and took two thouſand priſoners. From thence he marched againſt Moran, a place taken in the winter by the Germans; but this expedition was fruitleſs: he made ſeveral brave attacks, but the enemy was well provided, and the garriſon ſtrong, ſo that the Venetians were forced to relinquiſh the enterprize. Diſappointed before Moran, he yet had the good fortune to ſeize upon the traitor who had occaſioned its loſs, whom he ſent to Venice, where he was hung up by the heels, until he expired.

*Alviana defeats the emperor's forces.*

After Alviana's retreat, the Swiſs and Germans attacked and took Udina at the firſt aſſault, it being entirely deſtitute of a garriſon and neceſſaries[t]. Hence they marched to Oſopo, which they battered with incredible fury, but little ſucceſs; then they determined to turn the ſiege into a

*The Swiſs take Udina.*

[s] Fugger. lib. vi.

blockade,

blockade, hearing that the garriſon was in want of water; but this attempt was likewiſe rendered abortive by ſome heavy ſhowers of rain that ſupplied the beſieged.

The ſenate, appriſed of the conſequence of Moran to the republic, ordered Savogarni and the proveditor Vitturi to make a ſecond attempt. Theſe two officers marched to the ſiege with five thouſand horſe and foot, formed trenches, erected batteries, and got every thing in great forwardneſs to give an aſſault, when an order of the ſenate came that they ſhould run no hazards, or riſque the ſafety of the army. In conſequence of this injunction, ſeveral days were loſt before the town in an irreſolute manner; during which the Swiſs and Germans aſſembling, attacked the quarters of Vitturi, defeated and took him priſoner. This loſs was in ſome meaſure compenſated by Ceri, who ſallying out of Crema upon Savelli, put him to flight with conſiderable loſs, and opened the way for throwing ſuccours into the city, which had long been greatly diſtreſſed with famine and a plague. Ceri, not contented with relieving Crema, attacked and took Bergamo; but not being able to ſpare a garriſon, it was ſoon retaken by the Spaniards. He afterwards went to Venice, where he was received with great marks of diſtinction and eſteem [t].

*Venetians defeated.*

In the mean time Leo X. was alarmed with Selim's return from Aſia, and his great preparations by ſea and land. Thoſe armaments, he doubted not, were intended againſt Italy; and among all the Chriſtian powers he ſaw none who could ſtop the torrent beſides the emperor and the Venetians. To make them act with vigour againſt the common enemy, it was abſolutely neceſſary to make them friends; a point he had often laboured to no purpoſe. However, he reſolved not to deſiſt from an attempt in which Italy in particular, and the liberties of Europe were intereſted. He ſent legates and nuncios to Maximilian and Venice, to effect, if poſſible, a reconciliation. Pietro Bembo, a Venetian, then ſecretary to Leo, and the elegant hiſtorian of the republic, was appointed to negotiate this important affair. Leo knew his addreſs, and the eſteem in which he was held by the ſenate. Although Bembo was received with the utmoſt kindneſs, and conducted himſelf with all poſſible addreſs, he could terminate nothing. The ſenate in private communicated to him their ſentiments of the propoſed alliance, and their ſuſpicions

[t] Paruta, lib. xii. Bemb. Ep. lib. 6.

of Maximilian and Ferdinand; at the same time assuring him of their sense of the goodness of Leo's intentions. Bembo took his leave, and found at Rome the other nuncio returned from Maximilian with as little success [u]. On his departure, the senate sent ambassadors to Lewis the Twelfth, and Henry the Eighth, to congratulate them on their late peace and alliance: to thank them for the favourable mention of the republic made in the treaty; to request Lewis to send succours into Italy; and to assure him of their intention literally to adhere to their treaty with France. Before the arrival of the embassy Lewis died, on the first day of January 1515.

*Lewis XII. dies.*

A.D.1515. His death was not attended with those consequences to the republic which were apprehended; for the duke of Valois, who succeeded to the crown by the name of Francis the First, was determined, as to the affairs of Italy, to tread in the steps of his predecessor, though he did not declare his intentions. Dandola, the Venetian ambassador, was received by Francis publicly, with stiffness and ceremony; but privately with great cordiality, insomuch that the treaty was renewed, with some clauses of a stricter amity than before. In England the ministers of the republic met with equal success, Henry assuring them of his friendship; and that he would use his influence with Francis to hasten his departure for Italy [x].

*Francis I. renews the treaty with the Venetians.*

The great object of the senate's policy was to raise the supplies for the war they were resolved to pursue. The treasury was exhausted; commerce languished, and private persons were tired of contributions. A variety of schemes were proposed, each of which had its difficulties, and produced warm debates. At last, a poll-tax, in proportion to every man's property, the highest not exceeding three hundred crowns, was decreed, and three commissioners were appointed to regulate and levy the money.

In the mean time Francis the First was making great preparations. As he was a prince of known courage and ambition, the eyes of Europe were upon him, not doubting but he had formed vast projects. He gave out, that his intention was to chastise the Swiss for their irruption into Burgundy in the late reign; but Maximilian and Leo suspected other designs. Ferdinand apprehended that his preparations were destined against Navarre, and Maximilian Sforza dreaded they might tend to deprive him of Milan.

[u] Petr. de Angl. Epist 543. [x] Paruta, lib. ii.

As

As to Ferdinand, his doubts were removed when Francis demanded a prolongation of the truce between him and Lewis the Twelfth, on condition that the ſecret article regarding the Milaneſe ſhould be void. He rejected this propoſal, and made it the means of engaging Maximilian and the Swiſs cantons in a league for the defence of the Milaneſe. A treaty was accordingly concluded between Maximilian, Ferdinand, the Swiſs cantons, and Maximilian Sforza, with room left for the pontiff to accede within a limited time. Ferdinand, whoſe chief view was the defence of Navarre, engaged to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Fontarabia. The Swiſs were to enter Burgundy, while the emperor, by purſuing the war in the Venetian dominions, ſhould prevent their aſſiſting Francis. It was ſtipulated to pay the Swiſs forty thouſand crowns per month, and not to conclude peace with France, until the king had renounced his pretenſions upon Milan [y].

*The emperor, Ferdinand, the Swiſs, and Sforza enter into an alliance.*

On one ſide the Venetians endeavoured to gain over the pope, while the emperor and Ferdinand on the other repreſented to him of what importance it was to the ſecurity of the holy ſee to join againſt France. Leo was greatly embarraſſed; each ſide had its inconveniencies: at laſt, ſwayed by the apprehenſions that Francis, being poſſeſſed of the Milaneſe, would demand the fiefs of Parma and Placentia, he chimed in with the oppoſite league; but with this proviſo, that his acceding to it might be kept ſecret. This precaution proved uſeleſs; for he was ſoon obliged to march his cavalry towards Piedmont, to block up the paſſage of the Alps againſt Francis [z]. Julian de Medicis remained with the reſt of the troops in Lombardy, ready to join the Spaniards, if neceſſary; while the cardinal of Syon arrived in the Milaneſe with twenty thouſand men he had raiſed upon his own credit, and with the pope's money. Here the Swiſs being joined by Sforza's troops, marched towards Suza, the head-quarters, in order to block up the defiles between the mountains of Geneva and Mount Ceris, which was the uſual route of the French into Italy.

*The pope joins in their alliance.*

Francis at length began his march with an army of twenty-three thouſand horſe and foot, ſending word to the ſenate, to prevent their general from hazarding a battle before the armies ſhould be united. He found the paſſes of Suza, Pignerole, Saluſſes, and others, guarded by the

[y] Guicc lib. xii. [z] Spalatin. in Vit. Leon. Guicc. lib. xii.

*Francis paſſes the Alps.*

Swiſs and the pope's cavalry; ſo that he paſſed directly over the Alps, through unfrequented and difficult paths, and on the fourth day's march arrived on the frontiers of the marquiſate of Saluſſes. The Swiſs, ſeeing that Francis had eluded all their vigilance, retired to Novara, where the king followed, and made propoſals extremely advantageous to thoſe auxiliaries; which they were inclined to accept, as the allies had but badly performed their engagements. Some of the ſoldiers had mutinied for want of pay, others deſerted, and the majority thought fit to recompence themſelves by ſeizing on the pope's military cheſt. The treaty was in great forwardneſs, when news arrived that twenty thouſand of their countrymen were on full march to join the army, having with them money ſufficient for the payment of all their arrears [a]. This intelligence determined them to break off the conferences with the French king, to adhere to their alliance, and give battle to Francis. Before the king arrived at Marignan he ſurpriſed Proſpero Colonna, who was encamped with two thouſand men in the marquiſate of Saluſſes: he afterwards pitched his camp at Marignan, to facilitate a junction with Alviana. The Swiſs, knowing it was their buſineſs to fight before he was reinforced, ſtruck their tents without beat of drum, and in the moſt profound ſilence advanced to ſurpriſe the enemy. Alviana, who had come to the camp to concert the operations of the campaign, was at dinner with his majeſty when the conſtable of Bourbon entered the tent, and informed them that the Swiſs army was in ſight. Alviana mounted his horſe and flew to Lodi, to bring up ſome of the Venetian cavalry.

*Battle at Marignan begun.*

The king had ſcarce time to range his army in order of battle when the attack began upon the artillery, defended by the lanſquenets [b]. Already the conſtable had drawn up the advanced guard, which he commanded in perſon, and the German infantry, for the defence of the artillery, when the Swiſs, by the advice of colonel Rhoſt, marched ſtrait up to the cannon, expoſing themſelves to the fire both of the artillery and infantry, to avoid being taken in flank by the French cavalry poſted on the wings. Their intention was to make the firſt and principal attack on that ſide, and, after ſeizing the cannon, to turn it upon the French gens d'arms, whoſe ſhock was formidable. This very manœuvre had ſucceeded at Novara two years before; and now it was imagined that the Swiſs,

[a] Simber. Rep. Helvet. lib. i. [b] Paruta. lib i.

not

not willing to break their agreement with the French, were marching againſt the laſquenets with the king's conſent, to whom they bore a mortal grudge and antipathy. The ſame opinion prevailing among the German infantry, they gave way for above a hundred paces, keeping at the ſame time their ranks entire, by which means the Swiſs approached the artillery without any reſiſtance. They were on the point of attacking the French gens d'arms, when the conſtable, imagining that the lanſquenents had been put in diſorder, attacked them in front to cover the German infantry while they rallied: this aſſault was given with ſuch vigour as required all the intrepidity of the Swiſs to withſtand. Each ſide maintained their ground without yielding an inch amidſt a cloſe fire, when the king came up with the French infantry and the bandes noirs, to ſupport the conſtable. The count de la Mark headed this body of Germans, and advanced to occupy the ſpace which the lanſquenets had quitted. The lanſquenets, piqued at that motion, determined he ſhould not acquire honour by their diſgrace, and deſirous of repairing their error, attacked with incredible reſolution the firſt Swiſs battalion that preſented, while the count de la Mark with a laudable emulation ſupported their efforts. Here the battle continued for two hours with amazing firmneſs, obſtinacy, and conduct, neither ſide ſhewing the leaſt marks of wearineſs or diſorder. Night came on before either the French, Germans, or Swiſs, thought of ſounding a retreat, and the fight ſtill continued with the ſame impetuoſity with which it commenced. It now was almoſt impoſſible to quit the field, as the darkneſs of the night prevented the ſoldiers from diſtinguiſhing their own colours. The French advanced-guard had ſuffered moſt, and was in great diſorder; nor could they rally, as clouds of duſt and ſmoke obſcured the little glimmering light the ſtars afforded, and the roar of cannon drowned all the orders that could be given. The Swiſs, who as well as the French wore white ſcarfs, could not diſtinguiſh each other: their ſureſt attack, therefore, was againſt the cavalry, which they knew was wholly French, they having only four hundred horſe belonging to Sforza: thus the horſe were expoſed to the greateſt danger. The king's horſe was wounded under him, and his armour pierced in ſeveral places. In this manner did the battle continue for four hours after ſun-ſet; when at length both ſides, fatigued with action, were forced to deſiſt and draw breath: every man remained under arms in the place where he chanced

*The obſtinacy of both French and Swiſs.*

to

to ſtand. Francis found himſelf within fifty paces of the main body of the enemy; but the impoſſibility of removing his ſtation, without running into greater hazards, determined him to remain in the ſame critical ſituation. All the precautions he could take were to extinguiſh a torch that was lighted near him, and to order all round his perſon to ſpeak low, and omit thoſe terms of reſpect by which he might be diſtinguiſhed. He ſlept upon the ground in his armour, his head ſupported by a block of wood belonging to the carriage of a cannon.

At break of day both armies rallied and charged with freſh vigour. The Swiſs made their firſt attack upon the corps where the king ſtood, with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that his majeſty would have been in great danger had not the German infantry interpoſed, and the artillery played furiouſly on the enemy with ſo much ſucceſs, as put them in ſome diſorder. One diſcharge of the cannon had ſwept away an entire line of the fartheſt advanced battalion, by means of which the French cavalry broke in, and ſoon diſperſed the reſt. The battle had now continued five hours without the ſmalleſt intermiſſion, when the Swiſs, deſpairing of breaking the German infantry, ſent a detachment to attack the French rear-guard. Colonel Molin was ſent on this command, and acquitted himſelf with great courage and addreſs: after taking a long circuit he fell upon the French, who did not expect him though he found them prepared.

*Alviana and the Venetians come opportunely to the relief of the French.*

In the mean time Alviana with the Venetian forces came up, and made his firſt effort on Molin's rear, who after an obſtinate reſiſtance was defeated, and his detachment cut in pieces. Then penetrating with his freſh troops to the poſt where the king charged in perſon, he aſſaulted the main body of the Swiſs with ſo much fury, that they began to give way. At laſt they ſounded a retreat, and marched in good order towards the Milaneſe, rather quitting the field than ceding the victory. Neither the king nor Alviana thought proper to purſue them, finding it impracticable to break forces ſo well diſciplined. Both Swiſs and French had loſt their beſt troops and officers, above five thouſand on each ſide being left on the field, beſides wounded. It cannot be denied that the arrival of Alviana with the Venetian forces, contributed in a great meaſure to, if it was not the ſole cauſe of the victory obtained by Francis, on this occaſion.

*Swiſs retreat in good order.*

As the cardinal of Sion had been the chief cauſe of this engagement, in which the Swiſs ſuffered ſo much, they failed

failed not to reproach him even in the moſt rancorous and indecent terms. So incenſed were they againſt the prelate, that to ſave his life he was forced to fly to the emperor, who ſoon after employed him in negociations, for which he was extremely well qualified.

After this battle the French and Venetians marched to Milan, the citizens throwing open the gates to receive them, and giving one hundred thouſand crowns to be exempted from being plundered. All the other towns of the Milaneſe followed the example of the capital [c]; but the citadels of Milan and Cremona ſtill held out. Leo the Tenth, finding that the French and Venetians carried all before them, began to temporize, and at laſt was forced to renounce his alliance with Maximilian and Ferdinand: he alſo yielded Parma and Placentia to the French monarch, promiſing beſides to reſtore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, the faithful and ancient ally of France. Francis, on his part, engaged to aſſiſt the church againſt all her enemies, and to maintain the houſe of Medicis in Florence. *Milan, &c. ſurrender to the French.*

The ſiege of the citadel, into which Sforza had thrown himſelf, was now undertaken and proſecuted with ſo much vigour, that he was forced to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the conquerors were pleaſed to impoſe. Before this ſiege began, Alviana ſeparated his troops from the French, in order to fight the viceroy of Naples, who retreated upon his approach. Then he marched, by the ſenate's order, to lay ſiege to Breſcia and Verona, after having requeſted of Francis to aſſiſt the republic in the recovery of her territories. The Venetain officers were divided in their opinions which of thoſe cities were to be firſt attacked. Some alleged Verona to be of the greateſt conſequence, ſince the ſurrender of that city would be in fact reducing the whole Veroneſe. Others again adviſed, that Breſcia might be inveſted, in order to open a communication with Milan. The ſenate referred the whole to Alviana, who marched directly to the latter place, in hopes either of ſurpriſing, or in a ſhort time of reducing the garriſon, and then laying ſiege to Verona before the rigour of the winter ſhould oblige him to go into quarters. But cloſe as Alviana took his meaſures, Icaro, the Spaniſh governor of Breſcia, ſuſpecting his intention, procured a reinforcement of a thouſand infantry before his arrival. Alviana was entirely ignorant of this particular, and re- *Alviana lays ſiege to Breſcia.*

[c] Marian. lib. xxx. p. 126.

lying

lying upon the weakneſs of the garriſon, was ſurpriſed at a reſiſtance he did not expect when he gave the aſſault. However, determined to conquer it by force, he made his approaches with ſuch diligence, and applied himſelf ſo cloſely to directing and overſeeing the works, that his fatigues produced a fever, of which he died in a few days [d].

*Alviana's death.*

In him the republic loſt one of her beſt officers, equally eſteemed by the ſenate, and beloved by the ſoldiers, to whom he was profuſely generous, and yet a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline. In his youth his fire and courage led him into deſperate attempts, the folly of which he ſaw when judgment ripened with years and experience. He was ſo much the darling of the army, that they kept his body for twenty-five days, carrying it about with them in mournful pomp wherever they marched. His diſintereſtedneſs was ſo great, that notwithſtanding he had long enjoyed ſome of the moſt lucrative employments of the republic from his youth, yet he died ſo poor, that his body was interred at the public charge, and his widow and family were ſupported by the ſenate [e].

Alviana's death induced the Venetians to raiſe the ſiege of Breſcia, and attempt the reduction of Peſcara, in which they ſucceeded before the arrival of John Trivulcio. This officer had been ſent by Francis, at the ſenate's requeſt, to ſucceed Alviana. He had no ſooner taken upon him the command than he returned to Breſcia, agreeable to the ſenate's deſire; but againſt his own judgment. The event juſtified the prudence of his opinion; for the garriſon being little inferior in number to the Venetian army, made ſuch furious ſallies as rendered his approaches impracticable. While the Venetians were beſieging Peſcara it had been ſtrongly reinforced; and Alviana found it difficult enough before to erect his batteries. Juſt as Trivulcio had thoughts of raiſing the ſiege, a large detachment of the garriſon ſallied out upon him, killed near three hundred of his troops, and took ten pieces of cannon, with ſome baggage, which they carried in triumph into the city. This loſs forced him to retreat with precipitation as far as Coccai, where he waited for a reinforcement from the French army. Before the arrival of ſuccours the winter came on; ſo that the project of reſuming the ſiege was deferred till the following ſpring [f].

*The ſiege of Breſcia raiſed.*

After the conqueſt of the Milaneſe, Francis returned to his own dominions with the greater part of his army,

[d] Paruta, lib. iii. [e] Paruta, ibid. Belcar. lib. xv.
[f] Paruta. ibid. p. 192.

having

having left no more than six thousand French and five thousand lanſquenets, under the command of the conſtable, in Italy. The loſs of the battle of Marignan put the emperor in great pain for his poſſeſſions in Italy. He was ſenſible that without the Swiſs he could not reſiſt Francis and the republic; and as theſe mercenary allies were bought off at a higher price than his finances could outbid, he formed the project of involving Francis at home, by engaging Henry VIII. of England in his quarrel [g] (D). His firſt ſtep was to gain over cardinal Wolſey, an aim which he effectually accompliſhed by ſome promiſes extremely flattering to the ambition of that haughty prelate and miniſter. Wolſey artfully repreſented to Henry the danger of ſuffering Francis to grow too powerful, and chiefly applied himſelf to the paſſions of that young monarch. In ſhort, Maximilian with joy ſaw his intrigues againſt the Venetians and French ſucceed to his wiſh. All the young courtiers were ſtrenuous in preſſing a rupture with France, while the older and more prudent part of the nation repreſented the injuſtice of breaking a treaty without the ſmalleſt provocation; and adviſed Henry rather to turn his arms againſt Scotland [h]. A.D. 1516.

In the mean time Leo X. being informed of what paſſed in England, was not forward in concluding the treaty which was on foot with Francis: he ſpent a month at Florence, quibbling about the expences in which the holy ſee ought to be reimburſed before he yielded Modena and Reggio. He was deſirous that the duke of Ferrara ſhould receive his inveſtiture from the church, though all his predeceſſors had received their's from the empire; but the duke nobly rejected both propoſitions, although he was acquainted with the combination formed againſt France, yet he refuſed to deſert his ally [i].

[g] Mariana, lib. lxxx. [h] Rapin. vide Hiſt. Eng. etiam Negotiationes et Geſta C. Wolſey. [i] Guicc. lib. xii.

(D) Leo and Francis had an interview at Bologna a few days before his majeſty's departure for France. Their conferences laſted ſix days, when at laſt it was concluded, that the king ſhould take upon him the protection of the holy ſee, the pope's perſon, and of the family of Medicis; the pope, on his part, conſenting to recall the troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of Maximilian, and to withdraw his garriſon from Verona. How well he performed his contract will appear in the ſequel (1).

(1) Spalatin. Vit. Leo.

The

*Brescia and Verona besieged by the French and Venetians.*

The winter having been wholly employed in negociations and state intrigues, early in the spring the Venetian army took the field. Trivulcio had quartered it in the Brescian, in order to resume the siege of Brescia, when the season should permit. It was resumed accordingly under the conduct of Lautrec, who succeeded Trivulcio; and another army was at the same time sent to invest Verona. Things were in great forwardness, notwithstanding all Leo's intrigues, when news arrived that Maximilian's army was in full march towards Verona: he had drawn together a number of troops levied in his hereditary dominions to resist Selim, who, it was imagined, proposed an invasion of Germany. Besides, each circle of the empire had given him five thousand horse and six thousand foot; and the five lesser cantons of Switzerland, who refused to treat with Francis, sent their quota of five thousand infantry to Maximilian. With this formidable army his march was so expeditious and secret, that neither the French nor Venetians suspected he had moved out of quarters, until he descended the mountains of Trent[k]. The approach of the imperial army obliged the allies to raise the sieges of Brescia and Verona with a precipitation that more resembled flight than a retreat (E). Lautrec, who commanded in chief at both, had sent the king word, that he would prevent the emperor's crossing the Oglio; but he did not keep his promise, having been misinformed concerning the strength of the imperial army, and likewise the depth of the river, which happened to be lower than it usually was at that season of the year. The Imperialists passed the Oglio, marching to Cremona, where they encamped: there they were joined by Mincio with the forces quartered at Verona, upon which they proceeded with little obstruction to Milan. The imprudent conduct of Maximilian in wasting time in the siege of Asola, gave the Venetians time to recollect themselves, and take the necessary measures for the defence of Milan[l]. They had received ten thousand Swiss into their pay, raised in those cantons which were in treaty with France. Trivulcio had thrown three thousand men into Cremona.

*The emperor's approach raises both sieges.*

[k] Petr. Justian. lib. xi.

[l] Stevins. Period. lib. x. p. 961.

(E) The emperor had no sooner obliged the enemy to raise the sieges of Verona and Brescia, than pope Leo sent a nuncio to congratulate him on his arrival in Italy (2); though according to the treaty of Bologna, he ought to have taken every measure to stop his progress.

(2) Petr. Justinian. lib. xi.

He

He had paſſed the Adda to meet the Swiſs and oppoſe Maximilian's croſſing this river. Accordingly the emperor was repulſed at Piccighitone; after which check he made a feint, as if he intended paſſing at Caſſan, and in the mean time throwing a bridge over the Adda, detached a body of infantry to defend it, by which means he at laſt ſucceeded. Then marching ſtrait to Milan, he ſent a herald to demand the keys of the gates, threatening the inhabitants with the moſt rigorous treatment if they refuſed to comply. By this time Trivulcio had returned to the city, and his army was a ſeaſonable reinforcement to the conſtable, who found the utmoſt difficulty to keep the inhabitants from ſurrendering. The nearer Maximilian approached, the more tumultuous they became, either from a fickleneſs natural to them, or dread of the imperial power; nor could the commotions be fully quieted till the arrival of the Swiſs. So powerful a reinforcement inſpired them with courage, and now they became no leſs inſolent than they had been humble a few hours before. Other happy conſequences to the French immediately followed the arrival of the Swiſs[m]: their countrymen in the imperial army began to murmur, and demand their pay with a boldneſs that terrified Maximilian. Staffler, their colonel, came to the emperor's bed-ſide, and demanded their ſtipend in terms ſo diſreſpectful, that Maximilian could not help reproaching him with ill manners. Staffler anſwered, "That the Swiſs wanted florins, not breeding; and that if their engagements were not inſtantly fulfilled, they would embrace the offers of the conſtable of Bourbon." The emperor was greatly ſtartled at this declaration; he feared leſt the French might have money enough to corrupt the Swiſs, and he was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of thoſe republicans to have any doubt of their obtaining their money upon any terms. To appeaſe Staffler he told him, that by the next day he might depend on the payment of of the arrears, and alſo a ſum in advance. After the departure of the Swiſs, Maximilian removed his quarters to another part of the camp, where he thought he might be protected by the Germans; but apprehending danger here likewiſe, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to the Bergamaſco with the Germans, where he encamped. The Swiſs, following his example, decamped likewiſe, and took the route of Lodi, pillaging every place in their way. They were proceeding on their march homeward, when the cardinal Sion came up with them, bringing with him

*Maximilian lays ſiege to Milan.*

*His army diſperſes.*

[m] Paruta, lib. iii.

ſix

six thousand crowns, which the emperor had raised in the Bergamasco by way of contribution. Moreover, he assured them of an immediate advance of fifty thousand crowns, Spanish money, which were deposited in the city of Trent; upon which assurance they suspended measures, and had some thoughts of returning to the siege, when fresh difficulties occurred. In short, Maximilian not having performed his promise, the Swiss returned home, the Germans encamped in the Veronese, the other auxiliaries repassed the Alps, and three thousand lansquenets went over to the Venetians. Thus ended the formidable expedition of Maximilian in the total dispersion of an army, which, under proper authority and discipline, was sufficient to conquer all Italy [n].

*Divisions arise between the French and Venetians.*

But neither the Venetians nor French profited much by the disorder in the imperial army: the latter thought of nothing more than establishing themselves quietly in the duchy of Milan by a firm peace; while the Venetians in vain complained of a breach of contract in not assisting them in the recovery of their dominions. Gritti, the proveditor, made strong remonstrances to Lautrec, upon his refusal to undertake the siege of Verona; but they were ineffectual: he even proposed in a council of war, that the Venetians alone should undertake the enterprize; in which proposal he had the concurring sentiments of the other officers. Lautrec, seing their resolution, agreed to join them, and they were on their march to the Veronese, when the lansquenets refused to attack a town belonging to the emperor: here they were a second time disappointed, and at length forced to relinquish the design [o].

*Verona besieged by the Venetians.*

An account of these transactions coming to the senate, they immediately sent a reinforcement of four thousand men, money, and stores, with orders for the army to proceed directly to the siege. Accordingly Verona was invested, and the siege carried on with vigour on the part of the Venetians, but not so on the side of Lautrec. The proveditors used all their endeavours to engage the French heartily in the cause; but perceiving they were amused with frivolous excuses, they began to suspect that Lautrec's conduct was the effect of some secret orders from court. Intelligence having arrived at the same time in the camp, of a body of Germans that were on their march for the relief of the place, Lautrec sent the proveditor notice, that he would not hazard a battle, and of his in-

[n] Heuterus, lib. vii. cap. 12. Fugg. lib. vi. cap. 18. Marian. lib. xxx. [o] Foug. dec. iii. lib. v. Paruta, lib. iii.

tention

tention to decamp. This deſign he immediately effected, leaving the Venetians alone to conduct the ſiege, and encounter the approaching enemy [p].

We muſt now enquire into the occaſion of this remiſſneſs of the French general, and the reaſons which induced him ſo obviouſly to break the treaty with the republic. Francis having recovered the Milaneſe, had formed new projects in conſequence of the death of Ferdinand, which happened this year. He had planned the deſign of adding Naples to the crown of France, in hopes that the archduke Charles would not be in a capacity to lay claim to Arragon before he was well eſtabliſhed in his Spaniſh dominions. Leo, eager for the expulſion of the French from Italy, kept emiſſaries at the courts of the emperor, the king of England, and the archduke Charles: he likewiſe uſed all his endeavours, by clandeſtine meaſures, to prevail on the Swiſs cantons to break their treaty with France; but his intrigues could not be kept ſo ſecret as to eſcape the notice of the French monarch, who at once abandoning his ſchemes upon Naples, reſolved to treat with Spain; nor was that crown leſs diſpoſed to terms of amity. The reſult of this mutual inclination was a treaty, concluded at Noyon by the plenipotentiaries of each, in which Francis, for certain conſiderations, renounced his claim to Naples. *Treaty of Noyon.*

This treaty was ſoon followed by another, ſigned at Bruſſels; by which Charles engaged to prevail on his grandfather to conſign the city of Verona into the hands of Lautrec, to be delivered by him to the Venetians upon their paying to Maximilian for that reſtitution the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats, and to Francis the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns, due to him from Maximilian. Both theſe treaties were diametrically oppoſite to the inclinations and views of Leo, Maximilian, and Henry VIII. The pontiff paſſionately wiſhed the decline of the French power. Maximilian's chief view was to raiſe enemies to Francis, to prevent his aſſiſting the Venetians: he foreſaw that he either muſt ratify the treaty of Bruſſels, and yield up Verona, or elſe defend his Italian conqueſts, without a ſingle ally, againſt a powerful enemy. In this extremity he thought the moſt adviſable meaſure would be to embroil the affairs of Europe in ſuch

[p] Paruta, lib. iii.

a manner, that the new war might stir up a league against France [q].

The senate of Venice, sensible that the emperor would object to the terms of the treaty of Brussels, continued their remonstrances so assiduously to Lautrec, that, not knowing how to excuse himself without an open violation of the treaty, he returned to the siege of Verona; A.D.1517. but, in the mean time Maximilian thought fit to ratify the treaty of Noyon, and conclude a truce for three months with the Venetians, during which preliminaries for a peace were to be settled. Thus Verona being put into the hands of Lautrec, was delivered to the Venetians, on their paying the sum stipulated in the treaty of Brussels. Gritti and Gradonico received the city from the French, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, and of the senate and people of Venice. Demonstrations of joy were made in every city belonging to the republic; presents were sent to Lautrec, and Gritti was ordered to escort him to Milan [r].

*Maximilian accedes to the treaty, so do the Venetians.*

Peace being now established, and the republic reinstated in the quiet possession of her dominions, by a prolongation of the truce for the term of five years, the senate's attention was turned wholly to pacific measures. They began with easing the people of the burthensome taxes imposed for the support of the war; enlarging their commerce, and promoting industry, trade, and manufactures: nor did this wise body neglect the study of arts and sciences, which could not be supposed to flourish amidst a ruinous and bloody war: for this purpose the university of Padua, which had been shut for the space of eight years, was opened, and particular immunities and privileges were conferred on this ancient seat of the Muses. To provide the more effectually for the security of science, which ever blows strongest under the shade of peace, they added to the fortifications of the city, taking every measure which could prevent any farther inconveniences to learning, or impede the education and studies of youth.

A.D.1518. The senate was sensible of what consequence to the republic it was to live upon terms of amity with the grand seignor: they had often experienced his power; and the traffic to his coasts was the most beneficial branch of their commerce. In order, therefore, to preserve the friend-

[q] Guicc. lib. xii. Heuter. lib. vii. cap. 12. Parut. ibid. [r] Barre. Hist. Allem tom. viii. p. 1054.

ship

ſhip of Selim, two of the chief nobility, Lodovico Mocenigo and Bartholomeo Contareni, were ſent to congratulate him on his late victory over the ſophi of Perſia, and requeſt the continuance of his friendſhip to the republic. Selim received the ambaſſadors at Damaſcus; profeſſed great eſteem for the republic; granted the Venetian factories at Tripoli, Alexandria, Bareth, Damaſcus, and elſewhere within his dominions, all the exemptions, privileges, and immunities, they deſired. In ſhort, ſo kindly did he receive the ambaſſadors, that they returned loaded with preſents, and highly ſatisfied with the magnificence, generoſity, and friendſhip of that monarch. A treaty of commerce with Spain was likewiſe concluded, by which ſome difficulties to the Venetian trade, which occurred upon the acceſſion of Charles to that crown, were wholly removed [t].

The pope, the emperor, and the Venetians were all equally deſirous to preſerve the ſweets of peace which they had juſt taſted. To this end a prolongation of the truce was wiſhed for by all parties, though two years were yet unexpired. The emperor was for referring matters to Leo, and propoſed him as arbiter of the terms on which it ſhould be extended; but the republic choſe to conſult with Francis, and to put her intereſts in the hands of that powerful and ancient ally. Leo was prompted to eſtabliſh tranquillity among the Chriſtian princes, from a deſire of uniting them againſt Selim, whoſe power became formidable. Francis, having confirmed the truce between the emperor and Venetians, the pope employed all his art to engage them in a new holy war: his utmoſt endeavours were uſed with the republic, whoſe marine he knew would be abſolutely neceſſary to his deſign; but the Venetians, ſenſible of the benefits they drew by their commerce from Selim's friendſhip, returned anſwer, that his holineſs might depend on them when the other princes were ready to take the field; ſooner to equip fleets and raiſe armies would only expoſe them to the reſentment of a monarch able at one blow to cruſh the republic. It was plain to the ſenate, that ſuch an anſwer laid them under no hazard of quarrelling with Selim, ſince they were aware of the impracticability of uniting the ſtrength of ſo many contending and oppoſite intereſts for the execution of Leo's ſcheme [u].

[t] Paruta, lib. iv. p. 251. Ann. 1519.

[u] Spalatin. Vit. Leon. Baron.

A.D.1519. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty with the republic, the emperor Maximilian died, after a reign of twenty-five years and five months: his death being known to the frontier garrisons, they began to make incursions into the Venetian territories, and to commit acts of hostility, as if the treaty was extinct by the decease of one of the parties; but these irregularities were soon terminated in consequence of remonstrances which the senate made to the princes of the empire. In the mean time Francis the First and the archduke Charles of Austria, now king of Spain, made preparations to support their mutual pretensions to the empire. Italy in general was more disposed toward the election of the former, and particularly the Venetians. Francis sent Taligni in quality of plenipotentiary to the senate: his commission was to borrow a sum of money to support his master's election; to procure a body of troops to give weight to his pretensions; and to consult the necessary measures in case Charles should send an army into Italy, to compel Leo to absolve him from the oath made to Julius concerning the investiture of Naples. The senate answered Taligni in terms of affection and friendship for Francis: they pleaded the low condition of the treasury, exhausted by long wars, notwithstanding which they agreed to raise for his use one hundred thousand ducats: with regard to the forces required, they expressed an apprehension that they would not be granted a passage; or if they were, that they could be of little consequence to the king's affairs, and might involve the republic in a war: however, as to the third article of his request, the senate assured his majesty that any attempts to enter Italy in a hostile manner, would be opposed with all their forces and influence; for that the republic had ever made a point of protecting the holy see, and their obligations to Francis would induce them to be no less regardful of his dominions[x].

*Death of Maximilian.*

*Francis the First and Charles of Austria form pretensions to the empire.*

In the mean time the archbishop of Mentz, having convoked the diet at Franckfort on the 28th of June, Charles was there proclaimed emperor by the name of Charles the Fifth.

Soon after this prince's accession to the imperial dignity, Selim died, and was succeeded in the Othoman empire by Solyman, his only son, an enterprizing and ambitious prince. Lewis, king of Hungary, knowing the young emperor's extensive projects, and hatred of Christianity,

[x] Paruta, lib. iv. p. 125.

prepared

prepared for war, inviting all the other Chriſtian princes to unite with him, and particularly the republic. Inſtead of acceding to the propoſals of Lewis, the ſenate ſent Marco Rinco to Conſtantinople to congratulate Solyman upon his acceſſion, and procure a confirmation of the treaty with his father, which was readily granted. Solyman even conſented to join a ſquadron to the Venetian fleet for the ſecurity of their commerce, at that time infeſted by pirates: and he ſo far honoured the republic as to ſend a plenipotentiary to the ſenate, to notify his acceſſion, and grant the Venetian merchants all the privileges they required. This confirmation of peace with ſo powerful a monarch, afforded the utmoſt joy to the republic; their commerce was thereby ſecured, and the ſtate freed from the apprehenſions of a war it was in no condition to ſupport. In conſequence of this event, their fleet ſailed to the coaſt of Barbary, where it was extremely ſucceſsful againſt the pirates[s].

Not to trace all the cauſes which occaſioned a rupture between the emperor and Francis, ſufficient it is to obſerve, that Francis, aware of the approaching ſtorm, prepared accordingly. He ſent ambaſſadors to Rome and Venice, to endeavour to draw the pope and republic into a league for the defence of Italy, and to prevent Charles from going to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the pope. His miniſter at Rome had no ſatisfactory anſwer from Leo, who was reſolved to wait conjunctures, and be determined by circumſtances. At Venice his ambaſſador received a promiſe, that the ſenate would provide for the ſafety of Italy; yet did the republic harbour ſuſpicions, that a ſecret treaty between Charles and the king was in agitation. This ſuſpicion aroſe from intelligence they had of French and Spaniſh envoys meeting at Montpelier, for a final diſcuſſion of all differences.

The negotiation at Montpelier proving abortive, Charles ſent an ambaſſador to the ſenate to negotiate an alliance with the republic, whoſe friendſhip he perceived would be neceſſary to his deſigns on Italy. As the ſenate inſiſted upon the entire reſtitution of all the places which had been wreſted from them by Maximilian, the ambaſſadors took their leave, without bringing things to any iſſue[t].

This year was entirely conſumed in negotiations: but, the republic kept aloof, not caring to break with Charles, and yet eager to preſerve the alliance with Francis. Nor

[s] Parut. lib. iv. [t] Guic. lib. xiii.

A.D.1520. did the following year produce any open violence, although Europe was threatened with a terrible ſtorm from an army Solyman had levied, with intention, as was ſuppoſed, to invade Hungary, and extend his conqueſts on that quarter. Near two hundred thouſand men had been raiſed in the Aſiatic provinces and Greece; an armament which ſtruck the Hungarians with terror, and compelled them to ſolicit the ſuccour of all the neighbouring powers. Philippo Morotſoſtrot, of Agria, was ſent to Venice to requeſt the aid of the republic. His ſpeech in the ſenate was ſo affecting and pathetic, that this wiſe body, unmindful of their commerce, and the true intereſt of the commonwealth, conſented to ſend ambaſſadors to the courts of Vienna, Paris, and London; and at the ſame time to furniſh Lewis of Hungary with a ſum of thirty thouſand ducats [u].

*The king of Hungary ſolicits the aſſiſtance of the Venetians againſt the Turks.*

A.D. 1521. A few days after the departure of the Hungarian miniſter, Loretano the doge died, after a glorious but troubleſome reign of nineteen years and eight months. As he was a prince endued with every human virtue, wiſe, brave, and generous, his death was much lamented by all degrees of men. "He was, ſays Sanſovino, not only learned; but, by his liberality and taſte, the cauſe of learning in others." After an elegant funeral oration pronounced over his body by Andrea Navagiro, he was buried with great ſolemnity, and attended to the grave with the unfeigned tears of his affectionate and ſorrowful ſubjects [w].

## *ANTONIO GRIMANI, Doge LXXVI.*

*Antonio Grimani.*

THE great aſſembly now met for the choice of a ſucceſſor, when Antonio Grimani, father of the cardinal of that name, was elected by univerſal conſent. Antonio was rich, had borne the higheſt offices of the ſtate, and paſſed through a life ſtrangely chequered and variegated with good and bad fortune. It was but lately he was recalled from baniſhment, in which he had lived ſince the laſt Turkiſh war, where he was ſuppoſed not to have diſcharged his duty. At his acceſſion the republic was in peace, it is true; but the ſeeds of war were ſo plentifully ſown every where, that a rich crop of the evils, neceſſarily attending diſcord, might ſoon be expected. Propoſals were ſtill making to the ſenate by Charles the Fifth,

[u] Parut. ibid. Foug. lib. iv. dec. iv. [w] Sanſov. del Vit. Princip. p. 272.

extremely

extremely advantageous to the intereſt of the republic; yet ſo faithful were the Venetians to Francis, that they declined every overture; nor would they even ſend an ambaſſador to congratulate the emperor on his acceſſion. Charles perceiving their fidelity to their ally, thought of a meaſure which he doubted not would excite jealouſies, and oblige them to have recourſe to his alliance: it was the ſending a plenipotentiary to the court of France, as if he intended to ſettle the affairs of Italy without concerning himſelf with the Venetians. This ſtep, in ſome meaſure, anſwered his intention: however, a treaty he ſoon after concluded with the pope, and a plan formed for expelling the French out of Milan, being accidentally diſcovered, more cloſely cemented the republic with Francis [x].

The policy of the ſenate was to preſerve peace, but this aim was found impoſſible amidſt the intrigues of Charles, Leo, and the French monarch: they endeavoured to repair the breach between his holineſs and the king; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, the army was put in readineſs to march to the relief of Milan, the ſenate knowing, that upon its ſafety, depended the ſecurity of their own dominions. Things now being ripe for action, the imperial army, joined by the pope's forces, marched to beſiege Parma. The trenches were not opened when Lautrec, having received a reinforcement of Swiſs and Venetians, came to its relief, and forced Proſpero Colonna, the imperial general, to abandon his deſign. Proſpero was, indeed, in a condition to defeat Lautrec, had not the ſudden aſſault the duke of Ferrara made upon Reggio and Modena, obliged him to divide his forces.

Leo began to harbour ſuſpicions of the emperor in conſequence of this diſappointment: he had ſupported the whole expence of the ſiege, and attributed the want of ſucceſs to the ſecret orders Colonna had received. Charles, chagrined at the pope's jealouſy, was more than ever deſirous of engaging the Venetians in his party but all his endeavours could not alter the ſenate's purpoſe [y].

Both armies were ſtrongly reinforced by bodies of Swiſs; and Charles, having no hope from the Venetians, ordered Colonna to march directly for Milan. The French and Venetians were commanded by Lautrec, who, hearing of Colonna's intention, ſet out directly for Caſſan, in order to prevent his croſſing the Adda: but Colonna forcing a march got thither before him, and purſued his route to the

[x] Guic. lib. xiii. Paruta, lib. iv. [y] Hiſt. citat. ibid.

capital of the duchy. Lautrec ſtill determined to give him battle, had he not in his march been deſerted by the Swiſs, who mutinied for want of pay. This circumſtance threw the affairs of Francis and the republic in diſorder, and compelled Lautrec, with the remainder of his forces to throw himſelf into Milan, and provide for a ſiege. In the mean time Colonna was advanced, and meaſures were taken for inveſting the city: Peſcara made an attack upon that quarter where Trivulcio and the Venetians were on guard. As the fortifications here were not completed, the garriſon was ſoon defeated; but Trivulçio, who was then ſick in bed, inſtantly getting up, marched againſt Peſcara with a few troops he had collected, not doubting but honour and reaſon would prevail on the reſt to return. In this hope, however, he was diſappointed, and after fighting bravely with a handful of men againſt a multitude, he was made priſoner, with ſeveral Venetians of diſtinction. Lautrec, upon this check, deſpairing of being able to preſerve the city, put a ſtrong garriſon in the citadel, and retired with the remaining forces to Coma. Milan was ſacked and plundered for ten days ſucceſſively; nor was there an inſult or cruelty which the inhabitants did not ſuſtain from the rapaciouſneſs of the Swiſs, and brutality of the Imperialiſts[z].

*Colonna inveſts Milan.*

*Trivulcio taken priſoner, Milan ſurrenders.*

From hence Colonna marched to Coma, which he beſieged, and took, after a ſhort but vigorous aſſault. The ſucceſs of Colonna procured Charles the ſurrender of Lodi, Pavia, Placentia, Parma, and ſoon of Cremona, without ſtriking another blow. Thus did the French loſe Milan, without one battle, or memorable effort, when the approach of winter put a ſtop to the conqueſts of Colonna, and preſerved the remains of Lautrec's army in Venetian quarters. The pope's death likewiſe impeded farther military tranſactions. This event changed the face of affairs, and reduced Colonna to as weak a ſituation as that of Lautrec[a]. Intelligence of Leo's death was no ſooner received in the army, than of twelve thouſand Swiſs he had in pay, no more than five hundred remained: the Florentines likewiſe withdrew; and though the Germans kept the field, yet was their number too inconſiderable to undertake any enterprize, or even to reſiſt the enemy, if ſeaſonably reinforced. Francis imprudently neglected his affairs in Italy, and the Venetians alone

[z] Guicc. lib. xiii. Parut. lib. iv. [a] Guther. Vit. Leon. Belcar. lib. xvii.

were

were not able to seize the opportunity, when Milan might have been as easily recovered as it had been lost. However, they took every possible measure: they levied troops; they ordered their garrisons to march into the field; and they tampered with the Swiss cantons, who seemed disposed to receive their pay, and assist Francis. Lautrec was induced to enter upon action in the depth of winter; but the misconduct of Bozoli, whom he had sent with a strong detachment into the Parmesan, obliged him to relinquish his designs [b].

Strong bodies of Swiss and Venetians having joined him about the month of April, Lautrec resolved to invest Milan, and take the advantage the low condition of the enemy afforded. His intention was to take it by assault; but the strength of the garrison, and the enmity of the citizens to a French government, obliged him to turn the siege into a blockade. Maximilian Sforza in the mean time returned to Pavia with six thousand lansquenets. Thence he passed through the Veronese to Cassel Major. Crossing the Po, he arrived at Placentia, where joining the marquis of Mantua, he proceeded to Milan; upon which Lautrec removed his camp to the distance of five miles from the city. A.D. 1522. *French besiege Milan.*

A detachment from Lautrec's army had besiged and taken Novara; after which exploit, he marched with the main body and invested Pavia, where the marquis of Mantua was left by Sforza to command: his batteries played with fury upon the walls, nor did the marquis neglect any thing necessary to a vigorous defence: the city, however, must soon have surrendered, had not Colonna found means to convey a reinforcement into it of two thousand infantry, chiefly Corsicans. This obliged Lautrec to raise the siege, as he perceived by the strength of the garrison that the issue must be precarious, and the execution bloody and tedious. Retiring to a village called Monce, he resolved there to wait the arrival of a sum of money he expected from France: Colonna, having intelligence of this convoy, sent a detachment under Anchises Visconti to intercept it, which obliged the treasurer to secure himself in Arone, sending from thence advice to Lautrec of his situation. Visconti posted himself so advantageously, that it was impossible for the convoy to pass or be reinforced but by forcing a passage, which *Lautrec invests Pavia.* *The siege raised.*

[b] Paruta, lib. iv.

the

the detachment ſent by Lautrec was too weak to attempt [c].

In the mean time the Swiſs, for whom this money was intended, became impatient: three days they waited; but on the fourth, ſent one of their principal officers to Lautrec with three propoſitions, importing, that he would inſtantly pay them, diſcharge them, or lead them againſt the enemy. The imperialiſts were encamped at Bico, a village three miles from Milan, or rather they were cantoned in a large park, ſurrounded by a deep ditch, which rendered an attack extremely hazardous. Lautrec remonſtrated with the Swiſs; but all the anſwer he could procure was, "Money, a diſcharge, or battle:" however, he obtained from them ſome little time to reconnoitre the enemy; then he divided his army into three bodies for the attack, as this was the only alternative he could embrace. Before the engagement began Sforza joined Colonna with ſix thouſand lanſquenets; upon which Lautrec a ſecond time remonſtrated with the Swiſs, but they were obſtinate. No ſooner did the trumpets ſound than the Swiſs, deſpiſing danger, flew over the ditch and prepared to mount the counterſcrap in the face of cannon and volleys of ſmall arms: the conſequence of this temerity was, that in the ſpace of half an hour they loſt one thouſand of their beſt troops. The ſecond line, not daunted by the deſtruction of the firſt, marched on with equal intrepidity, and met with the ſame fate, leaving in the foſſe about two thouſand ſoldiers, Albert de la Pierre, their general, and four other officers of diſtinction. The French and Venetians on the other ſide were not more ſucceſsful, though leſs unfortunate as to their loſs: Lautrec's brother attacked the bridge, which, after a vigorous action, he was forced to quit, having loſt about ſeven hundred of his troops: ſuch was the iſſue of the affair at Bico, which happened upon the 28th of April, 1522. Some hiſtorians allege, that Lautrec's loſs amounted to five thouſand men, of which, on the part of the Swiſs, three thouſand fell. Next day he retired to Trezzo, and the day following the Swiſs returned to their cantons: the marquis of Peſcara propoſed purſuing them; but was diſſuaded by Colonna to run any farther hazards, ſince the ſure conſequence of their victory already acquired, would be the total conqueſt of the Milaneſe,

*French defeated.*

[c] Paruta. lib. iv. Guic. lib. xiv.

and

and the dispersion of Lautrec's army[d]. Before the end of the autumn, the imperialists were entirely masters of the Milanese, Cremonese, and all the other appendages of the duchy of Milan.

In the mean time Charles V. apprized of the great preparations the French monarch was making for the recovery of the Milanese, made one more attempt to gain the Venetians; but with as little success as before. The republic resolved to keep well, if possible, with both parties, although a body of their troops acted in conjunction with the French.

In the course of this year, Adrian VI. who succeeded Leo in the pontificate, laboured with all his might to effect a truce for three years among the Christian potentates. The great progress of the Turks in Hungary, as well as their conquest of the island of Rhodes, gave his holiness great apprehensions about the fate of Italy. Charles Lennoy, his intimate friend and viceroy of Naples, persuaded him that Francis alone opposed his pious designs; and the emperor and king of England had filled him with notions of the great authority and power of the head of the church. Flattered with these hopes, Adrian published a bull, by which, in virtue of the power delegated to him by the Almighty, he ordered all Christian princes and states to observe a truce of three years, under the penalty of interdiction and excommunication. Francis, paying no regard to the sacred mandate, and continuing his preparations against Italy, the pope joined in the new formed league against this monarch, and omitted nothing to gain the Venetians. New envoys were every week coming from Charles, with different proposals and terms. At last the affair was debated in the senate with great warmth, some advising to embrace the emperor's party and the league, others to continue their alliance with Francis, a prince of valour, equal to his power[e]. The senate seems to have been divided into two factions; one in favour of Francis, headed by Andrea Gritti, a man of great authority and merit; the other by Georgio Cornaro, no less respected for his influence and wisdom. These two noblemen supported their different sentiments with great vehemence and warmth, each producing so many strong and specious arguments as rendered it next to impracticable to decide upon their merit. The arrival

A.D. 1523.

*Adrian VI. joins in the league against France.*

[d] Memoire de Ballai. lib. ii. Belcar. lib. xvii. Paruta, ibid.
[e] Guic. lib. xv. Paruta, lib. v. Guther in Vit. Adrian VI.

of

of the biſhop of Bayeux, ambaſſador from Francis, and of an envoy from Henry VIII. ſtill more, if poſſible, perplexed their deliberations. The firſt intreated they would ſuſpend their determination, until the arrival of the French army, which he aſſerted would enter Italy in leſs than a month. This circumſtance was reaſon enough for the Engliſh and imperial miniſters the more preſſingly to ſolicit them to an immediate reſolution; though at the ſame time they pretended to diſbelieve the aſſertion of the French ambaſſador, under the notion that Francis could ſpare no ſuch army at a time when his own kingdom was in danger.

*The final reſolution of the ſenate, and concluſion of a treaty with the emperor.*

At length, by the intrigues of Charles, of Adrian, and the Engliſh ambaſſadors, a perpetual peace and alliance between the emperor, Ferdinand, the archduke of Auſtria, and Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, on the one hand, and the republic of Venice on the other, was concluded. The conditions were, that the ſenate ſhould ſend, if neceſſary, twelve hundred horſe and ſix thouſand foot for the protection of the Milaneſe: that they ſhould have the ſame number ready to oppoſe the invaſion of Naples by any Chriſtian potentate: that Charles ſhould provide an equal number of forces for the defence of the Venetian dominions againſt all enemies without diſtinction: that the republic ſhould, in the term of eight years, pay to the archduke the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats, as an indemnification of former loſſes: that the republic ſhould poſſeſs all her cities, towns, forts, and territories on the continent, with the ſame juriſdiction, power, and authority, as at the ſigning of this treaty: that all perſons baniſhed their country, and expelled the ſenate for having engaged in the emperor's cauſe, ſhould be recalled and re-inſtated in their former poſſeſſions; and that beſides, they ſhould, for life, enjoy an annual penſion in recompence of their ſufferings. The pope and Henry VIII. were guarantees of this treaty, and the kings of Poland, Hungary, Portugal, and the duke of Savoy, with a number of petty princes, were admitted as acceding parties[f].

No ſooner was the treaty concluded than the republic ſent an embaſſy to the emperor, to compliment him on the occaſion. Their next meaſure was to provide a general to conduct the intended armaments. Trivulcio was ſuppoſed too much attached to the French intereſt; yet

[f] Parut. ibid. Fug. lib. v. dec. v.

as

as he had always behaved with a ſcrupulous regard to honour, it required ſome delicacy to diſmiſs him without giving offence. It was therefore propoſed, that a penſion of three thouſand ducats ſhould be ſettled on him for his ſupport as a private citizen, on the preſumption he would not chuſe to draw his ſword againſt his king and country. The terms were offered, but rejected by Trivulcio, who preferred returning into France. In his room, the ſenate appointed Franciſco Maria, duke of Urbini, commander in chief of all their forces [g]. Such a change in the policy of the ſenate made moſt people imagine, that Francis, deprived of ſo powerful an ally, would lay aſide all thoughts of his Italian expedition; but he, undaunted by the league, remained firm in his reſolution, and redoubled his preparations. The conſtable of Bourbon's defection ſomewhat retarded his operations; but upon the retreat of that nobleman, every thing went on for the march of the army. However, the king contented himſelf with ſending Bonivet with the troops, amounting to twenty thouſand horſe and foot.

Bonivet paſſed the Alps in the end of Auguſt, or beginning of September; and advancing to the frontiers of the Milaneſe, ſoon reduced Novara and all the country on the farther ſide of the river Meſin. Proſpero Colonna had neglected to fortify and garriſon the places of moſt importance, not imagining that Francis, who had ſo many enemies to combat in his own dominions, could ſpare an army for Italy. But finding his conjecture erroneous, he was compelled to retire in great diſorder to Milan. He had but five thouſand men; a body inſufficient to defend ſo large and ill-fortified a city. Experience, however, had taught him, that he was not to couclude what an enemy would do from what he himſelf, in their circumſtances, might think expedient: inſtead therefore of abandoning the duchy, he began with all diligence to repair his former error, thinking it time enough to retire when the enemy made him unable longer to reſiſt [h].

Had Bonivet marched directly to Milan, without waiting to reduce the country as he proceeded, the gates would have been opened; but he injudiciouſly eſteemed a day more or leſs of little conſequence. Thus he loſt four or five days, which afforded Colonna time to put the capital in a ſtate of defence. The republic, having notice of the enemy's approach, ordered their army to aſ-

*Bonivet's error, and Colonna's diligence, fatal to the French.*

[g] Parut. lib. vi. [h] Guicc. lib. xv. Parut. ibid.

ſemble

ſemble on the banks of the Oglio: they alſo reinforced the garriſons of Crema and Bergamo, and ſent a body of troops to join Colonna. Bonivet found the city of Milan, ſo well prepared for defence, that without attempting to form the ſiege, he took the reſolution of encamping at Chiaraballa, to cut off the convoys from the allied army; but his meaſures were ſo ill concerted, that after he had perſiſted in the deſign till the end of November, he was forced to remove at a greater diſtance, his army being in want of proviſion and forage [i].

*Bonivet retires from Milan, and takes Lodi.*

He found means, however, to take Monza and Lodi, and to relieve Cremona, which was in great diſtreſs, the city being in the hands of the imperialiſts. The Milaneſe and Germans, apprehending that Bonivet might lay ſiege to Cremona, preſſed the ſenate to order their army into the Cremoneſe; but they choſe to refer the whole to the diſcretion of the general, Franciſco Maria, who, unwilling to endanger the army committed to his care, encamped between Romano and Martinenga, a ſtep with which the imperialiſts were diſatisfied. Some reports of a ſecret treaty between the imperial and French monarchs, gave birth to the cautious meaſures of the Venetians, who were apprehenſive of entering upon hoſtilities and waſting their troops, while it was doubtful whether an alliance, planned for their deſtruction, might not be in agitation: their general, therefore, kept aloof, until the ſtorms which threatened the republic, were diſpelled; while the ſenate uſed the utmoſt diligence in forming new levies, and preparing againſt the doubtful events of fortune, and policy of the imperial and French councils [k].

During this interval of inaction and mutual diſtruſt, pope Adrian VI. died on the 14th of September, 1523. His death was a fatal ſtroke to the confederacy, depriving it not only of the pontifical authority, but of large pecuniary ſupplies. Julius de Medicis, who was choſen in his ſtead, by the name of Clement VII. adopted a ſyſtem of conduct totally different from that of his preceſſor. This prelate obſerved that Adrian had too eaſily acknowleged the weakneſs and fallibility of the church; a practice contrary to the politics of the former popes, who never aſſented to the reformation of abuſes, but to obtain ſome very important object. Charles had incurred the diſpleaſure of many of the princes of the empire, by mak-

[i] Capella. Hiſt. Med. lib. iii. Guicc. lib. xv.

[k] Paruta, lib. vi.

ing

ing too great conceſſions to the court of Rome; yet would not Clement renew the truce his predeceſſor had made with the head of the empire. He gave the emperor to underſtand, that his intention was to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, as the common father of Chriſtendom, deſirous of uniting the Chriſtian princes, and oppoſing the dangerous growth of the Othoman power [l].

The conduct of Clement extremely embarraſſed the duke of Bourbon. The emperor had given him, after his eſcape from France, the command of his forces in Italy; but he ſent him no money for the payment of the troops; nor was it poſſible for the duke to ſatisfy their demands, as neither the pope nor the republic of Florence furniſhed their ſtipulated ſubſidies: he found means, however, to draw ſome money from the inhabitants of Milan; and at laſt he engaged the pope to give him twenty thouſand ducats, and to uſe his influence with the Florentines to remit fifty thouſand crowns, on condition that the duke ſhould keep the tranſaction a profound ſecret [m].

Mean while the Venetians had appointed eight of their chief citizens to compliment Clement on his acceſſion to the papal dignity. The ſenate was ſenſible of the importance of being on good terms with his holineſs: his abilities were unqueſtionable, and it was reaſonably preſumed that his policy would vary in many particulars from that of Adrian. The ambaſſadors aſſured the pope of the republic's eſteem of his private as well as public character; of their deſire of being united in intereſt with him; and of implicitly following the meaſures his holineſs would preſcribe. They were well received at Rome; but during their reſidence Grimani, the doge died, after having governed for near two years, and was ſucceeded by Andrea Gritti, unanimouſly elected on account of his experience in public affairs, and the ability and integrity with which he had conducted ſeveral of the higheſt offices [n].

## *ANDREA GRITTI, Doge LXXVII.*

IN the beginning of the year 1524, the duke of Bourbon, having been reinforced with ſix thouſand Germans, and joined at length by ſome Venetians, put himſelf in motion, at the head of thirty thouſand men. Bonivet, AD 1524. *Andrea Gritti.*

[l] Guicc. lib. xv. Anton. de Vera. Hiſt. de Charles, p. 124.
[m] Belcar. lib. xviii. [n] Paruta, lib. v.

the

the French general, was now in his turn greatly perplexed how to act: he had but twenty thousand men; and there was no money on either side. He had, indeed, engaged ten thousand Swiss and five thousand Grisons; but could derive no great advantage from auxiliaries, whose courage was proportioned to the subsidy received. In this conjuncture he resolved to give battle to the imperialists, before they became acquainted with his situation; but the duke of Bourbon wisely declined an action, though he was superior in number, determining either to famish or disperse Bonivet's army by procrastination [o].

In the mean time the imperialists recovered Vercelli, by means of a secret correspondence with Tecti, the chief of the Ghibelline faction. Bonivet, finding himself almost surrounded, had thoughts of retiring; but was prevented by Rence de Ceri, who promised to bring him five thousand Grisons. The imperial general, receiving intelligence of their march, sent Jean de Medicis with three hundred lances, six hundred chosen horse, and seven thousand foot, to intercept the detachment [p]; and he so harrassed the Grisons with perpetual skirmishes before they reached Gravina, that, finding no French escort or money on their arrival, they returned home, giving Jean de Medicis a promise not to attempt any thing, unless they were pursued. Bourbon, being informed of this success, wrote to Medicis to invest Biagrasso, the only town the French now held upon the Tesin. Medicis, after having destroyed the bridge which Bonivet had thrown over that river, attacked the town which was defended by one thousand Italians, and took it in four hours: here he found some rich booty, of which the French had pillaged the Milanese. Bonivet's measures being entirely disconcerted by the success of the enemy, he returned to Novara, to facilitate his junction with ten thousand Swiss then on their march. Bourbon, to prevent his junction, encamped between Vercelli and the French, which motion obliged Bonivet to advance to Romagnano, where he threw a bridge of boats over the Secchia, and crossed without opposition. Next night he joined the Swiss, who charged him with breach of promise, and not only refused to act in conjunction with him before their subsidy was paid, but infecting others of their countrymen, with their disaffection [q]. Alarmed at this accident, Bonivet

*Medicis takes Biagrasso.*

[o] Guic. lib. xv. Capella, lib. iii. [p] Paruta, ibid. Foug. lib. vi. dec. v. [q] Guic. lib. xv. Capella, lib. iii.

thought

thought of nothing but repaſſing the Alps, and getting clear of Italy. The imperialiſts ſtuck cloſe to his rear, and charged him with great vigour. Bonivet being wounded was carried off the field, the chavalier Bayard commanding in his room, and reſiſting the enemy with great intrepidity, until he loſt his life. After this action the imperialiſts laid ſiege to Lodi, where Buſſi d'Amboiſe commanded, and it ſoon ſurrendered on capitulation. The Venetians bore no ſhare either in the purſuit or ſiege, the providetor refuſing to exceed the articles of the treaty, ſaying, that the ſenate had engaged only for the defence of the Milaneſe. Solyman's great preparations, his ambitious ſpirit, together with the pope's equivocal conduct, made the ſenate reſolve upon keeping as much aloof as was conſiſtent with the terms of their engagement with the emperor. It was apparent that, either for fear of the power of Francis, or diſtruſt of the emperor, Clement, ever ſince his acceſſion, inclined to the French intereſt. Though the republic had no doubt of the pontiff's intentions, yet not caring to quit the emperor's alliance before they were aſſured of the friendſhip of the French monarch, they kept their army in a ſtate of inaction, waiting the iſſue of the duke of Bourbon's expedition into Provence. The bad ſucceſs of this ſcheme, and the ſudden march of Francis into Italy, his laying ſiege to Pavia, and at the ſame time, invading the kingdom of Naples with another army, threw the republic into great perplexity. Both ſides ſolicited her friendſhip: ſhe was already in treaty with the emperor; but the Venetian forces in Italy were too weak to protect the Milaneſe, much leſs to defend their own dominions, if, by her adherence to her engagements, the republic ſhould incur the reſentment of Francis: in ſhort, the ſenate entruſted the direction of their affairs to Clement, who ſecretly concluded a treaty between Francis and the Venetians [r].

*Swiſs revolt from Bonivent.*

*Rear of the French defeated.*

By theſe temporizing meaſures, and political balancing, the ſenate procured ſome advantages, but little honour to the republic. The Venetian army ſtill continued inactive: their intentions were not known to the duke of Bourbon; ſo little, indeed, that he was ſoliciting the ſenate to ſend the army to his relief as he retired before Francis: nor was the ſenate well determined whether they ſhould not comply with his requeſt at the very time when they had

[r] Parut. lib. v. Guicciard. ibid. Foug. dec. v. lib. vi. Hiſt. citat. ibid.

concluded a treaty with the enemy. In the battle which soon after ensued at Pavia, where Francis was defeated and taken prisoner, we do not find that the Venetians had any share on either side, or that their forces were at all present.

A D. 1525. The victory at Pavia filled with consternation and fear all the states not in alliance with the emperor: the Venetians proposed to Clement a league against the power of this monarch, who, by his victorious army, might soon render himself master of all Italy; but, during their negociations with his holiness, the senate thought it advisable to tamper with the emperor, and prevent an open rupture with that monarch before they were in a condition to resist his power: for this purpose, Lorenzo Priuli, and Andrea Novagiaro, were sent to congratulate him upon his victory, and to excuse their delay in not sending forces to join his army. Mean while a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the pope, the Venetians, Francis Sforza, and Pescara, who soon after treacherously revealed the whole to the emperor. Moron, the chancellor, appeared in behalf of Sforza, Montiban represented his holiness, and Santi had full powers to transact the affairs of the Venetians. The contents of the treaty were an alliance to expel the imperialists out of Italy, to which the French were invited to accede: it was stipulated that the marquis of Pescara should be placed at the head of this alliance, and should separate himself with all convenient expedition from the imperial forces, in order to oppress them the more easily, if they refused to assist him in the conquest of Naples [5].

*Venetians in treaty with both the emperor and Francis.*

*League betwixt the pope, Venetians, Pescara, and Sforza against the emperor.*

Pescara, imagining he might draw considerable advantages from so important a discovery, sent his chief confident Castallo to the emperor, to acquaint him with the whole transaction, and to assure Charles, that he had no other design in becoming a confederate in the alliance, than to procure the more certain intelligence. Charles wrote him back, to continue the correspondence with the Venetians, the pope, and Moron; but in a few days Castallo returned with orders to seize on the chancellor, and employ all means for the immediate reduction of Milan. The orders were punctually executed, and Moron was imprisoned in the citadel of Pavia, on the 14th of October; a circumstance which entirely disconcerted the Venetians, who now found themselves exposed to the em-

[5] Paruta, lib. v. Guicc. lib. xvi. Fug. dec. v. lib. vi.

peror's

peror's reſentment, without being able to rely on the conſtancy of the pontiff. Peſcara demanded, that Milan, Cremona, and all the places ſituated on the Adda, ſhould be delivered to the emperor; to which terms Sforza, who was then ill of a fever, agreed, excepting the article of Milan and Cremona; which, he ſaid, he could not ſurrender but to his imperial majeſty in perſon. He added, that Moron had taken upon him to negociate this alliance upon his own authority. Peſcara, upon this anſwer, threw off the maſk; convoked the eſtates of the Milaneſe; accuſed Sforza of high-treaſon; and obliged the inhabitants of the duchy to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. He even laid ſiege to the citadel of Cremona, and inveſted the city of Milan.

*Emperor ſeizes on the duchy of Milan.*

The Venetians were no leſs embarraſſed than the pope and Francis Sforza. Martin Caraccioli, ambaſſador of Charles the Fifth at Venice, was then negociating a peace, or rather an alliance between his maſter and the republic. By accepting the terms offered, the ſenate foreſaw their liberty would be in imminent danger; and by rejecting them, their territories on the continent would be expoſed to all the horrors of war, as ſoon as Milan and Cremona were reduced. Leſs timid, and more penetrating than Clement, they told Caraccioli, that the late league was formed with no other purpoſe than to reinſtate Sforza in his dominions: that it was evident the emperor had no intention to accede to it, becauſe he deprived that prince of his dominions: that they could think of no alliance with his majeſty before Sforza was reſtored; and however great their reſpect was for the emperor, it was ſtill greater for truth, fidelity, and their engagements. Had Clement the Seventh given an equal proof of conſtancy, the emperor would have been greatly perplexed how to act; but his holineſs, deſirous of ſhewing his refined policy, fell into the ſame ſnare in which he had been lately taken. Salviari, his legate in Spain, was negociating with Charles, at the ſame time that another of his miniſters was treating with France and the republic, to engage them in an alliance againſt that monarch. Clement attended with impatience the iſſue of the legate's intrigues; and he had fixed the day for ſigning the treaty with the French and Venetians, when he received intelligence that his other legate had concluded affairs at Madrid [t], the emperor having agreed to oblige the duke of Ferrara to reſtore

[t] Anton. de Vera. Hiſt. de Charles, p. 130.

Reggio and Rubiera to the holy see. Notwithstanding this agreement, upon Francis's refusal to ratify the oppressive treaty of Madrid, by which he was set at liberty, the pope was no less eager than the Venetians to congratulate him on his return to his kingdom. He even commissioned his legate to conclude an alliance with Francis, the Venetians, and Sforza, against the emperor [u].

A.D. 1526. One does not know what to make of the politics of Rome and Venice during this period. Clement and the republic were every month changing sides, forming new schemes, and entering into new engagements, which they never executed: they perceived that whether Francis or Charles became superior, their power must sink in proportion to the increased influence of either of those monarchs in Italy. As their conduct, therefore, depended upon conjunctures, the event of a battle or treaty between those great rivals, it was necessarily unsteady and changeable. Two things contributed to hasten the conclusion of this league with Francis: the first was, that the citadel of Milan, which the imperialists were then besieging, could not long hold out without reinforcements, which neither his holiness nor the senate would venture to send, until they were assured of the assistance of the French monarch: the other was, that Francis imagined the equivalent of two millions for the duchy of Burgundy, which he offered the emperor, would have more weight after the publication of this alliance. Certain it is, that he signed the treaty of Cognac with this view chiefly.

*Treaty of Cognac between Francis the First, Clement the Seventh, and the Venetians.*

Moncada, the emperor's ambassador at Rome, laboured with great diligence to detach his holiness and the republic from Francis; but the senate kept Clement firm to his engagements: and as for themselves, they told the ambassador, that when his imperial majesty was inclined to treat of peace upon reasonable terms, he would always find the republic well disposed to an union; but that it became his imperial majesty to declare his serious intentions by actions rather than mere professions; that if he would raise the siege of Milan, reinstate Sforza in his dominions, and perform the articles of their last contract with him, it would then be a proper time to talk of laying down arms, and establishing the tranquility of Italy. Moncada's answer being couched in general terms, it was evident that Charles had nothing less in view than to acquiesce in those proposals. The confederates in the mean

[u] Anton. de Vera. Hist. de Charles, p. 130.

time

time sent an embassy to England, to invite Henry into the league, or at least to prevail upon him to use his influence with the emperor to release the hostages given by Francis, and renounce the article of the treaty of Madrid, which regarded Burgundy, for a valuable consideration [w].

Before the event of his embassy was known, the league was published; and the Venetians sent into the field an army of ten thousand foot, nine hundred lances, and eight hundred light horse, taking at the same time a strong body of Swiss into the pay of the republic. Upon the junction of this army with the Swiss, it was determined to undertake the relief of Milan, while the marquis of Saluzzes, with one thousand French infantry, and a proportionable number of cavalry, was to lay siege to Novara and Alexandria. A general rendezvous was appointed at Chiari, from whence the army was to march as conjunctures might require.

*Venetians take Lodi.*

While the troops were getting ready, Malatesta Baillon, with a detachment of Venetians, entered upon action, having found means to seize upon Lodi, although defended by a numerous garrison, and provided with all the necessaries to sustain a siege. Upon this success, the whole army, crossing the Po, joined the pope's forces, and marched towards Milan. The city was in the hands of the imperialists; but the exorbitant contributions they had raised for the support of the army, had so alienated the minds of the citizens, that the duke d'Urbino, who commanded the Venetians, had no doubt of an insurrection in his favour. Milan was accordingly invested, and the siege carried on with great vigour, when Urbino received intelligence that the duke de Bourbon had thrown himself, with a considerable reinforcement, into the city; that he had brought money for the payment of the troops; and that the imperialists were assembling a powerful army [x]. After weighing circumstances, the duke determined to raise the siege; which he did accordingly, retiring unmolested to Marignan. The senate had conceived great expectations from this enterprize; now they were chagrined upon the retreat of the army. The duke d'Urbino sent Lodovico Gonzaga to justify himself at Venice; and his reasons appeared so convincing, that the senate was perfectly satisfied with his conduct. But the case was otherwise with the pope, who greatly resented not

[w] Paruta, lib. v. Guicc. lib. xvi. [x] Parut. ibid. Foug. dec. v. lib. vi.

only this particular action, but the general behaviour of the duke. His holiness was exceedingly offended that his officers should be so entirely neglected by Urbino, and never consulted upon affairs of the greatest moment. To appease Clement, and prevent divisions in the army, the senate ordered Urbino, for the future, to hold a council with the pope's chief officers, particularly his general Francisco Guicciardini, and to undertake nothing without his concurrence [y].

*The confederates equip a fleet.*

At this time a fleet was equipped to annoy, in conjunction with the pope's gallies, the coasts of the enemy. Divers proposals were made concerning the course they should steer, and their first effort. The pope urged the fleet's sailing to Apulia, to frustrate the designs of the Colonesi, who had there assembled an army. Francis and the Venetians joined in a contrary opinion, imagining an attack upon Genoa of more consequence to the common cause. As Francis agreed to strengthen this armament with a powerful squadron, the admiral was appointed by his recommendation, and Pedro Navarro made commander of the combined fleet. After various delays on the side of Francis, and suspicions on that of the pope and republic, at length Armiero the providetor sailed from Corfu with thirteen gallies to Teracino, where he met with Doria and eleven of the pope's gallies. Hence they proceeded to Leghorn, where they joined Pedro with four French galleons and sixteen light gallies: here it was determined to reduce Genoa under the subjection of France, for the benefit of the confederacy: first they sailed to Porto Venere, which, with all the other towns to Monaco, they soon reduced. The fleet divided, the Venetian and pope's gallies steering to Porto Fino, and Pedro Navarro, with the French squadron, to Savona, which immediately surrendered.

*Block up Genoa.*

Their first design was to prevent succours by sea from being sent to Genoa, knowing the city was ill supplied; by this interception they expected soon to compel the inhabitants to accept an easy capitulation. In all probability the admirals must have succeeded, so well had they taken their measures, had not jealousies arisen among themselves. Navarro accused Doria of treachery, and permitting ships laden with provisions to enter the city; and Doria envied the superiority given Navarro. Genoa likewise received small succours from the continent, but nothing equal to the exigencies of the city. The confede-

[y] Parut. lib. v. Guicc. lib. xix.

rate

rate troops being landed, the place was inveſted on all ſides, and the batteries played with great fury on the walls. To ſecure themſelves from the attacks of the peaſants from without, Navarro ordered a trench to be formed round the camp. The garriſon, finding itſelf thus cooped up, determined upon making a ſally; but the confederates, having intelligence or ſuſpicion of their deſign, landed Doria and Grimani, with eight hundred more troops and ſome pieces of artillery: beſides, their light gallies were drawn up along ſhore in ſuch a manner, as to bring their cannon to bear on the garriſon, if they ſtirred. However, without being diſcouraged, the Genoeſe made a vigorous ſally, and were bravely received: the combat continued obſtinate for ſome time, when at length the beſieged were driven back within their walls with great loſs [z]. Notwithſtanding this defeat, the count Gabriel Martinenga bravely defended the city, until the following year, when Lautrec ſent Cæſar Fregoſa, with a ſtrong reinforcement to the beſiegers, a circumſtance which obliged the count to ſurrender. Martinenga, captain-general of the Genoeſe, was made priſoner, Theodore Trivulcio appointed governor in the name of the French king, and the citadel, into which Adorni the doge had retired, was ſurrendered a few days after [a].

*The forces landed, and the city inveſted.*

Mean while the retreat of the duke d'Urbino, with the confederate army, was attended with the ſurrender of the citadel of Milan, three days after Sforza had obtained terms more reaſonable and eaſy than he could expect, conſidering the condition of the garriſon at the time he ſigned the capitulation: he was in want of ammunition, proviſion, and men, while thoſe that remained were quite exhauſted and ſpent with the tediouſneſs of the ſiege. The pope had alſo been unfortunate in his deſign upon Sienna; but, beſides the retreat of Urbino, and the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize againſt Sienna, two other circumſtances contributed to diſappoint the hopes, and reverſe the former ſucceſs of the confederates; the one was the diſturbances excited by the Colonni at Rome. Clement VII. by the mediation of Moncada, the imperial miniſter, had been reconciled to this family. An agreement was ſigned, in which the pope engaged, for certain conſiderations ſpecified, to protect them againſt their rivals the Urſini; but, about a month after, Veſpaſian permitted his couſin,

[z] Guicc. lib. xix. etiam Foliet. Hiſt. Gen. lib. xii. [a] Paruta. lib. v.

the cardinal Colonna, to advance with eight hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, and take poſſeſſion of three of the gates of the city. Clement had only time to retire to the caſtle of St. Angelo; upon which Moncada, who was privy to the deſign of the Colonni, went to him, and, after repreſenting his danger, adviſed him to a truce for four months with the emperor, to which the other confederates might accede if they pleaſed. No ſooner was this truce ſigned, than Clement recalled his troops that were under the command of the duke d'Urbino; which ſeparation greatly diminiſhed his ſtrength, and gave the firſt fatal blow to the confederacy [b]. Another cauſe of its decline was the arrival of George Fronſperg with a body of four thouſand lanſquenets, levied at his own expence in Germany. This corps the archduke Ferdinand joined with a conſiderable corps of cavalry: Fronſperg, at their head, paſſed the mountains of Trent, and arrived in the Mantuan, in ſpite of all the oppoſition made by the Venetians. But before we mention this expedition, it may be proper to ſpeak of the motions of the Venetian army after the retreat from Milan, and the reduction of Monza.

The duke d'Urbino had taken the reſolution to return once more for the relief of the citadel, when intelligence was received of its ſurrender. Upon this he turned his thoughts to the ſiege of Cremona; to inveſt which city he ſent a ſtrong detachment under Baillon, who had acquitted himſelf ſo well at Lodi. Baillon found the city fortified with a double trench, and well provided; nevertheleſs, he inveſted it with great diligence; but finding his troops unequal to the undertaking, he demanded of Urbino a reinforcement of infantry, which was ſent. After the ſiege had continued for ſome days, the duke grew impatient about the conſequences: he knew how much a ſecond diſappointment of this nature would prejudice his reputation and hurt the cauſe, and therefore reſolved to direct the ſiege in perſon. Leaving the Venetian cavalry, and the Swiſs to the number of thirteen thouſand, to proceed to Milan, he marched with all the Venetian infantry to Cremona: his batteries played with great fury for ſeveral days, but without effecting a breach, upon which he determined to undermine the walls: by this method of proceeding ſeveral large breaches were made, which he ſtormed with ſo much ſucceſs, that the

*The Venetians beſiege and take Cremona.*

[b] Guicc. lib. xvii.

garriſon

garriſon hung out a flag of truce, and the city was ſurrendered upon moderate conditions [c].

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the above circumſtances weighed down the balance againſt the republic; Urbino's army was much diminiſhed by the retreat of the eccleſiaſtical forces, while the duke of Bourbon was in a fair way of being greatly ſtrengthened by the junction of Fronſperg. Before the truce between Clement and the emperor was concluded, Fronſperg had arrived in the Mantuan: here Jean de Medicis was detached againſt him, who imagining the lanſquenets had no artillery, approached, in reconnoitring them, ſo near, that he was ſhot in the knee by a cannon-ball, of which wound he died. After the death of the brave Medicis, no one preſumed to oppoſe the march of the Germans, who arrived without farther obſtruction in the Placentin, where they joined the duke of Bourbon.

On this junction the duke propoſed going directly to Milan, to prevent the deſigns of Urbino; but Fronſperg anſwered fiercely, that the Germans would not move an inch farther till their ſubſidy was paid: to appeaſe him Bourbon was under the neceſſity of coining the church-plate, and putting the rich inhabitants to the torture to extort their money. He afterwards proceeded on his march; but as he made ſeveral deviations from the direct road, the pope began to entertain apprehenſions leſt he might enter the territories of the holy ſee, or ſtrike off towards Bologna, and from thence march to Tuſcany. In theſe apprehenſions he requeſted the ſenate that they would order Urbino to croſs the Po with all expedition, to ſecure Tuſcany and the eccleſiaſtical territory; but as the ſenate was under ſome fears for their own dominions, they did not chuſe to comply wholly with his deſire: yet, willing to give his holineſs all the ſatisfaction they could conſiſtently with their own ſafety, Lodovico Piſani was ſent with a ſtrong detachment for the defence of the pope's dominions; the marquis of Saluſſes, with the French and Swiſs, followed, and then Vitturi, the proveditor, croſſed the Po with the reſt of the army. To prevent the Florentines from entering into precipitate meaſures out of dread of an enemy who ſeemed ready to fall upon Tuſcany, the ſenate ſent Marco Foſcari to acquaint that republic with the ſteps taken for their ſecurity, and to keep them firm in their intereſt [d].

[c] Heuter, lib. ix. Guicc. et Parut. [d] Guicc. lib. xviii.

Before

Before we conclude the tranſactions of this year, we muſt take ſome notice of the naval affairs. A great fleet of forty ſhips was fitted out at Carthagena for the relief of Genoa, which was reduced to the greateſt extremity, and at laſt taken by Navarro before this fleet could put to ſea. As intelligence of the ſurrender of the city was not yet received in Spain, the viceroy of Naples, who commanded the armament, ſteered directly for the gulf of Genoa, where he fell in with Navarro, who bravely attacked him with ſeventeen gallies, and obliged him to ſheer off. Towards the end of the engagement a ſtorm aroſe, and ſoon effected what Navarro had left undone; for the Spaniſh navy was totally diſperſed, and many of the ſhips periſhed. As only the French ſquadron was engaged in this rencounter, the council of ten recalled Armiero the Venetian admiral, for not aſſiſting Navarro; but he cleared himſelf to the ſatisfaction of his countrymen, by proving it was impoſſible for him to beat up againſt the wind. The viceroy arrived with a part of his fleet in the port of Leghorn; ſome veſſels got ſafe to Cayetta, and a few reached the ports of Sicily. As they had a ſtrong body of infantry on board, their arrival in Italy greatly diſturbed the Venetians; but their courage revived on the arrival of Marco de Cere and Vitelli with the pope's forces. Previous to this event the viceroy, having joined the Coloneſi, who were again in arms, laid ſiege to Froſſolona: he was battering the town, and ready to give the aſſault, when the confederates arrived opportunely, and obliged him to decamp with precipitation.

*The Spaniſh fleet defeated by Navarro.*

A.D. 1527. So deſirous were the confederates of puſhing the good fortune with which the preceding year concluded, that they determined upon the invaſion of Naples in the depth of winter. About the end of January the ſenate ſent orders to Auguſtine de Nulla, appointed proveditor in the room of Armiero, to ſail to Civita Vecchia: there he was to join the pope's fleet, and from thence proceed in concert to Naples. Rence de Cerè, mean while, entered the Abruzzo with ſix thouſand men, where he ſoon made himſelf maſter of Aquila. Doria ſailed with part of the fleet to Pozzuolo, which he attacked with great vigour, but finding a ſtouter reſiſtance than he expected, he abandoned the enterprize, although his ſucceſs would have been attended with very ſignal advantages to the allies, on account of the harbour of Baia. When Doria was reinforced he attacked and took Stabia. On the tenth day after the arrival of the fleet in the gulf of Naples,

*The ſucceſs of the confederates on the coaſt of Naples.*

Sorrento

Sorrento was ſtormed and taken; in conſequence of which ſucceſs ſeveral other ſea-port towns and forts ſurrendered without exchanging a blow.

Now the confederate fleet, meeting with no obſtruction, approached ſo near the mole of Naples, that their cannon played with ſome ſucceſs upon the walls. A herald was ſent to ſummon the city. Moncada, who commanded for the emperor, inſtead of obeying the ſummons, marched out with two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe to obſtruct the enemy's approaches. This ſtep brought on a ſkirmiſh to the advantage of Baillon, who commanded the Venetians, and took ſome field-pieces belonging to the beſieged, who were driven back to the city. Notwithſtanding this fortunate beginning, the enterprize failed, either from want of money, or, what is more probable, in conſequence of the late truce between the pope and the emperor. Certain it is, that the eccleſiaſtical forces not only refuſed to act in concert with the Venetians, but many went over to the enemy. It is likewiſe affirmed, that the former truce was extended by a new agreement between his holineſs and the viceroy, which obliged the Venetians totally to give up all thoughts of the ſiege. The pontiff was greatly over-reached in this new convention; for, having diſbanded his army, he was left expoſed to the mercy of the enemy; the conſequence of which miſconduct was the taking of Rome, the impriſonment of his perſon, and the entire ruin of his affairs [e].

The ſenate of Venice remonſtrated to Clement upon the imprudence of his conduct, which remonſtrance he diſregarded, as proceeding from private views: but that they might not be wanting to themſelves, orders were diſpatched to the duke of Urbino to join the marquis of Saluſſes, and oppoſe the duke of Bourbon, who, with the imperial army, was in full march to Rome. The imperialiſts had for ſome time taken up free quarters in Tuſcany, and this oppreſſion, together with the apprehenſions he was under for the lands of the church, induced Clement to haſten the agreement with the viceroy, which he thought would perfectly ſecure his territories. He perceived, when too late, his error. The duke of Bourbon marched with prodigious expedition to Rome, deſtroying all the country to prevent his being purſued by the Venetian army. This was an effectual expedient; the duke d'Urbino could proceed no farther than Viterbo for want of proviſion and

[e] Parut. lib. v. Guicc. lib. xviii.

forage.

forage. Bourbon advanced to Rome, attacked it, and was killed; but the prince of Orange assuming the command, the city was reduced, pillaged, and given up a prey to the cruelty and rapaciousness of the imperialists [f].

*The senate sends orders Urbino to march to the relief of Rome.*

The senate of Venice, grieved at the success of the imperialists, the captivity of Clement, and the pillage of Rome, dispatched immediate orders to Urbino to advance towards the city, and, by his army, give weight to their negociations to procure the liberty of the pontiff. But it was now too late; the pope and Rome were in the power of the emperor, and his victorious army was elated with plunder and success. A new levy of troops was likewise made to oppose Antonio de Leyva, upon the confines of Crema and Lodi; while their ambassadors in France and England took every measure to make the first proceed with vigour in the war, and the latter to break with the emperor. It must be owned, that the spirit of the republic seemed to be exerted upon this occasion, in a manner worthy of their ancient fame, their free constitution, and their constant regard to the liberties of Italy. The fleet being greatly weakened by sickness, an augmentation of the marine was decreed. Besides the ten thousand Swiss which they had persuaded Francis I. to engage, the senate took an equal number into their own service. The best officers were received into their pay; amongst the rest the count Gaiazzo and the marquis de Palavicini. To Francis Sforza they lent ten thousand ducats to reinforce the body under him with new levies; and garrisons were put into the towns of Romagna and Ravenna [g].

In this manner did the republic take her measures for opposing the power of Charles V. and procuring the liberty of Clement. Mean while the duke d'Urbino was preparing for executing the orders of the senate: he sent Baillon, with a detachment, to reduce Perusia, a service which he soon performed, placing in it a Venetian garrison. Thence he marched to Orvietto, where he was strengthened by an addition of some French and ecclesiastical troops: then he assembled a council, read the senate's instructions for the relief of the pontiff, and desired the advice of the principal officers concerning the possibility of the enterprize. It was the opinion of the proveditor Pisani, and all the other officers, that the senate should be obeyed, and even a battle hazarded, if ne-

[f] Guicc. & Parut. ibid. Sleidan. lib. vi. Mém. du Bellay. lib. v.
[g] Parut. lib. vi.

cessary.

ceſſary. Vitturi alone oppoſed this advice, affirming that their army was neither numerous enough, nor ſufficiently diſciplined to engage the imperial forces, who were old experienced ſoldiers, fluſhed with victory. Urbino, who was not of an enterprizing genius, was eaſily perſuaded into an opinion which had leſs danger, though leſs honour, than that of Piſani and the council. Without farther deliberation the ſenate's inſtructions were laid aſide as impracticable and hazardous in the preſent conjuncture: he contented himſelf with ſending Bazolo, with a body of horſe, towards Rome, to aſſiſt, in caſe any opportunity might offer to the pope of making his eſcape, and conduct him to the army: but Bazolo ſoon returned without effecting any thing, having found that the imperialiſts had ſurrounded the caſtle of St. Angelo with ſtrong trenches [h].

Incenſed at theſe delays the ſenate recalled, ſuperſeded, and impriſoned Vitturi for the advice he had given Urbino, while that noble officer found means to juſtify his own conduct. More peremptory orders were then ſent to the duke, to attempt, at all events, the ſetting Clement at liberty; but this enterprize he abſolutely refuſed, inſiſting that his army was unequal to ſuch an undertaking, and offering rather to reſign than occaſion ſuch a calamity to the republic, as muſt neceſſarily attend his defeat. So ſpeciouſly did he cover his timidity with the cloak of prudence, that the ſenate was appeaſed, and he was confirmed two years longer in the command [i]. *Vitturi is recalled and impriſoned.*

The retreat of the duke d'Urbino to the frontiers of Siena left the imperialiſts in full ſecurity; a circumſtance which Urbino might have improved to his advantage, had he been of a leſs timid diſpoſition [k]. His army conſiſted of two thouſand men at arms, one thouſand three hundred light horſe, two thouſand lanſquenets, an equal number of Swiſs, and ten thouſand Italian foot; beſides theſe, the marquis of Saluſſes had with him ſeven thouſand French and Swiſs infantry, with a proportionable number of horſe; yet was nothing attempted either for the honour of the republic, the pope's enlargement, or the freedom of Italy. True it is, that peſtilence and famine greatly afflicted the troops; but if the enemy ſuffered leſs by the latter, they were at leaſt equally miſerable in the former reſpect. The whole ſeemed now to *Peſtilence and famine prevail among the troops.*

[h] Guicc. lib. xviii. [i] Foug. lib. vii. dec. v. Parut. lib. vi.
[k] Heut. lib. ix.

depend

depend on the French and English, between whom and the emperor negociations had been carrying on for several months. As neither side would recede from the terms proposed, Francis and cardinal Wolsey held a conference at Amiens, upon the means of prosecuting the war with Charles V. which was now deemed unavoidable: here they signed three different treaties, which were little more than explications, modifications, and enlargements of a former treaty, concluded on the 13th of April immediately preceding[l].

*Lautrec takes Alexandria.*

At this time Francis sent Lautrec, at the head of an army, into Italy, with which he crossed the Alps in the month of August, and was joined by a considerable body of forces under the marquis of Saluſſes. He first laid siege to the citadel of Bosco, in the territory of Alexandria, which he took after a siege of ten days, making the garrison prisoners of war: he then invested Alexandria, where he was attended with equal success: the city he put into the hands of Sforza's officers. After these conquests the Venetians and Sforza pressed Lautrec to undertake the siege of Milan: others were of opinion, that he had better march to Rome, and set the pope at liberty; and they enforced this advice by insisting upon its being the chief object of the treaty with England, Venice, and Sforza. On the contrary, the senate represented that Milan was but weakly garrisoned, and that in consequence of its reduction the imperialists would evacuate Rome and the kingdom of Naples: however, Lautrec opposed to both opinions the positive orders of the kings of England and France, observing, that while those monarchs supported the burthen of the war, it was no more than reasonable their instructions should be obeyed; that, as to procuring the pope's enlargement, it could no way be done so effectually as by reducing the kingdom of Naples, which was in want of men, money, and provisions. The truth was, that Francis was unwilling to bestow any trouble in besieging Milan, which was by treaty to revert to Sforza, and this consideration made the Venetians equally indifferent about the success of Lautrec's expedition to Naples[m].

On the 28th of October Lautrec passed the Po, in the face of the garrison and cannon of St. John's fort, where he waited for reinforcements of lansquenets and Swiss. The slowness of his march occasioned a report that he had

[l] Barre Hist. d'Allem. tom. viii. p. 522. [m] Guicc. lib. xviii. Parut. lib. vi.

secret

ſecret orders to precipitate nothing: he ſtayed for ſome time about Parma and Placentia, under pretence of drawing the duke of Ferrara into the confederacy. Both that prince and the marquis of Mantua did, in effect, quit the emperor's party to join with the allies: all which advantages afforded a plauſible pretext for Lautrec's meaſures; yet it is certain his delay proceeded from ſecret orders to wait the emperor's final anſwer to the propoſals made to him by the miniſters of England and France [n].

*Duke of Ferrara joins the allies.*

Nor did the duke d'Urbino make more haſte with the Venetian army to the theatre of action: he remained near Monteſiaſcone quite inactive, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the enemy, and the approach of Lautrec, furniſhed him with a fair opportunity of ſtriking ſome deciſive ſtroke. His conduct raiſed ſuſpicion of his fidelity at Venice, in conſequence of which a guard was put over his wife and family at Murana; intelligence of which inſult coming to the duke, he requeſted leave to appear before the ſenate to juſtify himſelf. So ſpecious was his manner, that the ſenate, ſtill convinced of his innocence, continued him at the head of the army, and removed the guards placed over his family [o] (E).

Winter now approaching, negociations for a general peace were renewed. The ſenate willingly liſtened to pacific propoſals, the finances of the republic being wholly exhauſted by ſupporting the burthen of a war, in which, however, ſhe was only an auxiliary. Propoſals were made by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the republic, that the emperor ſhould deliver up the royal hoſtages of France, ſet the pope at liberty, reinſtate Sforza, and reſtore all he had taken from the church. Although the emperor did not entirely reject the terms, yet, by demanding a prodi-

*Propoſals to the emperor for a peace.*

[n] Huet. lib. viii. Foug. lib. vii. dec. v. [o] Parut. lib. vi.

(E) About this time Antonio Marcello was ſent by the ſenate, with a few light ſhips, to ſcour the ſeas infeſted by pirates. In his courſe he fell in with a Turkiſh man of war, which he engaged, miſtaking her for a pirate. The battle was bloody; but terminated in the defeat of Marcello, three of whoſe ſhips were taken. The ſenate ſummoned him before the avogari; but the grand ſeignor, pleaſed with their reſpect to his flag, returned the ſhips, with aſſurances of his friendſhip. Upon this the ſenate decreed an embaſſy of thanks (1).

(1) Paruta, lib. vi.

gious

gious sum of money from the Venetians, he kept the treaty in suspence, determining to act according as circumstances might appear more or less favourable towards the end of the campaign. It was evident from his conduct, that Charles was desirous of appropriating the duchy of Milan to himself, since he constantly referred the disputes with Sforza to be decided by arbitration afterwards, while his troops should remain in possession of the duchy. As the emperor would not renounce this point the negociations were broke off, and new preparations for continuing the war set on foot [p].

A.D. 1528. No sooner was the pope set at liberty, than the design he had formed of re-establishing his family at Florence, made him entirely alter the maxims of his former policy: his long imprisonment had afforded him leisure to reflect upon the ill-judged measures by which he had been hitherto governed. Thus, when the ambassadors of France, England, and the republic, waited on him at Orvietto, to solicit his concurrence to the league, he pretended it was necessary to the well-being of Christendom, that there should be a mediator of differences, who would labour for the public tranquillity; and that nothing could be more suitable to his circumstances, or agreeable to his disposition, than such an office: nevertheless, he gave them to understand, that if Lautrec obliged the Imperialists to abandon Rome, he would take other measures. In short, he said enough to convince the allies, that his sole aim was to deliver the church out of the hands of the emperor, and then to embrace that side which promised fairest for his interest and security [q].

Lautrec, who penetrated the views of his holiness, did not think proper to pay him implicit obedience. Departing from Bologna in January, he took the route of Naples, after having sent Vaudemont and Tremouille to urge the pontiff to a final declaration. Clement still found means to excuse himself; he saw all Europe in Motion, and desired to wait the issue of this war in order to take his measures more securely. In fact, he made use of a variety of expedients, arts, and wiles, to avoid disobliging either party. In the mean time he had the modesty to demand of the Venetians, that they would surrender to him Cervia and Ravenna; a request no way agreeable to the senate, or to that humility his holiness expressed. The

[p] Guicc. lib. xix. Sleidan. lib. vi. [q] Parut. lib. vi. Heut. lib. ix. Guicc. ibid.

matter

matter was debated, and it was concluded to send an embassy to the pope, to desire he would first terminate other affairs, or at least grant some equivalent.

Lautrec arrived in February in the Abruzzo. Aquila, and all the neighbouring towns, opened their gates, and received him as their deliverer. It was not without great difficulty that the prince of Orange could prevail on the imperial army to take the field, after having lived nine or ten months in Rome at free quarters, indulging themselves with every luxurious pleasure: however, as he was not incumbered with artillery, the prince soon got the start of Lautrec, who, notwithstanding, advanced to Pouille, which surrendered without terms. He invested Melfi, where Caraccioli commanded a garrison of three thousand men. The governor withstood the first assault; but at the second he was forced, and the garrison, with near four thousand of the inhabitants, were put to the sword. The prince of Melfi was made prisoner of war, and his wife and children, who had retired into the citadel, surrendered at discretion[r].

*Lautrec takes Melfi.*

No sooner was Melfi reduced, than Borletta, Trani, Venosa, Capua, Nola, Accora, Aversa, and all the other cities besides Manfredonia, Gaieta, and Naples, yielded to Lautrec. On the other hand, the Venetians, having reduced Monopoli, sent a reinforcement of two thousand men to the French army. Lautrec leaving them for the protection of his conquests, marched with the rest of his forces to Naples. While he was encamped before this city, a squadron of sixteen Venetian gallies came along the coast of Apulia, to assist in the conquest of the kingdom by the reduction of other places ceded to them by the treaty. Two of them were already surrendered; and they were proceeding with great rapidity, when a request from Lautrec arrived, that they would speedily join the squadron under Doria, and jointly block up Naples by sea. Pietro Landi then hastened his measures, and, in a few days, made himself master of all the cities stipulated by treaty to be ceded to the republic[s].

*Almost all the kingdom of Naples submits to Lautrec.*

Before Landi quitted the coast of Apulia, the viceroy formed a scheme for surprising the French squadron under Doria. It consisted but of eight small gallies, to attack which he equipped, with great secrecy and expedition, six gallies, four pinks, and six brigantines, well manned,

[r] Paruta, lib. vi. Heut. lib. ix. ibid.

[s] Guicc. lib. xix. Paruta,

carrying a thouſand harquebuſiers over and above their complement of ſeamen. The command of this armament was given to an officer named Gobbo, remarkable for his ſkill and experience in naval affairs, attended by the marquis de Guaſt, with a number of Spaniſh and German volunteers. Gobbo ſteered out of the harbour; but Doria, having had intelligence from Lautrec of his deſign, took on board four hundred land forces, and, weighing anchor, ſtood out to ſea in line of battle. Both admirals diſplayed abundance of military ſkill in ſeeking to gain the weather-gage: at laſt they engaged with great reſolution. The battle was maintained for ſeveral hours, with great vigour and equality, when the Venetian fleet coming up, attacked Gobbo's rear, and ſoon turned the ſcale[t]. Gobbo was defeated with great loſs, and the combined fleet ſailed triumphant into the harbour of Naples. By this victory the city was totally blocked up on the ſea-ſide, at the ſame time that it was in great want of proviſion, and ſtraitly inveſted by the land forces. Lautrec was oppoſed by a numerous garriſon of choſen troops. His own army, from the exceſſive heat of the climate, was ſickly, and numberleſs other difficulties he encountered in this enterprize; however, as the total reduction of the kingdom depended on the fate of the capital, he puſhed the ſiege with all imaginable vigour. The prince of Orange, who had the ſole command in the city after the death of Moncada, employed all his addreſs to ſupport the ſpirits of the beſieged; yet he could not have reſiſted ſix days longer, for want of ſuſtenance, if the face of affairs in the allied army had not undergone a great alteration. The diſeaſes, which before had greatly diminiſhed the number of the beſiegers, were now turned to a peſtilence that ſwept them off by hundreds in a day. So great havock had it made, that, before the middle of July, there remained not above four thouſand infantry and gens d'arms fit to engage. Lautrec, attacked by the epidemical diſtemper, was no longer able to command, nor even to maintain his camp in ſecurity; a circumſtance of which the prince of Orange did not fail to make his advantage. The beſiegers were harraſſed and alarmed with perpetual ſallies, which they were in no condition to ſuſtain; and, to crown their misfortune, Andrea Doria openly embraced the ſide of the emperor, while his nephew Philippo Doria connived at his treachery, and ſuffered all ſorts of proviſions to paſs his fleet into the city.

*A ſea-fight between Doria and Gobbo.*

*Peſtilence in the French camp.*

[t] Foug. lib. vii. dec. v. Parut. lib. vi.

Lautrec,

Lautrec, finding his army dwindled to a handful, himſelf emaciated and confined to his bed, ſurrounded by enemies in the middle of an enemy's country, without all ſupport except from his own courage, took his diſappointment ſo much to heart, that he expired. It was the opinion of the marquis of Saluſſes, who ſucceeded to the command, that neither his authority or ſtrength was equal to the hazard of continuing the ſiege: he therefore turned his whole thoughts to the meaſures proper to abandon it, after it had coſt the lives of near fifteen thouſand men. Upon his decamping, the imperialiſts attacked his rear, but were repulſed; then he threw himſelf into Averſa with the few troops that remained. Pedro Navarro fell into the hands of the enemy in this retreat: he was carried priſoner to Naples, where he died in a few days. Now the imperialiſts beſieged the French army in their turn, who, in conſequence of a wound which diſabled the marquis of Saluſſes, ſigned a capitulation, which their diſtreſs rendered leſs diſgraceful. Among other conditions, the marquis ſtipulated to have all thoſe places, in poſſeſſion of the French and Venetians, yielded up to the emperor without loſs of time[u].

*Lautrec dies, and the marquis of Saluſſes decamps, and is beſieged in Averſa.*

Nor was the loſs of the army and kingdom of Naples the whole misfortune ſuſtained by the confederates. The arrival of the duke of Brunſwic with twelve thouſand Germans in Italy, had entirely brought fortune on the ſide of the emperor: this general entered Lombardy by the Veroneſe, where joining Antonio de Leyva with his Spaniards, he undertook the ſiege of Lodi. Happily for the Venetians the place was ſtrongly garriſoned, and the reſiſtance it made gave the republic time to make freſh levies to oppoſe the duke. Four thouſand Swiſs were taken into pay; numbers of light horſe were brought from Greece and Dalmatia; and garriſons put into all their principal towns, with governors of approved fidelity and valour. During the ſiege of Lodi, the duke d'Urbini firſt viſited Verona, the walls and garriſons of which he ſtrengthened: the ſame precautions he took at Breſcia, Bergamo, and other cities. He, afterwards, greatly harraſſed the duke of Brunſwic, by attacks on his convoys, and by giving perpetual alarms to his camp. In conſequence of theſe alarms and inconveniences, the duke raiſed the ſiege; when finding his army diminiſhed, and all the cities by which he was to march ſtrongly garriſoned, with a variety of other

*The duke of Brunſwic comes with twelve thouſand men into Italy.*

[u] Paruta, lib. vi. Guicc. lib. xix. Sleid. period. x, p. 1006.

*He retires into Germany.*

obſtructions thrown in his way, he retired into Germany[w].

After the capitulation at Averſa, and retreat of the duke of Brunſwic, the count de St. Pol arrived with a French army in Italy, and joined the duke d'Urbino: they propoſed carrying on the war chiefly in Lombardy, to oppreſs Antonio de Leyva, who had but eight thouſand men; but without entirely abandoning the towns in Naples; for both Francis and the republic had refuſed to ratify the convention at Averſa. They might certainly have ſucceeded in their deſign, had not ſo much time been conſumed in deliberating upon the meaſures neceſſary to oblige Leyva to evacuate Lombardy; but this wiſe general ſeizing the conjuncture, fortified himſelf and increaſed his army. The confederates began their operations by inveſting Vigevano and Pavia, ſteps which afforded Andrea Doria, now in the ſervice of the emperor, an opportunity of retiring to the coaſt of Genoa. Doria practiſed every expedient to induce the citizens to ſecond his deſigns: he repreſented to the people that a French government would leave them nothing beſides the name of a republic: the nobility he dazzled with the advantages of the ancient inſtitutions, by which they always held the reins of government. Knowing that peſtilence had reduced the garriſon to a fourth of their number, that they were retired into the citadel to avoid infection, and that the city was left in a manner deſolate, he approached with his gallies, and landed ſix or ſeven hundred ſoldiers. Doria found the gates open to him; and being once poſſeſſed of the city, he ſoon obliged Trivulcio and the garriſon in the citadel to ſurrender: then aſſembling the nobility, he remitted into their hands the government of the city; in remembrance of which event the republic erected a ſtatue to his memory, and honoured him with the title of father and reſtorer of his country.

*The confederates take Pavia.*

During theſe tranſactions at Genoa, the confederate army reduced Pavia; and ſeveral other cities ſurrendered. Antonio de Leyva, finding himſelf harder preſſed than ever, formed a project hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory: having collected all the wheat and corn in the Milaneſe under ſpecious pretexts, he diſtributed it among certain bakers in whom he could confide, with orders to ſell each loaf at the price of a crown. By this expedient he drew money to the army from thoſe who were able to pay for

[w] Paruta, lib. vi. Guicc. ibid

bread,

bread, while the poor periſhed with hunger. The Milaneſe complained to the emperor, but his low finances could admit of no remedy: without money Leyva's army would deſert, and this was to be procured by no other means than the moſt cruel oppreſſion. At laſt the inhabitants, rendered deſperate by misfortune, maſſacred a number of his officers, and made attempts upon Leyva's own life. The reins of government were broke, and the ſpirit of revolt was every where excited, had Urbino and St. Pol known how to uſe the opportunity; but thoſe two officers, inſtead of ſnatching this happy occaſion for the recovery of the Milaneſe, were planning fruitleſs ſchemes to beſiege Genoa.

During the winter of this year, negociations for a peace as uſual were carried on, but without effect. Several embaſſies between the pope and Venetians had paſſed concerning Cervia and Ravenna, which his holineſs ſtill inſiſted on being ceded to him; but nothing was concluded before the treaty of Cambray took place towards the end of the campaign. The war was ſtill proſecuted in Naples and the Milaneſe: in Calabria and the Capitanata, the united French and Venetians bravely withſtood the ſuperior force of the Imperialiſts, obſtinately diſputing every village they loſt: both ſides ſeemed equally to divide the ſucceſs, and nothing happened deciſive. It was not ſo in the Milaneſe, where Antonio de Leyva, receiving a reinforcement of three thouſand Spaniards, preſſed the allies with great vigour: they loſt the opportunity of laying ſiege to Milan before Leyva was ſtrong enough to take the field, waſting their time in marches and the ſiege of unimportant places. St. Pol was full of the notion of recovering Genoa, which Urbino oppoſed, inſiſting on the war's being continued in the Milaneſe: theſe diſputes between the two generals prevented the execution of any deſign. At laſt the armies ſeparated, and St. Pol ſoon after was defeated by Leyva, and himſelf made priſoner. A.D. 1529.

About this time the emperor ſent the cardinal Santa Cruz to Rome, to negociate a peace among the contending parties: he began by ordering Oſtia and Civita Vecchia to be ceded to his holineſs. Ambaſſadors were likewiſe ſent by France and England, with inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe: following their example, the republic gave ample powers to Gaſpar Contareni, her reſident, to treat upon ſuch terms as were conſiſtent with the honour of the ſtate, and her engagements to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: they ſolicited the pope to become mediator in their differences,

and the senate promised, on these conditions, to deliver up Cervia and Ravenna. While the emperor and Venetians were thus bribing the pope with promises, they likewise prepared for the event of a fruitless issue to the negociations: the duke d'Urbino was continued three years longer in his employment; Fregosa was appointed superintendant of the army; count Gorazzo, general of the horse; Antonio Castello, captain of artillery; and Nani, proveditor to the forces, which were greatly augmented. Several promotions were likewise made in their marine; and a fleet of fifty gallies equipped, with every thing ready to put to sea. The sum of twelve thousand ducats was lent to the French king, and three thousand to Francis Sforza, to enable them to send their quotas into the field, if the negociations should prove abortive. Thus, after the war had already cost the republic above five millions of gold, did she not only furnish her own proportion, but supply her allies with money to carry their engagements into execution [x].

As to the campaign in Naples; count Guast, with six thousand Germans and Spaniards, laid siege to Monopoli, a town garrisoned by Venetians, and commanded by Andrea Gritti and Vitturi the proveditors. After having battered it for some time, and effected a breach, the count gave the assault, maintained it with vigour, but in the end was repulsed with the loss of four hundred men; this defeat, with some reinforcements which Rence de Cerè threw into the garrison, obliged him to raise the siege. After the repulse of the enemy at Monopoli, the Venetian fleet coming before Brundusium, soon obliged it to capitulate.

Antonio de Leyva having defeated St. Pol in the Milanese, proposed pushing his conquests to the Bergamasco, Cremasco, and Brescian; but in this scheme he was opposed by the Venetian army, which marched with great expedition to Cassan. The duke d'Urbino's light horse greatly annoyed the enemy, cut off their forage and provision, and reduced de Leyva to great difficulties. A detachment of imperialists crossing the Adda to scour the Brescian, and levy contributions, fell into an ambuscade laid by the Venetian general, and was cut off. The two camps being pitched within a small distance of each other, daily skirmishes past, both sides using all means to procure some advantage of situation, by which to draw the enemy to a battle upon unequal terms. Gorazzo, at length,

[x] Guicc. lib. xix. Barre, tom. viii. p. 2.

without

without intending it, brought on a general engagement, which terminated to the advantage of the Venetians, the enemy having been repulſed with the loſs of fifteen hundred men, a victory upon which Urbino greatly piqued himſelf, it being almoſt the only advantage he had gained during the whole war[y].

All this while the pope, under the maſk of common mediator, was attentive to his own intereſt only: his aim was not only to re-eſtabliſh his family in Florence, but to render himſelf maſter of Peruſia and Ferrara, and to recover Cervia and Ravenna, of which he had been deprived by the Venetians. At laſt a treaty with his holineſs was ſigned, in which, among other articles, it was ſtipulated, that Charles ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubienza. In the month of Auguſt another treaty was concluded at Cambray, by Margaret of Auſtria and Louiſa of Savoy, in the names of the emperor and of Francis I. This pacification was matter of great diſcontent to the ſenate of Venice: they not only reſented Francis's having ſigned it without their conſent, but ſtill more, his renouncing the duchy of Milan without any ceſſion in favour of Francis Sforza, and his engaging to reſtore the towns belonging to the republic in Naples, to the emperor. To ſatisfy the ſenate, excuſe the treaty, and procure reſtitution of the Neapolitan cities, he ſent an ambaſſador to Venice, which now remained without an ally to oppoſe the power of the emperor in Italy: Francis was, indeed, uſing all his influence with the emperor and the ſenate to bring them to a reconciliation; but the Venetians were ſo unwilling to ſee the imperial authority eſtabliſhed in Italy, and Charles ſo determined upon that point, that little progreſs was made in the mediation. The affair was canvaſſed for ſeveral days in the ſenate, ſome alleging the neceſſity of coming to terms, others adviſing the continuance of the war, unleſs the emperor ſhould give more evident ſigns of his ſerious intentions; they enumerated the diſadvantages under which Charles muſt engage to carry on another campaign: the Turks had taken Buda; ſchiſms were riſen in the church, which threatened a civil war in Germany; his troops were mutinous for want of pay; their towns were all ſtrongly fortified, well garriſoned, and able to ſpin the war to great length before they could be reduced. Theſe, and other reaſons, induced the ſenate to reſolve keeping

[y] Paruta, lib. ix.

their army on foot, until ſuch terms ſhould be offered as they could accept conſiſtently with the ſafety and honour of the ſtate [z].

A.D. 1530. At length, upon the emperor's arrival in Italy, matters were finally adjuſted, to the great ſatisfaction and joy of the republic and of Francis Sforza, who was reinſtated in his duchy, on promiſe of paying a certain ſum of money to the emperor. Ambaſſadors were afterwards ſent to Bologna, to compliment his imperial majeſty upon this general tranquillity he had ſo graciouſly reſtored. Charles made the ambaſſadors ſome valuable preſents, which, on their return, were laid up in the treaſury; all ſuch gifts being eſteemed the property of the public, and not of the individual on whom they were beſtowed. Theſe marks of eſteem the ſenate ſoon returned, by ordering the imperial army to have free quarters while it paſſed through the Venetian dominions. The governors of the cities kept open table for the officers, and the emperor's own table was ſupplied with the richeſt wines, and moſt expenſive delicacies, at the charge of the republic.

*The Venetians entertain the emperor.*

Charles being at this time earneſtly ſolicited by the Proteſtants to call a general council, he referred the matter to Clement. His holineſs, apprehending dangerous conſequences from a free aſſembly, adviſed the emperor to chaſtiſe them by the ſecular power: he likewiſe endeavoured to draw the Venetians into this opinion, and to aſſiſt the emperor in that attempt; but the anſwer of the ſenate was agreeable to the reputation they had acquired for moderation, wiſdom, and juſtice. They repreſented to his holineſs the ſcandal it would bring upon the church to oppoſe arguments by arms; that it ill became the profeſſors of reaſon and truth to avoid the trial, and a candid diſcuſſion of points, wherein reaſon and ſcripture only could be judges; that to perſecute ſchiſmatics was the ſureſt method to propagate their errors, ſince where force was uſed, the people generally concluded juſtice was wanting; that as to the princes of Italy, and themſelves in particular, a long war had ſo exhauſted them, that nothing leſs than ſelf-defence, and the protection of Chriſtianity, could induce them to undertake another; that the free cities of the empire were reſolute in denying the emperor ſupplies, unleſs he convoked a council; and that his imperial majeſty, by his own ſtrength, was very unable to levy forces adequate to the enterprize [a].

[z] Paruta, lib. vii. [a] Guicc. et Paruta, ibid.

The

The pope clearly perceived the force of this reaſoning: his ſecular views rendered moderation in ſpiritual matters neceſſary, and though he was head of the church, yet could he, in favour of a temporal point, relax from that ſeverity which his predeceſſors thought the duty of the repreſentatives of Chriſt.

Another circumſtance contributed to fix the ſenate in the reſolution to engage in no quarrels on the continent. Solyman's power, by his conqueſts in Hungary, and other parts of Europe and Aſia, were become extremely formidable to the Venetians and many other Chriſtian ſtates. Some late changes in the Othoman government had proved hurtful to the commerce of the republic, and threatened a ſtorm which might diſturb the preſent tranquillity. To guard againſt every event, the Venetians reſolved upon fitting out a ſtrong fleet, to ſupport the expences of which they ſolicited the pope for a remiſſion of the tenths levied upon the clergy within their dominions; but he refuſed them, and the ſenate was forced to have recourſe to another expedient. A.D. 1531.

The war between the Turks and Hungarians had been carried on for above a year, and now the emperor Charles declared againſt Solyman. His holineſs ſent a nuncio to Venice to engage the republic in an alliance to reſiſt the Turk; but the Venetians, though they purſued their preparations, did not care to form leagues which might entail upon them the ſupport of a hazardous war, at leaſt the greateſt burthen of the expence; their anſwer, therefore, was general to his holineſs.

*The emperor's preparations for waging war with Solyman.*

In the mean time Charles V. raiſed a prodigious army, with which he encamped before Vienna, there to wait Solyman's arrival. Doria likewiſe conducted a numerous fleet to oppoſe Imeral, the Turkiſh admiral, while Capello commanded a fleet of near ſixty Venetian gallies, with which he lay off Corfu. Doria formed a project of obliging the Venetians to join in the war, by raiſing the ſuſpicions of the Turkiſh admiral that the fleets were united; but Capello fruſtrated this intention by a viſit he made Imeral during his ſtay at Prevoſa. The years 1531 and 1532 paſſed without the emperor's coming to blows with the grand ſeignor; Charles, therefore, paſſed in the beginning of the year 1533 into Italy, where he was met by the ambaſſadors of all the Italian princes and ſtates. His deſign was to renew a treaty with them for the defence of Italy; into which all his art could not draw the Venetians, who

who were apprehenſive of diſobliging Solyman, England, or France [b].

When the league was publiſhed, it appeared that the Venetians were included, though without any authority on their ſide; a circumſtance that gave umbrage to Solyman, until the matter was cleared up to his ſatisfaction. Peace was the great object of the ſenate's views, if it could be obtained with honour and ſafety. A long and ruinous war had greatly reduced the affluence of this rich commonwealth; the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe and Spaniards, had leſſened the extent of the Venetian traffick; but did not wholly ruin it. They ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the valuable trade of the Levant, Syria, and the coaſts of Africa and Egypt. The three laſt years of peace had greatly recovered the exhauſted finances of the ſtate; but this circumſtance, inſtead of encouraging the Venetians to enter upon new meaſures for a war, more ſtrongly prompted them to endeavour preſerving poſſeſſion of the bleſſings they began to enjoy.

However, their pacific determinations did not prevent the ſenate's being involved in another affair, which, with an untoward beginning, had a fortunate iſſue. While Jeronimo Canalis, the proveditor, was convoying, with twelve gallies, a fleet of merchants bound for Syria and Alexandria, a Turkiſh ſquadron was deſcried at ſome diſtance giving chace, with a bloody flag at the top-maſt-head. Canalis was greatly inferior in ſtrength, yet determined to fight it to the laſt: he found means to gain the windward of the enemy, and attack them to great advantage. The battle was extremely obſtinate, the gallies of Canalis and the Turkiſh baſhaw having frequently boarded each other. In the end, the ſuperior ſkill of Canalis prevailed over numbers; the baſhaw was made priſoner, four Turkiſh gallies were ſunk, and three taken [c]. All the Venetian fleet and inhabitants of Candia rejoiced at this victory, and extolled the conduct and valour of Canalis; but the tranſaction excited other ſentiments in the ſenate, who apprehended the conſequences. The admiral's courage deſerved the higheſt encomiums; circumſtances would admit of no other conduct conſiſtently with the ſecurity of the fleet; yet a war with Solyman was what the ſenate of all things the leaſt deſired. It was not doubted, as all the Venetian merchantmen were detained

[b] Paruta, lib. vii. Baron. ſub. ann. 1537. [c] Maurocen. lib. iv. Paruta, ibid.

in

in the Turkish ports, but Solyman intended to revenge this affront; to divert him from which design the senate sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, to apologise for the late unfortunate transaction, and offer to punish Canalis if required. But here the generosity of the infidel stood Canalis in more stead than the gratitude of his own countrymen. Solyman was angry at the last proposal, and rejected it with disdain, saying, that the conduct of the Venetian admiral deserved the highest reward; and that it was pity he did not serve a state able to pay a just regard to his merit. He then set the Venetian ships at liberty, in honour, he said, to Canalis, rather than regard to the embassy: a greatness of mind which filled the republic with equal shame and astonishment (A).

All this while war was carried on by sea between Solyman and the emperor Charles V. Doria, the emperor's admiral, had taken Moron, Patras, and other places in the Morea, during the preceding year, which were all retaken this year by the famous Barbarossa, now appointed admiral of all the Turkish navy. After this transaction Barbarossa steered to Italy, wasted and destroyed the coast of Calabria; thence sailing to the coast of Africa, he took Tunis, and returned triumphant to Constantinople. A.D. 1534.

The Venetian republic passed this year in the same tranquillity it had enjoyed during the preceding, unless we except a skirmish which happened in the gulf of Venice with Filippo Mazzo, a knight of Malta, who lived by piracy. Mazzo was taken by the Venetian admiral, beheaded on the poop of his own ship, and the Turkish slaves on board were set at liberty; an action extremely grateful to Solyman, but displeasing to Charles V. under whose protection the knights of Malta had been for some years; but when matters were properly represented to the emperor he was appeased [d].

In the mean time Clement VII. resigned his last breath, after a life of unsuccessful ambition; and was succeeded

[d] Parut. lib. viii. Baron. sub. ann. 1534. Maurocen. lib. v.

(A) Canalis died this year, soon after those marks of honour were conferred on him by the Othoman emperor; and the senate, in recompence of the services he had done, decreed that his son should, during his life, enjoy the revenues of the isle of Corfu (1).

(1) Paruta, lib. vii.

in

in the pontificate by Alexander Farneſe, by the name of Paul III. On his acceſſion the ſenate ſent an embaſſy of eight ſenators with compliments of congratulation, and wiſhes that the ſame ſpirit of juſtice and moderation which had governed his actions for the ſpace of fifty years, might ſtill continue to direct his councils: but Paul, with his new dignity, had aſſumed a ſpirit more agreeable to the diſpoſition of his predeceſſors. Guido Ubaldo, ſon to Franciſco Maria, duke d'Urbino, having married Julia, the only child of John Varan, duke of Camerino, ought, in right of his wife, to have ſucceeded to that duchy after the death of his father-in-law; nor was it doubted but he would without oppoſition, when very unexpectedly Paul III. declared the duchy a fief of the church, to which Ubaldo could have no pretenſions. This declaration he maintained by the powerful argument of arms, a ſtep that greatly incenſed the Venetians, who had taken Urbino under their protection, and ſoon made them alter their ſentiments of the moderate and pacific diſpoſition of his holineſs. Not caring, however, to engage in a diſpute with him, the ſenate applied to the emperor, who found means to perſuade the pope to depart from the rigour of his pretenſions. What moſt of all wrought upon him, was a propoſition made by the Venetians, of giving his ſon Pietro Lodovico a handſome equivalent in Romagna for the ſurrender of Cervia and Ravenna to the republic.

A.D. 1535. His holineſs lent a willing ear to whatever tended to exalt and eſtabliſh his family: he began, therefore, to recede from his claim on the duchy of Camerino, being willing to gain the Venetians, the natural protectors of his ſon, ſhould he be eſtabliſhed in Romagna.

While the pope and Venetians were engaged in negociations of this nature, the emperor was raiſing a powerful army, and equipping a numerous fleet, to the great terror of the Italian ſtates, who were ignorant of his deſigns. At laſt it was known that this armament was deſtined for Africa, and againſt Solyman. The French reſident at Conſtantinople had uſed clandeſtine means and unjuſtifiable intrigues to prejudice Solyman againſt the Venetians, though with what view we are at a loſs to conjecture: he whiſpered about the city, that Charles was excited to this expedition by the perſuaſions and promiſes of the republic, than which nothing could be leſs true, at the ſame time that he preſerved all the appearances of friendſhip for the Venetian reſident. However, Solyman was too generous to form his judgment upon ſecret inſi-

*The intrigues of the French reſident at the Porte.*

nuations;

nuations; he therefore put the queſtion to the reſident, who fully ſatisfied him of the falſity of the allegation and fidelity of the republic: he even ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to Venice, with teſtimonies of his regard; and to aſſure the ſenate, that no indirect practices whatever ſhould alter his ſentiments of friendſhip for their republic. Thus ſtood affairs during the year 1535, when Charles, having finiſhed his expedition by taking Tunis, Goletta, and other places, returned to Naples, there to paſs the enſuing winter [e].

While the emperor was carrying on the war againſt the infidels in Africa, Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, died without iſſue; an event which it was univerſally believed would interrupt the repoſe of Italy. The republic was unwilling that the Milaneſe ſhould be annexed to the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe neighbourhood they apprehended on many accounts, and yet to ſolicit Charles the Fifth to confer the duchy upon ſome private perſon, was a very delicate meaſure: but the French monarch, renewing his claim to this duchy, eaſed the ſenate of their embarraſſment, and paved the way for a treaty with the emperor for the ſecurity of Italy. This treaty was ſcarcely concluded, when Beauvoix, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to Francis, came to Venice to acquaint the ſenate of his maſter's intentions, and to ſolicit the aid and alliance of the republic. Giving any encouragement to this propoſition would have been an infraction of the treaty with Charles; the ſenate, therefore, contented itſelf with anſwering his majeſty in general terms, teſtifying their reſpect for his perſon, and deſire of preſerving the public tranquillity. Francis, however, perſevered in his reſolution of ſending an army into Italy, and for this purpoſe demanded a paſſage of the duke of Savoy, which was denied: this refuſal augmented his majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the duke, and kindled thoſe ſparks of reſentment, which had for ſome time been ſmothered in political reaſons, into an open flame. A variety of circumſtances now contributed to oblige Francis to declare his ſentiments of the duke: he had furniſhed the duke of Bourbon with money; he had congratulated the emperor on Francis's impriſonment; he had conducted intrigues for drawing off the Swiſs from their engagements with France; beſides making the purchaſe of Aſt, the duke refuſed to lend Nice for holding an interview between the A.D. 1536.

[e] Barre, Hiſt. All. tom. viii. p. 2.

king

king and pope Clement; his majesty's claim to the dowry of Louisa of Savoy, his mother; with a number of other particulars, all contributed to bring matters to a crisis. The duke, knowing the resentment of the French monarch, solicited the emperor's assistance in opposing so powerful a prince. Intelligence of this negociation coming to the ears of Francis, made him hasten his preparations; accordingly he invaded Piedmont with a numerous army: he soon made himself master of Turin, Pignerol, and Fossan. The city Vercelli was near falling into his hands, had not Antonio de Leyva, with the imperial army, marched opportunely to its relief[f]. Thus a war was again lighted up in Italy, which Paul III. took every measure to extinguish. The great difficulty was to find a medium of agreement between the pretensions of Charles and Francis to the duchy of Milan; for as to the war with Savoy, that was only a necessary step towards the entrance of the French army into the Milanese: however, negociations for this purpose were set on foot, but they proved ineffectual. The emperor was desirous of giving the Milanese to the duke d'Angoulesme, and Francis was no less desirous that it should be conferred on the duke of Orleans: so violent was the emperor, that he offered to rest the decision on the issue of a single combat between himself and the French king.

*Francis enters Piedmont with an army, and overruns the country.*

While the emperor was planning measures for checking the progress of the French conquests, Francis, with the assistance of some Italian princes, who had declared in his favour, formed an enterprize against Genoa, to reduce it under his power: this obliged the Imperial army to withdraw from Provence, for the protection of the emperor's dominions in Italy. Roderigo d'Avalo, the imperial ambassador, arrived in Venice to acquaint the senate with the emperor's resolution to invade France, and to request their assistance. In consequence of this requisition, six thousand foot were raised, under the conduct of Antonio de Castello. The ambassador had assurances given him of the respect the republic should always preserve for his imperial majesty; and of the senate's resolution to protect the Milanese against all enemies whatever. A farther augmentation of the troops was likewise made, and the rendezvous appointed for assembling the army at Azola, with orders they should be ready to march on an hour's notice; yet, with all these preparations, so nicely did the senate ba-

[f] Parut, ibid. etiam Baron, sub an. 1536.

lance

lance between the rival powers, that neither ſide was diſſatisfied with their conduct: the emperor eſteemed them his allies, and Francis could not look upon them as enemies, as they had taken no meaſures againſt his intereſt [g].

In this ſituation ſtood affairs, when a truce for three months was agreed upon between the emperor and Francis. Notice of this was ſent to the ſenate by the former, together with the conditions preliminary to a general pacification, importing, that Francis ſhould declare, before the expiration of that time, whether he would accept of the Milaneſe for the duke d'Angouleſme, and marry him to the widow of Sforza? If within this period he came to no reſolution, in that caſe the emperor ſhould have power to beſtow the duchy on the infant of Portugal, or on Emanuel, ſon to the duke of Savoy. He requeſted to know the ſenate's ſentiments upon this ſubject; and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of forming a league among the Italian princes for the ſecurity of Italy, and giving weight to the negociations. The ſenate made anſwer, that as to the Milaneſe they could determine nothing, until they were acquainted more particularly with his imperial majeſty's intentions: that when he ſhould directly nominate a ſucceſſor, they would then take their meaſures. As to the league, they thought it more neceſſary to oppoſe the growing power of the Othoman empire than that of any Chriſtian potentate. The ſenate then acquainted the pope with this anſwer to the emperor's embaſſy: they gave his holineſs the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſition of the republic, whoſe chief deſire it was to preſerve the tranquillity of Italy. They uſed their influence to induce him to mediate a peace, which requeſt at length he complied with, by ſending ambaſſadors to the courts of the emperor and of Francis. But his endeavours were fruitleſs, both ſides being at that time implacable in their reſentment [h].

During this interval, Francis left no ſtone unturned to draw the Venetians off from their attachment to the emperor, or rather from their neutrality. After ſeveral indirect attempts, at laſt he ſent a plenipotentiary with full powers to engage them in his alliance upon their own terms. The faireſt promiſes were made to the ſenate, and the moſt engaging proſpects laid before them; but nothing

[g] Parut. lib. ix. Maurocen. lib. v. ibid.

[h] Ibid etiam. Baron,

could

could prevail on them to break their engagements with the emperor, or diſturb the repoſe of Italy. Francis, failing in this point, had recourſe to the Porte. He thought that by engaging Solyman to ſend an army into Puglia, he would at leaſt draw off the Venetian forces from the Milaneſe, and thus open a way for his own army into the duchy. Although at that time he had a reſident at Conſtantinople, yet he now diſpatched an ambaſſador extraordinary to Solyman. This miniſter began his operations by repreſenting to the Othoman court the growing greatneſs of the emperor; the danger there was of his acquiring univerſal monarchy; the neceſſity of combining againſt him for their mutual defence; the facility with which the Turkiſh army might paſs into Italy by ſea; and the advantages that would reſult to that empire from ſuch a meaſure. The picture was artfully drawn; whatever tended to increaſe the difficulty of the enterprize was thrown into ſhade, while the beauties of the proſpect, and every other inducement, were placed in the moſt conſpicuous point of view. The grand vizier entered heartily into the views of the French king: he laid the ſcheme before Solyman, with ſuch other blandiſhments, as ſoon induced that ambitious monarch to embrace propoſals ſo agreeable to his natural thirſt of empire and glory.

Solyman, thinking it neceſſary to engage the Venetians in his intereſt, if poſſible, ſent for that purpoſe an ambaſſador to the ſenate: their anſwer was, that they were equally diſpoſed to cultivate his friendſhip, from a regard to his perſonal merit and their mutual intereſt: they, however, declined declaring themſelves more explicitly; but although Solyman was ſatisfied with this general anſwer, it was otherwiſe with his miniſters, who expected to draw great advantages from a war with the republic. To gain their ends, they began with falſe complaints of the Venetian officers in the Turkiſh dominions; with impriſoning the perſons, and confiſcating the effects of the merchants of the republic, under various and frivolous pretences. This conduct, they doubted not, would produce altercations, which might probably terminate in a war: the Venetian trade in Syria was, beſides, taxed with a duty of ten per cent. the letters of their conſuls to the ſenate were frequently intercepted; and two of the republic's ſhips were ſeized in a hoſtile manner in the iſland of Rhodes, and port of Alexandria. Theſe were, indeed, moſt impolitic meaſures; for, however, a war with the republic might tend to the emolument of individuals, it could

*Solyman taxes the Venetian commerce.*

could not but be prejudicial to the Othoman empire, and to the designs of Solyman. It was, in fact, compelling a strong maritime power to unite itself closely with the emperor of Germany, and putting him upon a footing with the Porte in the only particular wherein he was inferior. On this consideration, the senate doubted not but Solyman would disclaim, and redress the injuries done to their subjects without his consent or knowlege. Tomazo Mocenigo was accordingly dispatched to Constantinople, to represent the grievances of the republic to the Othoman ministry, and to the grand seignor in person, if satisfaction could not be obtained otherwise. Mocenigo applied directly to the emperor, and obtained the most favourable answer he could desire. Solyman expressed his resentment and concern for the injuries the Venetian subjects had sustained; he apologized for them, by professing his ignorance, and promised they should be immediately redressed to the utmost of his power. At the same time that this declaration was perfectly consistent with the justice and generosity of Solyman, it was also adapted to his circumstances; for a rumour prevailed, that the sophi of Persia was again preparing to enter the field with a numerous army, which obliged the Othoman to be cautious how he drew upon himself the resentment of so powerful a state as Venice [l].

*His answer to the senate's remonstrance.*

However, as the preparations by sea and land continued with vigour through the Turkish empire, the senate resolved to guard against a storm, the destination of which was uncertain. The garrisons were reinforced by a new levy of eight thousand foot; all the old gallies put in commission, and orders issued for building fifty more with all possible dispatch. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in the ports, in order to man the fleet, and secure transports, if occasion should require. Girolamo Pessari was made captain-general of the fleet, agreeable to the usual method of chusing by lot in the council of the pregadi. In this office he was confirmed by the great council, as there was not in the republic a person more skilled in maritime affairs, or of greater experience [k].

But however vigorous the measures of the senate might appear, there still was a deficiency which could not be remedied but by the oppression of the people. The treasury was low, and now an entire stop would be put to commerce, that perpetual source of wealth to the Vene-

[l] Paruta, ibid. [k] Maurocen. lib. v. Baron. Ann. ibid.

tian ſtate: to obviate in ſome meaſure this evil, three procurators of St. Mark's church were made, each of whom furniſhed the government with twelve thouſand ducats: then the ſenate applied to the pope for leave to levy two hundred thouſand ducats upon the clergy. His holineſs ſhuffled about this requeſt, ſometimes alleging their poverty, at other times pretending to give no credit to Soliman's intention to attack Italy. In this ſituation the ſenate was forced to commit to Providence the care of thoſe numerous forces they were raiſing, determining, in caſe of neceſſity, to lay another tax upon the people in the manner in which it would be moſt tolerable.

Nor was the emperor Charles without apprehenſions of the Turkiſh preparations: he ordered his gallies to be in readineſs in all the ports of Sicily and Naples, the care of which he committed to Andrew Doria, a Genoeſe; but that republic detained Doria and the ſquadron under his command for the defence of the city, in caſe of a viſit from the French king.

During theſe preparations Soliman began his march towards Albania, at the head of a powerful army, while his fleet, amounting to three hundred ſail, under Luſi, baſhaw, ſailed from the ſtreights of Gallipolis. The baſhaw arrived at Modon before the republic came to a reſolution: various were the opinions of the ſenate; ſome were for embracing a neutrality, others for joining the emperor, and the reſt were for waiting until the Turkiſh fleet ſhould, by ſome motion, declare its deſtination. At laſt it was reſolved to leave the whole to the conduct of Peſſari, and appoint Giovanni Vitturi his lieutenant. Francis, having notice of the embarraſſment of the ſenate, thought this a fit opportunity to turn the ſcale in his own favour. With this view he ſent an ambaſſador to Venice, with propoſals extremely advantageous to the republic. He offered to reſtore her former poſſeſſions in the Cremoneſe and Ghiaradadda; to reduce to her obedience the cities of Ravenna and Cervia, which ſhe had been forced to relinquiſh by the late treaty, together with the territories of Apulia, Otranto, Brunduſium, Monopoli, Polignan, and Trani. After various debates a general reply was made to the ambaſſador's propoſals; upon which Antonio Cornaro, a perſon of great influence and authority, reproached the ſenate for balancing a minute between intereſt and the duties of ſolemn treaties. He told the French ambaſſador, that it had always been the practice of the republic never to deſert their allies; that they

*The French king's propoſal to the Venetians.*

were

were now under engagements to the emperor; that it would be base to renounce them; that the noble spirit of Francis himself would despise the meanness of allies he could neither trust nor esteem[l]. The vehemence with which Cornaro uttered this speech, drew many to his opinion. It soon became more general, and at last was passed as the unanimous answer of the senate.

All this while the destination of the Turkish fleet was perfectly mysterious, as well as the conduct of the bashaw. In passing the channel of Corfu he saluted the castle in a friendly and respectful manner: he ordered the authors of some depredations committed on the Venetian traders, to be hanged up at the yard-arm; and observed a conduct so ambiguous as greatly perplexed the senate. Several unlucky accidents soon, however, changed the face of affairs, and produced an open rupture. A Venetian galley had sunk a Turkish ship going with provisions to the bashaw's fleet, because she refused to pay the usual honours to the flag; four ships stationed in the channel of Corfu, attacked and put to flight three Turkish gallies sent to convoy an ambassador from the bashaw to Pessari, to demand satisfaction for the foregoing violation of the treaty. Another cause of the war arose from a dispute between a Turkish galley and one of Contareni's, in which the former was taken with the loss of two hundred men. These injuries the bashaw retaliated by others; and at last seized upon four gallies which had been separated from Pessari's squadron. Other hostilities of the same nature were interchanged, and every thing contributed to bring about an open declaration of war: however, the senate still resolved to wait until they could be better informed by the Venetian envoy, who attended Solyman's person, and followed the army. Mean while all the subjects of the republic in the Turkish dominions were imprisoned; their ships and effects seized; particularly three large gallies at Alexandria[m]. Soon after the Turkish fleet sailed to Corfu, and attacked the citadel, at that time commanded by Babon di Nalda, with a garrison of two thousand men.

*Solyman's officers imprison the Venetian subjects.*

Now all hopes of peace being vanished, orders were dispatched to Pessari to hazard a battle rather than the loss of Corfu; but he, relying upon the strength of the place and number of the garrison, did not chuse to ex-

[l] Paruta, ibid. [m] Maurocen. lib. vi. Baron. Ann. 1536-7.

A D. 1537. pose the state to so great a danger as must attend the defeat of the fleet. Barbarossa, the Turkish admiral, having landed twenty-five thousand men on the island, after wasting every thing with a barbarous fury, laid siege to the citadel. He erected a number of batteries, which the vehement fire of the garrison destroyed as soon as they were opened. The siege being spun out to some length, Solyman resolved to undertake it in person. He went thither accordingly, attended by the grand vizir; but they found the situation so strong, the besieged so resolute, and superior in the use of cannon, that they resolved to drop the enterprize. Willing, however, to make a merit of necessity with the republic, he told the Venetian envoy, that if the senate would indemnify the expences of the war, he would withdraw his fleet and army from Corfu and the dominions of the republic. The envoy told him, that he had no instructions to enter into such engagements; but that he would acquaint the senate with the proposals. But, before an answer could be returned, Solyman was forced, by the sallies of the garrison, to abandon the island. From hence he turned his arms to the Morea; and part of the fleet was sent to invest Napoli de Romagnia and Malvesia, while Barbarossa, with the remainder, scoured the islands of the Archipelago, of which he took several. But the designs of Solyman against the cities of the Morea were frustrated by the prudence and ability of Vittor di Gazzoni, the Venetian general in that quarter. This officer had taken such precautions to fortify and augment the garrisons, that the Turkish general, after opening his trenches before Napoli, was forced to retire, and give up all expectations of success.

*Barbarossa attacks Corfu.*

*He is repulsed.*

In the mean time Pessari and Vitturi were not idle; they divided the fleet, the former laying siege to Scordona, and the latter to Obruazzo. After having levied, with this design, a sufficient body of forces, Pessari attacked Scordona, which being but weakly fortified, he entered it by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, dismantled the town, and intirely razed the citadel. Vitturi was less successful before Obruazzo, which had regular fortifications and a strong garrison: he began with erecting batteries, in which he was disturbed by the continual sallies of the enemy: however, before he had made any considerable progress in his approaches, he received orders from Pessari to raise the siege, and hasten to Corfu with the

*Pessari takes Scordona from the Turks.*

the fleet, as he apprehended a ſecond deſcent upon that iſland [n].

The winter coming on, hoſtilities ceaſed, and negociations for a peace ſucceeded, before any deciſive blow had been ſtruck. Solyman, by his grand vizir, made ſome overtures to the Venetian envoy, which he tranſmitted to the ſenate. They were ſo little conſiſtent with the power, the pride, and ambition of that monarch, that the ſenate ſuſpected their ſincerity; but they received every propoſal with reſpect. As the emperor Charles and the pope ſeemed deſirous of uniting with the republic againſt the Turks, the ſenate was the leſs ſolicitous to embrace the terms offered by Solyman, until they knew the iſſue of the negociations for a league which were now on the carpet. A ſtrong party aroſe in the ſenate for peace with the Turks: they urged the inſincerity of Charles, and the impotency of the pope; the ſecret and deep views of the former, and the dilatory diſpoſition of the latter. They ſet forth the low ſtate of the treaſury; the ſtagnation of commerce; the diſaffection of Doria the imperial admiral, whoſe coldneſs had nearly occaſioned the loſs of Corfu; the inability of the people to ſupport a war by additional taxes; the power of the enemy, and the little advantage to be expected even from a ſucceſsful war. Theſe arguments were oppoſed by others no leſs ſpecious: the oppoſite party inſiſted, that Solyman had no real intention ſo ſoon to end a war which he had undertaken from motives of ambition; that his propoſals had no other view than to break off the intended league with the emperor and the pope, that he might then attack them ſingly, and without allies: they aſſerted, that delays would be of dangerous conſequence, as the emperor might, in the mean time, conclude a peace with the Porte, and by theſe means be rendered incapable of embracing the offers of the ſenate; that their ſo immediately accepting the overtures made by Solyman, would be a declaration of their inability to carry on the war; it would betray their weakneſs, and furniſh him with arguments for riſing in his demands: laſtly, it was urged, that as they muſt at any rate ſupport an army and fleet until the tranquillity of Italy was reſtored, they might, with the ſame expence, watch the motions of Solyman, and keep aloof until affairs could be eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid baſis. After warm debates, they determined to amuſe Solyman, until the reſult of their negociations

[n] Maurocen. lib. vi. Paruta, lib. ix.

with the emperor and pope could be certainly known. Inſtructions were diſpatched to their envoy to leave no means untried to penetrate into the councils of the ſeraglio, and, in the mean time, to give the grand vizir hopes that the ſenate would embrace any reaſonable terms of accommodation [o].

Hitherto, indeed, hoſtilities had been committed, but war was not declared, and it was expected that the ſword might ſtill be ſheathed without farther bloodſhed. It was always the opinion of the moſt prudent, that the republic ought not to be ſwayed by the liberal promiſes of Charles, to undertake a hazardous war againſt the Porte, but upon neceſſity; nor, on the other hand, ſhould ſhe be terrified, by the great preparations of Solyman, into conceſſions unworthy of the rank ſhe maintained. The emperor was now ſoliciting the ſenate to join his fleet, to reſiſt the attempts of the infidels upon Italy; and the ſenate replied in equivocal terms. To another requeſt the imperial miniſter made, that the ſix thouſand troops ſtipulated for the defence of Milan, ſhould march into that duchy; they anſwered, that it would be time enough to perform their engagements when the Milaneſe was attacked.

In the mean time all neceſſary preparations were making for ſecuring the territories of the republic againſt incurſions: all the garriſons in the Morea were augmented and furniſhed with ſtores, ammunition, and proviſion. Twenty-five gallies were diſpatched for the ſecurity of Candia; the towns in Dalmatia were put in a ſtate of defence; and Corfu was not neglected. At laſt, the entreaties, intrigues, and promiſes of Charles prevailed; the ſenate acceded to the propoſed league, and a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive between his imperial majeſty, the pope, and the republic was concluded. It was ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould furniſh eighty-two gallies; the Venetians provide the ſame number; and the pope thirty-ſix men of war and gallies: that his holineſs ſhould ſupport one-ſixth of the expences of the war, and the reſt be equally divided between the emperor and the republic. Doria, the emperor's admiral, was made commander in chief of the combined fleet. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, was included in the league, becauſe it was expected he would be able to make a diverſion in Hungary. Room was alſo left for the French king to join in the confederacy; and the pope was to uſe his

*League between the pope, emperor, and Venetians.*

[o] Paruta, ibid.

influ-

influence with the king of Poland to embrace it, and join his arms to resist the common enemy. They even went so far as to divide their conquests; not doubting but they would soon become masters of all the Turkish dominions in Europe. But the event shewed the prudence of that advice which the public neglected, not to confide too much in the assistance of allies. The treaty was signed at Rome in the month of February, 1538, not one of the articles of which were ever punctually executed by any one of the parties, excepting the republic. Capella was made admiral of the Venetian fleet, Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, a Venetian by birth, had the command of the pope's gallies. As the pontiff was but badly provided in shipping, the Venetians consented to supply his quota for a certain subsidy, which he carefully avoided paying That nothing might obstruct the vigorous prosecution of the war, the Venetians offered their mediaton to establish peace between the emperor and Francis. For this purpose a congress met; but, after tedious debates, broke up without coming to any resolution. Charles failed in his engagements to the senate, almost as soon as he had entered into them: instead of joining the confederates with a powerful fleet, he turned his whole attention to the security of Milan, and resisting the attempts of Francis [p].

Nor was this the only difficulty which the senate combated: in so low a condition were their finances, that they entertained thoughts of selling some of their possessions on the continent. A decree was passed that all money lent to the public, should bear fourteen per cent. interest: severe processes were carried on against the debtors of the public, and imprisonment and confiscation of goods made the penalties of exceeding the time appointed for payment. Three more procurators of St. Mark's were chosen, who lent the public a sum of money in the same manner as the others had done. As for the tax on the clergy it could never be reduced to any form: the pope had permitted the senate to alienate the church goods at the rate of ten per cent. to the amount of a million of ducats; but he afterwards required that this tax should be levied upon the tithes for the space of five years: however, the senate could never procure a brief, for refusing which he always found some new excuse. This scarcity of money greatly impeded the preparations of the repub-

[p] Baron. sub hoc anno. Maucrocen. lib. vi. Barre, tom. viii. p. 2.

lic; yet nothing that could poſſibly remove the obſtruction, was omitted [q].

His holineſs, obſerving that things went on but ſlowly, determined to exert himſelf in reconciling Charles and Francis: the only expedient which could enable the emperor to perform his engagement with the league. He, therefore, laboured to procure a perſonal interview at Nice, where he offered to attend in perſon. The Venetians concurred in this propoſition, and joined their influence with the pontiff's to get it accepted. After preliminaries had been adjuſted, and every thing determined upon for the interview, it was ſuddenly declined by mutual deſire of the parties. A private conference, however, was held at Avignon, in which nothing was concluded.

*Conference between the emperor and Francis.*

The ſpring being far advanced, the Turkiſh fleet covered the ſea, ſcoured the iſlands of the Archipelago a ſecond time, and carried terror and deſolation wherever it ſailed. It was reported that Barbaroſſa would ſteer his courſe to Candia: this enterprize the ſenate expected, and provided againſt. Giovanni Moro, the proveditor, was ſent thither in quality of governor, of whoſe great ability and experience the republic entertained a high opinion. Moro, on his arrival, aſſembled the principal inhabitants of the iſland, whom he adviſed, intreated, exhorted, and even worked into an enthuaſtic reſolution of conquering or dying, by an animated and pathetic oration. The levies went on with ſo much vigour, that in a few days an army of twenty-five thouſand able-bodied men took the field, ready to march wherever the ſecurity of the iſland and orders from the governor ſhould require. The Turkiſh fleet ſoon came in ſight, and they were received with a ſhout from the whole army: this determined Barbaroſſa to alter his intention of landing near Standia, where he foreſaw he ſhould meet with an obſtinate reſiſtance. Coaſting along the iſland he propoſed landing the troops at La Suda, where there was a good harbour and bold ſhore. The diſembarkation was no ſooner begun, than Gritti, who commanded in La Suda, played furiouſly with all the cannon of the town upon the enemy; a ſally was likewiſe made, and the Turks were attack with ſuch fury before they had time to form themſelves, that they were ſoon routed and diſperſed. Numbers, who had

*Barbaroſſa attacks Candia.*

*He is defeated by the Candians.*

[q] Paruta, lib. x.

not

not time to gain their ſhips, fled up the country, where they fell into the hands of the armed peaſants, by whom they were murdered without pity. Finding nothing could be effected in this quarter, Barbaroſſa diſpatched one hundred gallies to make an attempt upon Sithia, a little town upon the back of the iſland: this the Venetians had abandoned, not imagining it to be tenable; but they had drawn a line acroſs the country to prevent the Turks from advancing. In ſhort, ſo well concerted and vigorouſly executed were all the meaſures for the defence of Candia, that Barbaroſſa quitted the attempt, withdrew his fleet, and ſailed towards the Morea [r].

*The Turks enter Dalmatia.*

At the ſame time the Turkiſh army entered Dalmatia, where they committed every ſort of violence and barbarity. So numerous was the army, and ſuch the panic they infuſed, that Camillo Urſini, governor of the province, had thoughts of abandoning the whole country, and ſhutting himſelf up with ſome troops in Zara; but the ſenate ſent a peremptory order to prevent a reſolution no leſs infamous than prejudicial to the republic. A levy was made of fifteen hundred horſe and twelve thouſand foot, which were immediately ſhipped for the protection of Dalmatia. A number of volunteers undertook the defence of the cities Zara, Sabenica, and Catarra; and the inhabitants of Dalmatia were permitted to ſend their wives and children to Venice, that they might oppoſe and fight the enemy without incumbrance.

Upon this occaſion the doge came into the ſenate, and in a pathetic harangue, expatiated upon the preſent ſituation of the republic, animating every individual to an extraordinary exertion of all his faculties in the ſervice of his country [s].

In conſequence of this remonſtrance, ſeveral ſums of money were advanced for the public uſe, the nobility and gentry entered voluntarily into the ſervice of their country, and a ſpirit and unanimity prevailed, which gave happy preſages of a favourable iſſue to the war.

In the mean time the Turkiſh forces were daily pouring into Dalmatia: their intention was to attack all the fortified places at one time, by dividing their army, and thus prevent their aſſiſting each other. Already Nadin, a place of ſtrength, had fallen into their hands; the ſame fate attended Laurena: Zara and other towns were inveſted and warmly preſſed: Zemona and Antivari were

[r] Paruta, ibid. Maurocen. lib. vi. [s] Paruta, ibid.

little

little less than conquered, being abandoned by the garrisons, and defended only by the bravery of a few Sclavonian and Venetian volunteers. However, their resolution, and the speedy supplies sent from Venice, triumphed over opposition, and obliged the Turks to abandon Dalmatia with precipitation[t].

*The Turks are repulsed from Dalmatia.*

But the Venetians were not contented with relieving the besieged towns, and driving the infidels out of Dalmatia, they attacked and recovered some of the places possessed by the enemy. A vigorous plan of operations was laid down, which, if pursued, would soon have obliged the haughty Solyman to sue for peace; but the lukewarmness of the duke of Urbino, who was made general of the land-forces, soon convinced the most discerning, that no great matters could be expected while he commanded.

The Venetian fleet under Capello having joined the pope's gallies, commanded by the bishop of Aquileia, all men were impatient for the event of this junction. Already the combined fleet was powerful enough to occasion the retreat of Barbarossa to Negropont; and the emperor engaged his word to reinforce it with thirty gallies, fifteen men of war, and three thousand Spanish infantry; a promise, the execution of which was much doubted. However, contrary to the general opinion, Gonzaga arrived with the gallies at Corfu, the men of war being left behind under some specious pretext. His arrival was of little service, as he refused to close with the proposals made by Capello and Grimani. They had agreed to scour the Levant seas, and secure the coasts from the irruptions and descents of the infidels; but with this scheme Gonzaga refused to coincide, under pretence that it would be for the discredit of his imperial majesty to atttempt any thing with a fleet too small to support the dignity of his arms. Grimani, tired out with tedious expectation, upon his declaration separated from Capello, taking with him the pope's thirty-five gallies. In his course he made a bold, but unsuccessful, attack upon the fortress of Prevosa; soon after, Doria, with the emperor's ships of war, joined Capello at Corfu. An express being sent to Grimani, to advertise him of this junction and of their intention to attack Prevosa with the united fleets, he returned. The confederate fleet now amounted to one hundred and thirty-six gallies, thirty armed ships, and two gal-

[t] Maurocen. ibid. et Paruta.

leons;

leons; a force, if rightly applied, ſufficient to cruſh the whole Othoman naval power. Previous to the deſcent on Prevoſa, they ſteered directly to the Turkiſh fleet in line of battle; Doria, as commander in chief, leading the van. Barbaroſſa, receiving intelligence of their courſe, retired to the ſtraits of Gallipoli, in order to protract the war, a meaſure which he knew would breed diviſions, and ſoon ſeparate the confederates. He likewiſe tampered with Doria, whom he ſoon gained by liberal preſents and promiſes; a ſeaſonable advantage, as his retreat from Corfu had given his enemies an occaſion to queſtion his conduct and his courage. To reinſtate himſelf in the public eſteem, Barbaroſſa reſolved to come to an engagement with the confederates, and to inſure ſucceſs, he thought the moſt commodious method was to be on good terms with the chief officer [u].

Upon this change of opinion, fifty gallies were diſpatched in queſt of the Chriſtians, and were ſoon diſcovered by the centinels in the tops of the Venetian fleet; upon which a ſignal was made for engaging: they poured broadſides into the Turkiſh fleet ſo warmly, that they were ſuddenly broke and put in confuſion. The Venetians were preparing to board them, when Doria ordered ſail to be ſlackened, and thus gave the Turks an opportunity to eſcape, when he had them at mercy. It was with difficulty the Venetians obeyed the order; but imagining the admiral had ſome great ſtroke in view, they complied. Finding, however, that he effected nothing for the common intereſt, the whole fleet was enraged, officers and ſoldiers equally reproaching the cowardice or treachery of Doria. Capello carried his reſentment ſo far, that Doria found himſelf under the neceſſity of again proceeding in order of battle againſt the enemy. After he had uſed all the diſſuaſive arguments in his power, perceiving they had no effect, he commanded the bloody flag to be hoiſted, and advanced a ſecond time, his own diviſion leading the van. Barbaroſſa, though he was alarmed at this conduct, yet ſtill relied on Doria's engagements. Advancing therefore to meet the enemy, ſeveral motions were made for gaining the weather-gage, which was won by the ſuperior ſkill of the confederates: but a calm enſuing, both fleets lay for ſome hours within ſight of each other; the Venetians all the while impatient to engage. Capello ordered his large ſhips to be towed, that no time might be loſt.

*The baſe conduct of Doria.*

*Obliged to attack the Turkiſh fleet.*

[u] Baron. ſub hoc an. Paruta, lib. x. Maurocen. lib. vii.

Theſe

Theſe he drew up in front, to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy, which he knew would be violent. But Doria's conduct rendered every precaution uſeleſs: it was equally myſterious to his own friends and to the enemy. As ſoon as a gale ſprung up, inſtead of bearing down upon the Turks, as was expected, he took a long ſweep, which ſome conſtrued into an intention of attacking their line in flank. Capello, however, ſaw through the artifice; upon which he immediately got into a ſmall frigate, and ſailed round the fleet, exhorting them to ſeize the happy moment of ending the war. He took upon him to anſwer the conſequences of diſobeying his ſuperior: he openly accuſed him of betraying his truſt, went up to Doria, and intreated him to fall directly upon the enemy; but all to no purpoſe. That admiral, after exchanging a few diſtant ſhot with the enemy, retired with his ſquadron, making a ſignal for the reſt of the fleet to follow. His pretence was, that the Turks were drawn up ſo advantageouſly, and ſo well covered by the batteries they had thrown up on the ſhore, that it would be impoſſible to engage them with ſucceſs. The enemy, encouraged by this ſhameful conduct, attacked the rear of the combined fleet with ſome advantage; took ſeven gallies, and nine frigates, when happily a ſtorm ariſing, prevented the purſuit. Doria ordered all the lights to be put out, and returned diſgracefully to Corfu, when he might with equal eaſe have brought both victory and honour. In his flight he was inſulted by Barbaroſſa himſelf, who called him in deriſion the Neptune of the ſea; a name he had once deſervedly borne on account of his ſkill in maritime affairs [w].

*Doria's diſgraceful retreat.*

Thus ended the battle of Nicopolis, near the promontory of Actium; from which time the naval abilities of the Chriſtians would ſeem to have declined. All blamed Doria, ſome attributing his conduct to cowardice, ſome to jealouſy of the Venetians; but the greater number to treachery: his future conduct was conſiſtent. The fleet ſailing from Corfu to Caſtelnuovo, a town formerly belonging to the Venetians, Doria garriſoned it with Spaniſh ſoldiers, retaining it for the uſe of the emperor; after which ſtep he returned to Sicily, without attempting any thing farther. Jovius ſays, that Doria deſpiſed all the reproaches thrown out againſt him, ſatisfied that he acted according to his orders; thus transferring the whole blame on the emperor, who wanted nothing more than to

[w] Paruta, lib. x. Maurocen. lib. vii.

engage

engage the republic in a ruinous war with the infidels. His motives, according to that hiſtorian, were to ſeize upon their poſſeſſions on the continent, as ſoon as they were reduced ſo low as to be unable to ſupport another war. Sigonius ſcruples not to charge the whole miſconduct upon the Venetians. Not contented with vindicating Doria, where he is unjuſtly blamed, he ventures to applaud his conduct, where, if we can at all rely on the concurring teſtimony of all the Venetian writers, it is utterly indefenſible. What ſets his treachery or cowardice in the moſt conſpicuous view, is his refuſal, upon the intreaty of Capello, to attack Barbaroſſa, notwithſtanding he had been weakened by the loſs of half his fleet in a ſtorm [x].

Soon after the departure of Doria to Sicily, Grimani likewiſe drew off the pope's gallies, under pretence of the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the hazard of keeping the ſea longer. Thus the Venetians were left alone to oppoſe an enemy ſo greatly ſuperior, which, with the diſgrace at Actium, the inſolence of Doria in putting a Spaniſh garriſon in a town belonging to the republic, plainly indicated the hazard of continuing a war, which was moreover intolerable on account of the expence. All theſe circumſtances co-operating, the ſenate was induced to think of a peace upon ſuch terms as could be procured. Certain ſecret intelligence tranſmitted to the council of ten, perſuaded them that Solyman was no leſs diſpoſed to a compoſition: however, without detracting from the dignity of the ſtate, they could not publicly ſend an ambaſſador to make propoſals. To avoid ſuſpicions of this kind, Lorenzo Gritti went to Conſtantinople, in order to ſound the ſentiments of the divan, but under pretence of ſettling the affairs of his brother, lately deceaſed. Gritti entered upon the affair with the utmoſt delicacy; firſt propoſing a truce, which was rejected, and afterwards a general pacification. In this his deſigns were ſeconded by the French reſident, who had his ſecret reaſons for acting in the manner he thought would be moſt grateful to the republic. Solyman ſoon conſented to a ſeparate peace with the Venetians, but refuſed to include the emperor, againſt whom he was deſirous of turning the whole weight of the Othoman power. Charles, informed of Gritti's negotiation, ſent an ambaſſador to Venice to obſtruct the peace: his views were not yet anſwered; the republic was ſtill

[x] Paruta, ibid.

too

too powerful to be made a prey: every argument was, therefore, used to oblige her to continue the war. Don Diego de Mendoza, the Spanish minister, complained in the senate of a conduct so injurious and disrespectful to his maste ,rand unfaithful to the alliance. The senate answered him by retorting the emperor's breach of engagements, the dilatory measures of his councils, and the treachery of his admiral: they told him, that as to the league it wholly consisted of promises never performed; that they were made the tools of the emperor's politics, and the whole load of the war was thrown upon Venice. Altercations of the same nature passed at the imperial court, between the Venetian ambassador and the Spanish ministry [y].

In this situation stood affairs towards the close of the year 1538, when Gritti the doge died, after he had occupied that dignity with great applause for the space of fifteen years: he was then in his eighty-fourth year, a prince of prudence, benevolence, and many other amiable virtues; a great promoter of the liberal arts, and of public charities. Some noble foundations of this kind, begun under his auspices, are standing monuments of his liberality, piety, and taste. Gritti had maintained the people in the full extent of their liberties, and the republic in the possessions of all her dominions, through a period abounding more, perhaps, than any other in history, with dark intrigues, deceitful friendships, and cruel wars. He died in the full exertion of his mental faculties, esteemed and lamented by all good men, as the father of his country, the patron of merit, and the succour of the poor and oppressed [z].

## *PIETRO LANDO, Doge LXXVIII.*

*Pietro Lando.*

GRITTI was succeeded by Pietro Lando, elected after the usual forms: he closely pursued the measures of his predecessor, and with equal zeal desired to put a period to a burthensome and pernicious war. The envoy's negotiations went on but slowly at Constantinople, the emperor Charles having thrown many embarrassments in his way, however strenuous the doge and senate were in pursuit of pacific measures. This consideration obliged the republic to augment her standing forces, fleet, and garrisons, find-

[y] Baron. anno 1538. [z] Paruta, lib. x. Maurocen. lib. v, vi.

ing

ing how little they were to rely upon auxiliaries and allies. Orders were diſpatched to Contareni, the proveditor, in Candia, to equip twenty-five gallies; levies were raiſed in the city, and four thouſand artificers enrolled in the public ſervice, who ſhould be obliged to practiſe rowing, and make four cruiſes a-year, certain privileges being decreed to thoſe who ſhould exceed the number of expeditions ſpecified. The old duke of Urbino being dead, his ſon Guy Ubaldo was created generaliſſimo of the Venetian forces on the continent. Moro, the proveditor, was appointed to command the naval armaments of the republic, during the abſence of Capello, at that time in Venice for the recovery of his health, which had been impaired in the public ſervice. Moro being ſoon after killed in ſome popular ſeditions in Candia, Thomaſo Mocenigo was appointed in his room by the ſenate.

In this manner did the Venetians prepare againſt the precarious iſſue of tedious negotiations. Neither were the Turks idle: Barbaroſſa could not digeſt the loſs of Caſtelnuovo, and was determined, at all events, to attempt the recovery of a place of great importance to the Othoman naval power. He had left a diviſion of the fleet, conſiſting of thirty ſail, under Dragut, his lieutenant, to block up the Venetian ſquadron in Corfu, and ſcour thoſe coaſts: this ſervice Dragut effectually performed, laying his ſcheme ſo artfully, that he drew a part of the Venetian fleet into an ambuſcade, by which he drove three gallies on ſhore, where they were ſtaved to pieces, and took one large ſhip of war. Elated with this ſucceſs, he made a deſcent on Candia, burning and waſting the coaſts; but was ſoon attacked by the militia with ſo much courage and impetuoſity, that, after a warm action, the Turks were defeated, and driven with great ſlaughter to their ſhips [a].

About this time young Gritti returned from Conſtantinople, where all he could obtain was a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for three months, in order to adjuſt the preliminaries of a general pacification; to negociate which Pietro Zeno was ſent in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to Soliman: during the preparations for this embaſſy, Gritti was remanded as reſident, with advice of the republic's intention to ſend an ambaſſador. Zeno died ſoon after his departure from Venice, and Thomaſo Contareni was nominated to ſucceed him; who, on his arrival at Conſtantinople, ſoon obtained a prolongation of the truce. Barba-

[a] Maurocen. lib. vi.

roſſa,

roſſa, however, was intent on recovering Caſtelnuovo, which, being held by a Spaniſh garriſon, he thought he might attack it without infraction of the truce with Venice. Coming before it with above one hundred gallies, and a body of troops raiſed by the beglerbeg of Greece, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, threatening him with all the horrors of war if he refuſed. The Spaniards offered to deliver the city to the Venetians; but this they would not accept, ſaying it was now too late: had it been given them according to the expreſs terms of the league, they would then have known how to act, but at preſent their acceptance would be an infraction of the truce with Solyman, and the means of breaking off the treaty in agitation. Barbaroſſa a ſecond time ſummoning the garriſon, was told they would defend it to the laſt extremity; upon which he erected batteries on ſhore, and battered the town from the fleet. The beſieged, after having defended themſelves with great reſolution, were at laſt reduced to extremities: the town was almoſt laid in aſhes, the breach in the walls made practicable, the number of the garriſon greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs and death, and above all a famine prevailed; for theſe reaſons they capitulated on honourable terms [b].

*The Turks attack and take Caſtelnuovo.*

From hence Barbaroſſa ſailed to Riſano, which ſurrendered to him on the firſt ſummons, the governor not believing it tenable. Leaving a garriſon here, he ſteered his courſe to Catarra, where Matteo Bembo, brother to the learned cardinal of that name, had the command of a Venetian garriſon. Barbaroſſa ſkreened his attack upon this place under various pretences: he knew it to be a direct violation of the truce now ſubſiſting; but he likewiſe knew that his ſucceſs would be extremely grateful to the Turkiſh miniſtry. The firſt reaſon alleged in defence of this infraction, was, that Catarra was a ſanctuary for ſlaves, who deſerted the Turkiſh ſervice; the next was, that neither Catarra, or any other town on that coaſt, belonged to the republic; he therefore ſummoned Bembo to ſurrender. Bembo ſent him a reſolute anſwer, that nothing leſs than the expreſs command of the doge and ſenate would oblige him to abandon a town entruſted to his charge; and that he would continue to defend it againſt all the power of Solyman, while one ſtone ſtood upon another. Without making any reply, Barbaroſſa ordered the van of his fleet to advance and batter the walls. By ſome miſconduct of

[b] Paruta, lib. xi. Maurocen. ibid. Baron. ibid.

the

the admiral they were brought so near, that, having been exposed for half an hour to a hot fire from the town, they were wholly shattered, broken, and obliged to retire in the utmost confusion and distress. Next day the rest of the fleet advanced, having detached a few ships to cover the landing of the troops at some distance from the town. Bembo plied his artillery so warmly, that the Turkish general was repulsed with loss: nor did the land forces fare better; the garrison, having made a brisk sally before they had time to draw up, routed them with prodigious slaughter, returning triumphant to the town, with a number of prisoners, standards, kettle drums, and other trophies. Barbarossa, having reconnoitred the town from the land-side, and observed the spirit of the garrison, thought it advisable to reimbark the troops, and retire [c].

The truce being near expired, the Venetian ambassador demanded an audience of the grand seignor. He represented to him the little prospect there was of advantage to either side in continuing the war: he desired a prolongation of the truce, or a peace; telling Solyman, that not the terror of his power, but the admiration of his virtues, made the republic so desirous of entering into his friendship. Solyman was passive during this discourse, and making no reply, referred Contareni to the grand vizir. His first proposition to the minister was, that all places taken during the war should be mutually restored; but the vizir answered, that so far from restoring the towns he had taken, Solyman would hearken to no conditions unless Napoli and Malvesia were surrendered; he even doubted whether he would not insist on all the towns possessed by the republic on the Greek coast as far as Castelnuovo; and also on being reimbursed the expences of the war. To this declaration Contareni replied, that he was but the servant of the state, and had no instructions on that head; but he was pretty certain the republic would never submit to terms so ignominious; that, for his own part, as far as his influence would extend, he would ardently oppose such a concession; and that whatever value he put upon the friendship of Solyman, he would never consent to purchase it with the price of his country's honour [d].

Contareni returned to Venice, and laboured all in his power to prevent the surrender of Napoli and Malvesia; but the council of ten, perceiving that their affairs were

[c] Maurocen. lib. iv. [d] Paruta, lib. x.

betrayed to the French king and the emperor; that the people murmured under the burthen of the war; and that if it was continued, they muſt ſupport it without any expectation from their allies, reſolved to accept the conditions propoſed. Both the imperial and French ambaſſadors were indefatigable in their endeavours to form a party in the republic, to oppoſe the pacific meaſures; but all their endeavours proved fruitleſs. The ſenate was determined, and in this reſolution they were confirmed by the opinion of ſome of the moſt prudent perſonages, and the doge himſelf: the great obſtacle was the ſtrong attachment of the inhabitants of thoſe two cities (Napoli and Malveſia) to the republic, and their averſion to the Turkiſh government. They requeſted, in the moſt pathetic terms, that they might not be ſacrificed to a cruel enemy; that they might be permitted to defend their liberties; a ſervice which they were in hopes the juſtice of their cauſe, and their own zeal, would enable them to perform, without expence or trouble to the republic. The ſenate was moved with their remonſtrance; and ſending Mocenigo the general to them, promiſed that all thoſe who were deſirous of continuing under the government of Venice, ſhould have a proviſion equal to their preſent circumſtances. With this promiſe they were quieted, and without farther objections permitted the peace to be concluded. At laſt, towards the cloſe of the year 1540, it was ſigned at Conſtantinople, to remain firm and valid for the ſpace of thirty years. Napoli and Malveſia were ſurrendered to the Turks, the greater part of the inhabitants removing into other towns of the republic. The fleets of the ſenate were laid up, and their armies diſbanded, except the uſual ſtanding forces, and the ſhipping neceſſary to protect commerce [e].

*Peace concluded with Solyman.*

[e] Paruta, lib. x.

SECT.

## SECT. VIII.

*Containing the pacific Meaſures of the Senate ſubſequent to the Treaty with Solyman; Death of the Doge; Diſturbances in Italy; Death of the new Doge; Reſignation of Charles the Fifth; Death of Doge Venieri; a dreadful Plague in Venice; a freſh War with the Grand Seignor; the Invaſion of Cyprus; and other Particulars.*

AFTER peace was concluded with Solyman, Venice began once more to taſte the ſweets and bleſſings of tranquillity, of induſtry, and of commerce: her fleets were ſent in ſhoals to every port of the Levant, Egypt, and the Turkiſh dominions: they even filled almoſt every harbour in Europe. The diſcoveries of the Portugueſe had, without doubt, leſſened the trade of the republic, but ſtill it retained the appearance of its former grandeur. The Venetians engroſſed the whole Levant traffic, as well as that of Egypt, many ports in Africa and Aſia, for as yet commerce had not univerſally changed the old channel: but however aſſiduouſly the Venetians might purſue the pacific arts, they were ſtill diſturbed by the commotions in Germany, and the perpetual rivalſhip between the emperor and king of France. Theſe princes had, indeed, confirmed the truce of Nice, and exchanged many other teſtimonies of mutual love and eſteem, which inſpired hopes that they had entirely laid aſide their animoſities; but a variety of accidents ſoon intervened to interrupt the wiſhed-for harmony. John, king of Hungary, dying, left an infant ſon by his wife Iſabella, daughter of the king of Poland: his kingdom, which by right belonged to his iſſue male, was claimed by Ferdinand, king of the Romans, in conſequence of a pretended agreement with the deceaſed. After ſeizing upon a number of towns and fortreſſes in Hungary, Ferdinand, perceiving he was likely to meet with a formidable oppoſition from the queen-dowager, ſent an embaſſy to Solyman, requeſting his aſſiſtance, and that he might be permitted to hold Hungary upon the ſame tenure as it was held by John; but in this ſtep he was anticipated by the dowager, who had procured a ſolemn deputation of the barons of the kingdom to Solyman,

and that prince's promiſe that Hungary ſhould be kept for her infant. So incenſed was the grand ſeignor at Ferdinand's claim, that, reſolving to attack him by ſea and land, he revoked the treaty with the French ambaſſador, and determined upon vigorous meaſures for the protection of the young king of Hungary [a].

Nor were the troubles in the Low Countries appeaſed; Charles having rigorouſly puniſhed the rebellion of the Ghentois, by that meaſure widened the breach between him and France. Francis was the more encouraged in his reſentment, as he foreſaw that a powerful diverſion in his favour would be made by Solyman, in Hungary and Bohemia. Charles's refuſal to comply with the terms propoſed concerning the Milaneſe was another cauſe of grievance: but the greateſt complaint aroſe from the murder of Rinçon and Tregoſa, the French ambaſſadors going to the Porte. Theſe demanding a ſafe paſſage through the Venetian dominions, obtained their requeſt, but were overtaken by ſome Spaniſh infantry near Pavia, and murdered. Above meaſure incenſed at this treacherous conduct, and the emperor's equivocation concerning peace and the reſtitution of Milan, Francis diſpatched another ambaſſador to Solyman, with inſtructions to call in his way, and lay thoſe grievances before the republic. The ſenate was provoked at the inſult upon the laws of nations; but did not chuſe to engage in another war: a galley, however, was diſpatched to convey the miniſter to Turkey.

*The French ambaſſadors murdered.*

Mean while, as Ferdinand's army had been lately defeated by the Turks, it was expected the emperor would have marched in perſon to his relief; but this deſign did not coincide with his meaſures. In this ſtate of affairs the ſenate determined upon a neutrality: the republic groaned under the expences of the laſt war: peace had yet produced little effect in reſtoring commerce, or enriching the people. They were aware of the conſequence to Chriſtendom the loſs of Hungary would produce, but then they ſaw the emperor decline interpoſing: their engaging for the relief of ſo diſtant a kingdom would only bring themſelves into danger, without anſwering the end. Ferdinand was too weak an ally: the princes of the empire were not well affected to the houſe of Auſtria; they would take no ſteps which could aggrandize it. The reaſons for Solyman's aſſiſting the dowager were obvious;

[a] Barre, Hiſt. Allemagne, tom. ix. ſub. ann. 1540.

he

he desired nothing less than putting the crown upon the head of the young king; but this was a plausible pretext for annexing Hungary to the Othoman empire. Venice penetrated this mysterious conduct of the different courts; she traced the political clue of intrigue, but determined not to be guided by it, nor to provoke so powerful a monarch as Solyman, unless her own privileges were immediately attacked [b].

Next year, his holiness petitioned the senate, that the general council might be allowed to assemble at Vincenza, a request which they declined, from an apprehension of giving umbrage to the Porte. Their refusal had some colour of reason, on account of an accident which lately happened, that could not fail of giving offence to Solyman. Two Turkish gallies, in their way from Barbary to Constantinople, fell in with the Venetian proveditor; as they endeavoured all in their power to avoid him, they were suspected to be pirates, upon which he came up, engaged, and took them, setting all the Christians on board at liberty. This action the Porte, and especially Barbaroffa, resented, as the gallies were his property: he threatened revenge, but was appeased by the submission of the republic, and her consenting to repay the damage. On this occasion Solyman sent an ambassador to Venice, who was treated with high marks of distinction; and by him the late peace was ratified and confirmed [c]. A.D. 1542.

*The republic solicited both by the French king and the emperor.*

In this manner stood affairs for the two following years: both the emperor and France laboured to engage the republic in a war, which she was no less careful to avoid. Francis sent his minister Polin to make any terms with the Venetians; but they would accept of none to break with the emperor: on the other hand, they were equally inflexible to the emperor's propofals to engage them in an alliance against the Turks. Peace was their aim, but in pursuing it too closely they run the hazard of disobliging all parties. The French king was already highly incensed against them, through the misrepresentation of his ministers at Venice: they complained of an insult upon their authority, in dragging away by force certain criminals who had sought protection in their houses. This affair, however, was set in a proper light by the memorials of the senate to Francis. Yet an accident of another nature involved the Venetians in disputes with Ferdinand and the empire: the seizure of Maran

[b] Maurocen. lib. iv. [c] Peruta, lib. x.

may be deemed the first foundation of a future bloody war. Bertrand de Sacchia, a subject of the republic, was the author of this measure, without powers from the senate. Finding himself too weak to keep possession, he called in the assistance of Strozzi, a Florentine refugee, who soon arrived with a strong body of soldiers, and erected the standard of France in the city. Maran belonged to Ferdinand, and the senate doubted not but he would attribute this violence offered to his dominions to their secret instructions. The emperor would of consequence be offended, and yet as the French standard was erected, and the city kept in his name, they were greatly embarrassed. To restore the city might involve them in a quarrel with Francis, since they were ignorant of his secret motives for acting in this manner; and to remain indifferent spectators, would as surely disoblige the emperor and Ferdinand: but their greatest fears arose from the suspicions that Maran might be delivered to Solyman, as Strozzi threatened to give it up to the Othoman, unless he was speedily relieved, for he was closely besieged by the imperial forces. As the distance of this city from Venice did not exceed twenty-five miles, they greatly dreaded the near neighbourhood of the Turks [d].

*Disputes concerning the city of Maran.*

To disengage the republic from her present disagreeable circumstances, the senate published a proclamation, forbidding, under pain of death, any of the subjects of the state to aid, abet, or any ways assist, by men, money, provisions, or arms, the city of Maran. They took into custody the wife and children of Sacchia, that such a pledge might be a check upon his conduct. These measures they hoped would appease Ferdinand: however, that Sacchia and Strozzi might not be rendered desperate enough to put the city into Solyman's hands, the senate secretly tampered with them, promising that all things should soon be accommodated to their satisfaction. In the mean time the bishop of Trent arrived at Venice, in quality of Ferdinand's ambassador, to solicit a fleet for the reduction of Maran. The senate expressed their wishes he might recover a city so unjustly snatched from him, but declined offering the fleet, under pretence that matters might better be accommodated by negotiations. Accordingly a treaty was set on foot; but difficulties arising, it was spun out to so great length, that Strozzi declared unless things were brought to a speedy issue, he

[d] Paruta, ibid.

would

would surrender the city to the Turks. Nor was this the only business of the congress which sat at Trente, for they endeavoured to adjust certain differences between Ferdinand and the republic of an old standing, relative to the cities Belgrade and Castelnuovo, mortgaged by the house of Austria to the elector of Saxony, and by him made over to the Venetians. Although the emperor acted the part of mediator in this dispute, the congress broke up without coming to an agreement, a circumstance which determined both the emperor and France to decide the affair of Maran by the sword. About five thousand French horse and foot were sent to the relief of Strozzi; and, on the other hand, an imperial army was forming to reinforce the besiegers. The Venetians granted a free passage to the troops of both sides, by these means the stronger to evince their neutrality: they were, however, displeased that a small squadron, equipped at Trieste, should enter the harbour of Digrana, which belonged to the republic, and thence block up Maran.

*Siege of Maran.*

Strozzi, who was now reduced to great difficulties, sent a message to the senate, desiring their acceptance of the city Maran, and speedy compliance with his request, to prevent the necessity he should be under of entering upon terms with some other state. Francis, in recompence of his services, had assigned him his right to the place, with liberty to dispose of it to the best advantage; but he excepted restoring it to Ferdinand; nor would that step have answered the purposes of Strozzi, who wanted a large sum of money, which Ferdinand would neither be willing nor able to advance. Perplexed with this proposal, the senate at length determined to embrace it, fearing above all things the city should fall into the hands of Solyman. Two commissioners were accordingly appointed to settle the conditions with Strozzi's deputy [e]. These were soon concluded, upon the republic's consenting to give him thirty thousand ducats as an equivalent. Alessandro Bendimiero was chosen proveditor of the city, and sent with a body of troops to take possession.

*The Venetians purchase Maran.*

His most Christian majesty sent the cardinal of Ferrara to Venice, to solicit his cause with the senate; he relied much on the address of this venerable prelate, distinguished for experience and wisdom. The cardinal was received with those marks of respect, which were due

[e] Maurocen. lib. iv.

both to his own character, and the quality of his employer: he artfully put the moſt favourable conſtructions on the conduct and policy of Francis, while he threw a veil over every inſtance of the emperor's affection for the republic: he had now an opportunity, and was at no loſs for arguments, to prejudice the ſenate againſt the alliance between England and the emperor: he recollected every inſtance afforded by hiſtory, to depreciate the characters of the emperors, and diſplay their animoſity to Venice, beginning with Otho, and tracing down their politics to Charles: he enlarged on the cunning, injuſtice, and even impiety of engaging a Chriſtian ſtate in war with ſo powerful a monarch as Solyman: he even reminded them of the deteſtable treaty in which Maximilian had engaged France and other powers, for ſharing the ſpoils of the republic; neither did he forget the late inſtance of Doria's double conduct, which had nearly been attended with fatal conſequences [f].

Such repreſentations as theſe could not fail of favouring the views of Francis; eſpecially in a ſenate already diſpoſed to live upon the moſt friendly terms with Solyman. However, all his arguments were countermined by others no leſs artful on the ſide of the emperor; yet the cardinal of Ferrara found means to engage the pope and conſiſtory to throw in all their influence. Upon his return to Rome, he procured Cavalcanti, who was baniſhed Florence, to be ſent to acquaint the ſenate of the pontiff's partiality in favour of the French monarch. Cavalcanti was a man of letters, an orator, polite, affable, and converſant in buſineſs. His eloquence was irreſiſtibly engaging, as he had the art of concealing his real deſigns: yet all he could obtain of the ſenate, amounted to no more than the declaration of a ſincere deſire, that a reconciliation between his imperial majeſty and Francis might be effected. Even in this particular they reſolved upon moderation, leſt their zeal might he miſinterpreted at Conſtantinople.

Barbaroſſa was at this time ravaging the coaſts of Italy with a fleet of near two hundred ſail, well provided with proviſions and ammunition. On his arrival at Reggio, the capital of Calabria, he found the city abandoned; but the citadel defended by a Spaniſh garriſon. This he attacked and took, giving liberty to the priſoners, at the inſtance of Polin, the French envoy, who accompa-

[f] Paruta, lib. xi.

nied

nied the infidel. The terror of the Turkiſh arms had ſpread itſelf all over Italy, nor was Rome itſelf free from apprehenſions. But Polin ſent aſſurances, and diſperſed proclamations round the country, that his incurſions ſhould be confined wholly to the imperial dominions [g].

Barbaroſſa, having watered at Oſtia, coaſted along Tuſcany and Genoa, without touching, till he arrived at Marſeilles, where he was magnificently entertained. Thence he proceeded, with the count d'Enguien, who commanded the French fleet, to lay ſiege to Nice. He began with attacking the town, which Andrea Montford, a Savoyard, defended with great courage. The batteries had effected a breach, and Montford ſuſtained an aſſault, before he made any propoſals to capitulate: at laſt he took occaſion, while the articles of ſurrender were preparing, to retire with the garriſon and his moſt valuable effects into the citadel. Without loſs of time, the enemy made their approaches; but this fortreſs, ſtrong by art and nature, foiled all the attempts of Barbaroſſa and the French commander. In want of powder, and other neceſſaries, they were at length forced to raiſe the ſiege, and reimbark the troops. Barbaroſſa paſſed the winter with his fleet in the ports of Toulon and Marſeilles; and next year, after ravaging a ſecond time the coaſts of Italy, he returned to Conſtantinople, where he died towards the cloſe of the year 1544 [h].

*Nice beſieged.*

*Siege raiſed.*

It was imagined that this event, and the ſeparation of the Turkiſh and French fleets, would have facilitated a peace between their imperial and Chriſtian majeſties. At length it was concluded, under the auſpices of the French queen, by means of Don Gabriel de Guzman and her confeſſor. The Venetians were included in this treaty, as the ſenate conducted itſelf with ſo ſtrict a neutrality, that neither party had cauſe of complaint. A treaty was likewiſe ſet on foot between the emperor, Ferdinand, and Solyman; and for this purpoſe ambaſſadors were ſent by thoſe princes to Conſtantinople. An end was likewiſe put to the diſputes between Ferdinand and the republic; both parties agreeing to ſettle differences reſpecting the decree of Trent by commiſſioners, and to refer the late diſputes about Maran to the emperor, which he decided

[g] Paruta, ubi ſupra. Maurocen. lib. iv.

[h] Maurocen. lib. iv.

by

by ordering the ſenate to pay Ferdinand ſeventy-five thouſand ducats as an equivalent.

While the peace between the Porte and the emperor was in agitation, ſome enemies to the Venetians inſinuated to Solyman that the republic had given Ferdinand the above ſum, as a ſubſidy ſtipulated by treaty for levying forces againſt the infidels: but the Venetian envoy had no ſooner notice of thoſe calumnies than he went to Solyman, and candidly laid open the whole tranſaction, with which the Turk was perfectly ſatisfied: however, he received inſtructions from the ſenate that he ſhould, to avoid ſuſpicions, decline viſiting the miniſters of the emperor and Ferdinand; yet, through their mediation, a truce for one year was concluded between the Porte and the Chriſtian powers.

An event of greater importance fell out towards the end of the year 1545. Namely, a controverſy with the Porte concerning ſome diſtricts in Dalmatia, which both ſides claimed. The ſangiacs of Boſnia and Cliſſa inſiſted that a part of the territory of Zara, containing forty-nine villages, was really a dependency on the fortreſſes of Nadin and Laurena, belonging to Solyman. On this account they prohibited the inhabitants of this diſtrict, under the ſevereſt penalties, to acknowlege the ſovereignty of the republic, or of any other power but the Othoman. The ſenate was greatly vexed at this meaſure; the diſtrict was in itſelf valuable in reſpect to the ſafety and convenience of Zara; beſides, giving up their right would be a precedent for farther encroachments. They knew that Nadin and Laurena had no appendages, and that nothing could be more inſolent than the claim of the Turkiſh governors; but determining, if poſſible, to avoid compulſive means, they had recourſe to the juſtice of Solyman. Nor had they reaſon to repent of this meaſure: with a moderation and integrity becoming a Chriſtian prince, this great man ordered commiſſioners on both ſides to be appointed, inſiſting upon their determining the diſpute according to equity, without regard to power. The commiſſioners met, and ſoon adjudged the lands in diſpute to the Venetians, with which award Solyman was perfectly ſatisfied [1].

[1] Paruta, lib. xi.

*FRANCISCO*

## *FRANCISCO DONATO, Doge LXXIX.*

SOON after this tranſaction Lando died, an event by which Venice was deprived of a prudent, moderate, and pacific prince, whoſe views centered in promoting the happineſs, tranquillity, and commerce of the republic. He was ſucceeded in his dignity by Franciſco Donato, whoſe adminiſtration commenced with apprehenſions that the tranquillity of Italy would again be ſoon diſturbed. The peace between the emperor and France was too ill founded to be laſting, and now an additional reaſon for purſuing their inveterate animoſity occurred. As the premature death of the duke of Orleans raiſed diſputes concerning the duchy of Milan, ſo Francis kept poſſeſſion of the dominions he had ſeized from the duke of Savoy: by this conduct he hoped to oblige the emperor to accept of reaſonable terms relative to the Milaneſe. Beſides this, other clouds obſcured the ſerenity of Italy, and threatened a ſtorm no leſs violent than what this unhappy country had lately ſuſtained. His holineſs, finding all his eadeavours for the aggrandizement of his family terminated in nothing, reſolved at one ſtroke to raiſe his ſon Pietro Lodovico to a principality; for this purpoſe he diſmembered from the holy ſee the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had been annexed by Julius the Second to the church patrimony, and erected them into a principality for Lodovico. The emperor refuſed to inveſt him with thoſe duchies, as they had formerly belonged to the Milaneſe. This controverſy running high, his holineſs applied to the Venetians for aſſiſtance, ſoliciting them to enter into a league with him for the ſecurity of Italy. The ſenate offered their mediation, and thus, with the domeſtic commotions in which both the emperor and French king were engaged at that time, broke thoſe clouds in which was ſuſpended the fate of Italy [k].

*Franciſco. Donato.*

The pope, perceiving the emperor deeply involved in diſputes with the proteſtant ſtates of the empire, reſolved to proceed in another manner: he foreſaw that thoſe controverſies would terminate in an open rupture, and, therefore, thought the beſt method of procuring the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia for his ſon, would be liberally to aid his imperial majeſty in ſuppreſſing hereſy. Political, not ſpiritual, reaſons moved him againſt the

[k] Paruta, lib. xi.

Proteſtants;

Protestants; and while he seemed to act as the head of the church, he was in fact playing the part of father to his own family. No sooner were the Venetians acquainted with his intentions than they laboured to divert him from his design. The discerning senate foresaw the ruin of Italy in making the emperor too powerful, by the oppression of the Protestant interest in Germany; but their endeavours were ineffectual; the pope was blinded with ambition, and they were forced not only to consent, but in some measure to assist his intentions of succouring the emperor, by allowing a free passage to his troops. The protestant princes sent an embassy to Venice, to request that a passage might be denied the pope's forces: they represented the consequences to Europe in general of permitting the house of Austria to attain such a pitch of grandeur, by overthrowing the liberties of the empire. Their ambassadors were well received, but they could obtain nothing, the senate dreading the resentment of his holiness and the emperor [1]. Soon after another embassy arrived from the duke of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, to procure the loan of a sum of money; but they also were dismissed with smooth answers and obliging denials.

Although the senate could not deny the pope's troops a passage through their dominions, nor prevail on his holiness to lay aside his intentions, they expressed their uneasiness at seeing Italy filled with military preparations in the midst of profound peace. To dispel their apprehensions, the pontiff laid open to the Venetian envoy the whole scheme of his politics and designs, with which explanation the senate was quieted. In this manner did the Venetians conduct themselves, enjoying peace amidst the tumults of war which desolated Germany, Italy, and France, to the close of the year 1552, when the doge died, in the seventh year of his administration. He was pious, munificent, and just, and of a disposition exactly suited to the particular circumstances of the state during his government.

## *MARCO ANTONIO TREVISIANO, Doge LXXX.*

*Marco Antonio Trevisiano.*

IN his room was substituted Marco Antonio Trevisiano, who preserved the republic in the same pacific measures,

[1] Maurocen. ibid.

during

during his ſhort adminiſtration. He balanced between the contending powers with no leſs caution and delicacy than the two preceding doges had done, till the end of the year 1553, when he expired, with the reputation of a ſound politician [m].

## *FRANCISCO VENIERO, Doge LXXXI.*

HIS place was filled with Franciſco Veniero, at that time ſixty-four years of age, the greater part of which he had ſpent in the ſervice of his country. Amidſt the wars carried on in Tuſcany, Parma, Mirandola, Corſica, and other parts of Italy, he found means to prolong that tranquillity handed down to him by his predeceſſors. In the beginning of the year 1554 died pope Julius, who was ſucceeded by Paul the Fourth; for we reckon not upon the cardinal of St. Croix, who died a few days after his election; and ſoon after the republican city of Sienna ſurrendered to the imperialiſts, after a long and bloody ſiege. The terms they obtained were honourable, and ſuch as their brave defence merited; but they were kept as almoſt all royal promiſes are, when they claſh with intereſt and ambition. The capitulation was ſigned ſome time before Charles the Fifth reſigned the imperial diadem, in November, 1555. Philip, his ſucceſſor in the Spaniſh monarchy and the Indies, agreeable to his father's exhortation, ſeemed deſirous of cultivating peace; but numberleſs obſtructions occurring in the courſe of negotiation, a truce only for five years was eſtabliſhed, and that upon a baſis ſo unſteady, that it was broke almoſt as ſoon as concluded. The truce was propounded by the Spaniſh miniſtry, under the pretext of gaining time to ſettle the preliminaries for a ſolid peace; but the French adminiſtration ſoon diſcovered this to be only a veil thrown over the moſt treacherous deſigns; to give the duke d'Alva time to raiſe a force ſufficient to drive the French out of Piedmont, and even to attack them in Provence [n].

*Franciſco Veniero.*

Veniero and the ſenate had taken the wiſeſt and moſt circumſpect meaſures which the ſituation of Europe would permit. The preſent doge and his predeceſſors had ever preferred peace to war, and never entered upon the latter but with a view to repel injuries, protect liberty and trade, and preſerve the political poiſe of Chriſtendom.

[m] Sanſov. delle Vit. Princip. 249. [n] Barre, Hiſt. vol. ix. ſub hoc anno.

In

In the midſt of this prudent adminiſtration, the ſage Veniero was taken off by death, after having governed the republic two years, with univerſal applauſe.

## *LORENZO PRIULI, Doge LXXXII.*

*Lorenzo Priuli.*

UPON his death the great council met for the election of a ſucceſſor, when Lorenzo Priuli was appointed doge°. To which dignity his wiſdom and experience, his accompliſhments as a ſtateſman and a gentleman gave him a juſt title. In the beginning of his adminiſtration the plague raged with violence at Venice; but was at length ſtopt by the change of ſeaſons, and the vigilance of Pietro Moſto, at that time magiſtrate de la ſanita. The plague was ſucceeded by a dearth of all kinds of proviſions, the inhabitants of the continent avoiding the markets of Venice on account of the peſtilence. The city was brought exceeding low before means could be found to remedy the evil: but the prudence of the doge and ſenate at length ſurmounted all difficulties, and once more introduced health, peace, and abundance among the citizens of Venice.

*Plague and famine in Venice.*

In the mean time the war proceeded between the crowns of France and Spain, the truce being but of ſhort duration. Upon the duke d'Alva's march into the pope's territories, his holineſs and the French king ſent plenipotentiaries to Venice, who repreſented to the ſenate, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the pope, cloſely united by intereſt and inclination as they were to the ſenate, ſought in that delicate and dangerous conjuncture reciprocal marks of good-will from the republic, for the defence of liberty and the ſecurity of Italy. They declared they were ſent with full powers to concert with the ſenate the moſt adviſeable meaſures for maintaining the independence of their ſeveral ſtates, and checking the ambitious views of the houſe of Auſtria. They ſaid they ſaw with pleaſure the augmentation of the republic's naval and military power, as the motives, they doubted not, were generous, ſince the meaſures of the ſenate could not fail of being prudent: they repreſented the advantages that muſt reſult from an union of the republic with his holineſs and moſt Chriſtian majeſty, as ſhe would be in a condition to cover that part of her frontier moſt expoſed to the Spaniſh troops and the duke d'Alva. Finally, they de-

° Paruta, lib. xi. Sanſov. ubi ſupra.

clared

clared that the French king had given orders to the duke de Guise to advance with a body of near twenty thousand men towards Italy, at the requisition of his holiness, and for the defence of Italy. They observed that an union between the republic, the pope, and his most Christian majesty would secure their mutual defence, check the ambition of Philip, and produce tranquillity in Europe, as well as Italy in particular.

The doge answered them with such prudence and discretion as became the father of the state, and the head of that wise assembly: he said, that the friendship which had so long subsisted between his most Christian majesty and the republic, had given himself, the senate, and every Venetian the highest satisfaction. It was a point of too much consequence for the republic to neglect; nor should her utmost endeavours towards cultivating and rendering perpetual the amity of so respectable a prince and nation, as well as of so mild and good a father of the church, be wanting [p].

Notwithstanding these professions, he declined entering into any engagements which could possibly offend Spain, or involve the republic in a war: on the contrary, the doge and senate left no means untried to mediate an agreement between the pope and Philip, which they apprehend would be laying the foundation of a more general pacification. Their moderation was attended with success, for the prudence of Marco Antonio de Franchescis, secretary to the council of ten, who was sent to Rome upon this business, actually reconciled them to their mutual satisfaction [q].

In the course of this year, an embassy was sent to Soliman to obtain a confirmation of the peace between the Porte and the republic, which was granted without any difficulty, the grand seignor being at that time perplexed with a civil war among his children. The senate also sent an ambassador to the court of France, at whose intercession, joined to the mediation of the pope and some other powers, peace with Spain was concluded. During the residence of this ambassador at Paris, the French monarch died of a hurt in the eye, which he received at a tournament. With regard to the republic, all was peace and tranquillity, till the following year, when her trade was infested by a swarm of pirates who blocked up all the ports of the Adriatic. They made incursions into

*Pirates infest the coasts of Dalmatia.*

[p] Paruta, lib. xi. [q] Paruta, ibid. Maurocen. lib. iv.

Istria

Istria and Dalmatia, cutting away the shipping out of the harbours, desolating the country, and despoiling the cities. Matteo Bembo, a brave and experience officer, at that time admiral of the gulf, sailed against them with a squadron of twelve gallies: he pursued, and every where so vigorously attacked them, that, unable to keep the seas, they fled to the port of Durazzo, where the inhabitants had taken arms for their assistance. Thither Bembo pursued them, and, incensed at the conduct of the town, battered the walls, without regard to the peace subsisting with Solyman; an action for which he was banished his country, instead of being rewarded: so far had pacific views prevailed, that peace with Solyman was preferred to the honour of the republic. Had not the brave Bembo found means to escape, it is probable his life would have been the sacrifice of his country's timidity [r].

Soon after this event, Lorenzo Priuli died, much lamented by the people for the moderation of his public, and affability of his private conduct; but above all his death was regretted by the literati of his times. His munificence, taste, and generosity, constituted this prince the Mecænas of the age, and the real patron of merit. He was succeeded by his brother Jeronimo Priuli, a man of an engaging conversation, long experience in public business, and a dignity of carriage and conduct becoming the elevated station to which he was raised by consent of his country [s].

## *JERONIMO PRIULI, Doge LXXXIII.*

*Jeronimo Priuli.*

SOON after Jeronimo's promotion an event happened which it was feared would disturb the public tranquillity; namely, the death of Paul the Fourth, who was succeeded by the cardinal de Medicis, by the name of Pius the Fifth. This prelate, in altering his condition, changed his very nature; yet, contrary to the public opinion, the new succession of popes wrought no immediate alteration in the general state of affairs in Italy. To the Venetians he was well disposed, having received their embassy of congratulation with the strongest assurances of friendship and respect for the republic. Soon after his accession to the holy see, he summoned the council of

[r] Paruta, lib. xi. [s] Paruta, ibid. Sansov. delle Vit. Princip. p. 253.

Trent,

Trent, at which attended the Venetian commiſſioners. To this office the republic appointed Nicolo di Ponti and Matteo Dandolo, men of extraordinary abilities and great reputation for knowlege: they were attended by Antonio Mallèdona, who acquired great reputation on this occaſion, for the fluency of his elocution, the force of his arguments, and quickneſs of his penetration. A numerous body of the ſuperior clergy from the Venetian dominions likewiſe aſſembled at Trent; but the only remarkable tranſaction of this year was the expedition of Canalis againſt the pirates. He was ſent by the ſenate with four gallies to ſcour the Adriatic; and he conducted his affairs with ſuch courage and ability, that in the ſpace of a month he droves thoſe enemies to peace and commerce, out of the ocean into their places of ſecurity, after having taken a great number of their veſſels, the crews of which he hanged up without form of trial [t].

From this time till the year 1565 nothing memorable occurred. Upon Selim's acceſſion to the Turkiſh throne, the Venetians ſent Marini Caballo to compliment him in the name of the ſenate: his inſtructions were to procure a confirmation of the peace made with Solyman. Caballo delivered his credentials; but found it a matter of the utmoſt difficulty to procure an audience of the emperor. At laſt, by the force of gold, he ſurmounted every obſtruction, and obtained a moſt ſolemn renewal of the treaty: however, this appearance of tranquillity was of no long duration, the ambition, or evil counſellors about Selim not permitting him to follow meaſures ſo ſalutary to the empire. A.D. 1565.

*War with the pirates.*

Previous to the war with Selim, the ſenate had a third time fitted out a fleet againſt the pirates, whoſe inſolence was now increaſed by the thirſt of revenge. To cruſh them at one blow forty gallies were equipped, the command of which was given to Hermolao Tepulo. During the preparation of this fleet, the pirates committed the moſt barbarous cruelties on the Venetian ſhipping and coaſts of Dalmatia, deſtroying men, women, and children, without remorſe, and deſolating the country with fire and ſword. The ſquadron was no ſooner in readineſs than Tepulo ſailed; and ſo vigilantly did he execute his truſt, that in the ſpace of a few weeks not a pirate was to be ſeen; the ſmalleſt veſſel laden with gold might have ſecurely roved through the Adriatic [u]. Before the

[t] Maurocen. lib. iv. [u] Ibid. Paruta, lib. xi.

return of this fleet to Venice the doge died, after having managed the reins of government, with great ſteadineſs, for the ſpace of eight years and eleven months. After he was honourably and publicly interred in the vault of his anceſtors, the council Maggiori proceeded to the choice of a ſucceſſor [w].

## *PIETRO LORETANO, Doge LXXXIV.*

*Pietro Loretano.*

THE unanimous voice fell upon Pietro Loretano, whoſe capacity, courage, and experience, greatly raiſed the public hopes that his adminiſtration would be equally wiſe and fortunate: however, the beginning of his government was attended with ſome unfortunate circumſtances, owing, indeed, to unavoidable accidents. The arſenal was burnt to aſhes by the careleſſneſs of one of the ſoldiers upon guard, by which accident the republic ſuſtained a prodigious loſs of ſtores and ammunition. Another unfortunate circumſtance was a great ſcarcity which prevailed in the city, in deſpite of all endeavours of the doge and ſenate. Numbers of the poor dropt down daily in the ſtreets, inſomuch that at laſt a decree of the ſenate paſſed for opening the public granaries, kept ſolely for the maintenance of the ſea and land forces. By theſe means the republic was deprived of the ability of equipping a fleet, from which circumſtance it is imagined Selim formed the firſt reſolution to attempt the conqueſt of Cyprus: he had, indeed, in his father's life-time, expreſſed a great deſire of annexing this iſland to the Othoman empire. Its contiguity to Caramania, a province of the Turkiſh dominions; its fertility; its fine ſituation; its wealth and abundance in every neceſſary of life; the richneſs of its wines, of which Selim, though a Turk, was a great admirer; together with numberleſs other advantages, animated his wiſh, and ſtimulated his endeavours to obtain ſo conſiderable an acquiſition. Theſe reaſons were reinforced by other conſiderations: the Chriſtian pirates, who infeſted the ſhores of Syria, and all the Turkiſh coaſts with perpetual incurſions, found in Cyprus a ſure aſylum. The inhabitants of this iſland diſturbed the Turkiſh commerce, and above all the pilgrimages of their devotees to Mecca and the tomb of Mahomet. It was, beſides, a maxim of the Turkiſh policy, that a prince ſhould, upon his acceſſion, endeavour to ex-

*Selim's deſigns upon Cyprus.*

[w] Sanſov. ubi ſupra.

tend

tend the limits of his empire, and propagate the religion of his anceſtors. The mufti artfully inculcated this laſt article of duty: when Selim carried him to Adrianople to ſee a magnificent moſque he was building, he told the emperor that it was neither lawful or cuſtomary to erect ſuch foundations out of the revenues of the empire; but that it was a work always effected by aſſigning for that purpoſe ſuch lands as had been conquered by arms: he obſerved that, for this purpoſe, no province could ſtand more commodiouſly than Cyprus, the poſſeſſion of which, would equally conduce to the happineſs of his reign, the utility and ſtrength of the empire, and the advantage of religion. Selim regarded this admonition as ſent from heaven; it perfectly coincided with his own views, and to proſecute it he reſolved to break through the moſt ſolemn engagements entered into by his father, and formally ratified by himſelf. Mahomet, the grand vizir, a ſecret friend to the republic, laboured to divert him from his deſign: he repreſented the advantages ariſing from a good correſpondence with the Venetians, who were the chief traders to his ports: they, he ſaid, ought to be the laſt people with whom a politic Othoman prince would quarrel, whether his views were glory, empire, or the propagation of religion. To aſſiſt the Moors of Granada, and check the pride and ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, better became his greatneſs, and ſuited the politics and religion of the empire. He intreated him, therefore, to embrace the happy occaſion offered by Providence, of protecting the religion of Mahomet, of chaſtiſing the enemies of Muſſulmans, and opening a path to glory and dominion.

The arguments of the vizir were ſound and unanſwerable; but they neither correſponded with the opinion of Selim, nor with the views of his three great favourites the mufti, Muſtapha, baſhaw of Damaſcus, and Pioli, his ſon-in-law. The two laſt were the declare enemies of the vizir; they envied his grandeur, and croſſed all his meaſures. In the preſent caſe their counſel fell in with the humour of Selim; they therefore purſued it eagerly, hoping thereby to diſgrace the honeſt and wiſe Mahomet, and procure to themſelves the chief conduct of the war. They repreſented that the Venetians were weak, their arſenal being deſtroyed; that the councils of Chriſtian princes were divided, and their aſſiſtance precarious; that Cyprus, on account of its diſtance from the republic,

would be easily conquered; and when acquired, would be a valuable jewel in the imperial diadem *.

Their endeavours were effectual: Mahomet became suspected, he sunk in Selim's esteem, while the others rose proportionably to the highest favours. To their influence was added that of John Michis, a Jewish renegado, in high esteem with Selim. This man had so artfully insinuated himself into the emperor's favour, that nothing was denied him: he urged the attack upon Cyprus so warmly, that it absolutely determined Selim; but so far did the renegado attend to his own interest, as to obtain a promise from the emperor of the investiture of the island; and so full was he of the idea of majesty, that he had standards and other regalia prepared, with this inscription, "Joseph, king of Cyprus," for he had altered his name with his religion.

Mahomet, the grand vizir, perceiving the current of the imperial councils, as well as Selim's own inclination, running impetuously against him, thought that longer to persist in his opinion would endanger his life, without either serving his master or the republic: he therefore advised Antonio Barbaro, the Venetian consul and resident, to lay the state of affairs before the senate, and endeavour to prevail with them to tamper with a power too
A D. 1570. strong for opposition, and to avert the impending storm by such concessions as they could make consistently with the honour and security of the state: he procured secretly one of the consul's household to be dispatched with proper intelligence to the senate.

When this intelligence was laid before that assembly, they were fired with resentment, and in the heat of passion determined to endure every extremity rather than make submissions to so perfidious an enemy; but it was the opinion of the most prudent, that, as nothing was to be attempted rashly, they should in the mean time strive to avert the blow. They said an affair of such moment was not to be weighed by the nature of the injury, and the grossness of the insult, but by their own power. They, therefore, advised to try the effects of gold upon an administration ever corrupt and avaricious. This was an expedient they had always found more effectual than the best concerted and vigorously executed plan of warlike operations. At the same time a fleet was equipped, and

* Baron. sub an. 1570. Thuan. tom. iii. lib. xlix. Maurocen. lib. v.

thirty-

thirty-one gallies, with all the young nobility of Venice on board, were ſtationed in the gulf, of which Marco Quirino was at that time admiral, and Jiacomo Celſi proveditor.

During theſe preparations advice came that their ſhipping was arreſted in the Turkiſh ports, and the utmoſt diligence uſed for proſecuting the war. Immediately orders were iſſued for Quirino to ſail to Candia, and with all expedition put the fleet of that iſland in a proper condition. A body of troops was embarked for Cyprus; and orders were ſent to the governors of the ſeveral ports, to put them in a ſtate of defence, and carefully to watch the ſecurity of the iſland. Nor were the other dominions of the republic neglected; their garriſons were augmented, fortifications repaired, and magazines of proviſion and ammunition formed. An addition of eighty gallies was likewiſe made to the navy; Franciſco Duodo was appointed admiral, and a captain to each ſhip choſen among perſons of the higheſt quality and greateſt experience in the city. Paruta ſays, that Jaconimo Zeno was made high admiral and commander in chief of all the Venetian fleet; but that each diviſion had a ſubordinate commander [y].

Before Selim attempted any thing by force, he reſolved to try the effects of ſtratagem. This ſeemed the leaſt dangerous method of effecting his purpoſe, on account of the private diviſions and perpetual diſſenſions among the iſlanders. For the excution of this deſign, one Diaſoriacus, a native of Cyprus, now at the court of Selim, appeared a fit inſtrument: he was ſubtle, inſinuating, and a knave, who proſtituted honour, virtue, and religion to his own intereſt. His credit was conſiderable among the inhabitants; and ſo artfully did he conceal the baſeſt purpoſes, that his character might never have come to light but from this circumſtance. Diaſoriacus undertook to betray the iſland into the hands of Selim, and for this purpoſe returned to Cyprus, where he was well received. After he had made conſiderable progreſs in corrupting the natives, the whole plot was diſcovered by means of an intercepted letter, upon which he was ſeized, confronted with his own hand-writing, tortured till he confeſſed his accomplices, who were apprehended, and put to immediate death, with the original contriver of the villainy [z].

*A conſpiracy diſcovered in Cyprus.*

[y] Paruta, lib. i. [z] Maurocen. lib. i.

Selim, thus disappointed, determined to effect his purpose by force; and the Venetians were no less diligent to frustrate his designs. Eugemio Singlitico, a Cyprian nobleman, and lieutenant-general in the Venetian service, offered himself to command the troops in Cyprus. His proposals were accepted, and he was sent thither with a thousand additional forces. Jeronimo Martinenga, captain of the men at arms, made an overture to raise, at his own expence, a body of two thousand foot, of which the senate greatly approving, he set immediately to work, and, in the space of a few days, completed his levy, and conducted them to Venice to embark for Cyprus. The next step was to implore the assistance of all the Christian potentates by the ambassadors residing at the different courts. The expectations of the Venetians from this measure were but small; however, they imagined that neglecting it might be attributed to pride, conceit, and self-sufficiency. As the consequences of war are uncertain, the senate was willing to anticipate all the blame which might be laid upon their presumption, should the event prove unfortunate. They first solicited the pope for his own particular assistance, as well as his influence with the Christian powers. Michele Serviana, the Venetian resident at Rome, intreated his holiness to take a fatherly care of the republic in so imminent a danger: he set before him the examples of his predecessors upon such occasions; he reminded him of the republic's services to the holy see, for the preservation of which she had often exposed her own safety; and he concluded with displaying the manifest danger which threatened other Christian princes, should the Venetian commonwealth, the bulwark of Europe, be destroyed. The pope seemed greatly moved by the ambassador's oration; but he lamented his inability, and made use of the same pretexts to avoid entering into the quarrel of the Venetians, which they, for a series of years, had urged to other princes who solicited their alliance. The affair, however, was proposed and discussed in the consistory, although no other consequence resulted than leave to levy upon the clergy the sum of one hundred thousand ducats towards supporting the expence of the war[a]. But though his holiness was unwilling to engage singly in an alliance with the Venetians, he took upon him to mediate a confederacy between himself, the senate, and Philip the Second of Spain.

[a] Baron. an. 1570.

Mean

Mean while Cubath, ambaſſador from Selim, arrived in Venice. This miniſter had been diſpatched in conſequence of Mahomet the vizir's remonſtrances to the grand ſeignor, that it would ſully the glory of his reign ſuddenly to attack a nation with whom he had lately entered into ſolemn engagements, without firſt acquainting them with his grievances, and demanding redreſs. One happy conſequence reſulted from Mahomet's propoſition; for by it the Venetians had more time for preparing againſt the efforts of ſo potent an enemy, a ſuſpenſion of arms having been granted till the return of the ambaſſador. Upon his arrival orders were iſſued by the ſenate, that before the day of audience no Venetian ſhould viſit or converſe with Cubath: his inſtructions were well known, and an anſwer reſolved upon; to prevent, therefore, all clamours from the apprehenſions of the people this decree was paſſed. When the day of audience arrived, he was introduced into the ſenate, when, after having payed his compliments to the doge, he began with ſetting forth Selim's affection for the republic, as appeared by his ſo readily granting a confirmation of the treaty with his father; "but, ſays he, his kindneſs has been requited with ingratitude; his friendly offices have been returned with injuries and inſults; his commerce and ports have been infeſted by pirates, who are protected by the ſubjects of the republic; he has complained to the Venetian ambaſſador at his court, but no redreſs could he procure. Unable longer to endure affronts, intolerable to ſo great a monarch, he demands, as the only equivalent or compenſation of the injuſtice done to his ſubjects, and likewiſe to prevent future evils, that Cyprus, formerly belonging to the empire of the Mamaluks, to which he has ſucceeded, ſhall be ceded to him for ever." The ambaſſador then proceeded to adviſe the ſenate, to avert the indignation of ſo potent a prince, by conceſſions trifling in proportion to the danger to which a denial would expoſe the republic, telling them at the ſame time, that if they obſtinately refuſed him this juſtice, he would not only take from them the iſland of Cyprus, by force of arms, but perſecute the republic with all the animoſity of an injured and powerful monarch [b].

*An ambaſſador comes from Selim to Venice.*

To this declaration the ſenate anſwered in the terms they had concerted, by taking God and their conſciences to witneſs, that they religiouſly adhered to the treaty with

[b] Thuan. lib. xlix. Parut. lib. i.

Selim: as to the rest, they declared they were determined to suffer all the hardships of a cruel war, rather than submit to terms so injurious to the majesty of the republic. Cyprus, they asserted, did not belong to the Mamaluks, nor was it ever subject to the grand seignor: the promised tribute had been always paid; as to the other allegations they were false, and contrived by those who sought unjust occasions of a war. It was not, they said, in the power of princes to prevent misrepresentation of facts; but it was their duty to punish the authors of them when the falshood was discovered. As they would not deny but some pirates, after committing depredations upon the coasts of the Othoman empire, had lurked in secret places in the island of Cyprus, so the Turks could not but acknowlege the senate's having rigorously punished them whenever they fell into their hands. Upon the whole, they trusted to the justice of their cause that if they were attacked they should be able to defend themselves, and that God would not fail to avenge himself on the authors of such calamities as must ensue.

With this answer the ambassador was dismissed.

*The pope's legate in Spain endeavours to establish a confederacy between Philip, the pope, and the Venetians.*

All this while the pope's legate in Spain was labouring to draw Philip into a league against the Turks, to which he appeared by no means averse. Lodovico de Torres, clerk of the consistory, was sent thither to forward the affair, as Philip had put it off till his return to Seville, where he proposed to assemble the states of the different kingdoms. De Torres, on his arrival, represented the urgency of the conjuncture, observing that would it admit of no delay; and that the only method to save Venice, and secure Christendom, would be to send immediate succours. So dextrously did he exert himself, that the king issued an order for his own gallies, with the auxiliaries in his pay, amounting to sixty-five sail, to repair directly to Sicily, under the conduct of Giovanni Andrea Doria, and there to wait the pope's commands concerning the time and manner of joining the Venetians. Torres likewise obtained leave for the Venetians to victual their squadrons in the ports of Sicily and Naples; but as to the league, Philip answered, that it required deliberation. The application of Torres was supported by the utmost diligence on the side of the republic, which dispatched Caballo to the court of Spain, to forward and second the proposals of his holiness. Caballo acquitted himself with great address, having been chiefly instrumental in procuring the terms we have mentioned, and, after the departure

departure of Torres, in keeping Philip steady to his first resolution [c].

When all was concluded that could possible be obtained for the present, Torres set out for Portugal, where Sebastian at that time reigned: here he made the same applications as at the former court, but with less success. At the same time the emperor was solicited to join in the league, by Giovanni Michaeli, the Venetian minister at Vienna; who used every argument to induce his Imperial majesty to break with Selim; but he found him fixed in his resolution to wait the event of the councils of Spain, Poland, and Muscovy. Nor were the ambassadors of the republic more successful in France, the ministry of that kingdom professing the utmost regard for the Venetians, but declining all overtures of a league: however, that no means of safety might be neglected, Vicenzo Alessandro was sent to Persia, to endeavour to stir up the sophi against Selim: upon his arrival he entered upon negociations with sultan Caydar, the king's third son, who readily assented to the proposals made by Alessandro; but his zeal was frustrated by the phlegmatic disposition and wary slowness of the prime minister, who dissuaded the sophi from taking arms before the Turk was weakened by the Christian forces [d].

Such were the preparations, resolutions, and negotiations of the republic, at this important juncture. Nor was Selim idle; new ships were launched in his docks, a prodigious number of cannon cast, magazines of powder, stores, and provisions erected, and in short, every thing bore the appearance of prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour on both sides. The Venetians even put lands to sale, to raise money for the exigencies of state; loans were accepted upon high interest; the procurators of St. Mark's church were augmented, and a fine was taken; young gentlemen were permitted to enter into the great council before the time appointed by law, on their depositing a certain sum for the public use; and several other expedients were used to replenish the exhausted treasury [e].

During these preparations, Philip resolved to embrace the proposed league, and sent his ambassador to Rome to conclude it upon the same terms as the last confederacy against the Turks between Charles the Fifth, Paul the

[c] Thuan. lib. xlix. Maurocen. lib. v. supra. [d] Paruta, ubi [e] Maurocen. lib. v.

Third,

Third, and the republic. But the Venetians, remembering the inconveniencies which enſued from beſtowing the ſupreme command on Doria, inſiſted that each diviſion ſhould be commanded by its own admiral, to prevent the whole fleet's being rendered uſeleſs by the caprice or treachery of an individual. They propoſed that all affairs ſhould be deliberated in a council of war, compoſed of the three admirals; that all reſolutions ſhould be taken in conſequence of a majority; and that the conduct of the whole ſhould devolve by turns upon the admirals. This affair being warmly debated, the point was carried by the Venetians.

The next topic to be diſcuſſed, was the quotas to be allotted to each party: upon this head, the Venetians were equally obſtinate, reſolving to withſtand alone all the power of the enemy rather than engage in a league where they were to ſupport the whole expence, for his holineſs had hitherto declined ſending a fleet: at length, he agreed to arm twelve gallies, under the conduct of Antonio Colonna. Thus a league was concluded between thoſe three powers, in which Spain and the republic were to exert all their naval force: it was ſigned by his holineſs in perſon, by the Venetian ambaſſador, and by the cardinals Pacheco and Granvelle, to whom Philip had remitted full powers. After this ratification, repairing to St. Peter's church, on the 11th day of June, the pope gave Colonna the ſacred ſtandard, with which he immediately proceeded to Ancona to get the gallies in readineſs [f].

*Treaty between Spain, the pope, and the Venetians.*

Mean time Pinalis, having refitted and victualled his fleet in Negropont, repaired directly to Rhodes, joining Muſtapha and Hali in his courſe thither; while Uchali, with a ſeparate diviſion of the fleet, was ſent to make continual deſcents on the coaſts of Sicily and Italy. This renegado was by birth a Calabrian: in his youth he had been taken and enſlaved: but, renouncing Chriſtianity, his abilities ſoon recommended him to favour, and raiſed him to the higheſt offices.

The Venetian fleet lay at Zara, expecting to be joined by the confederates, where they loſt many occaſions of annoying the enemy: whereas the Turks, ſpending only three days at Rhodes in preparations, ſailed to Finica, a city in Caramania, oppoſite to Cyprus: there they were

[f] Thuan. Hiſt. ſui temporis, lib. xlix.

joined

joined by the troops intended for the expedition, and immediately began the embarkation.

While the enemy were thus employed, the Venetians in vain expecting the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet, ſuffered extremely by a contagious diſtemper. The admiral, finding that a change of air was neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the diſeaſe, ſteered his courſe for Candia, by order of the ſenate, taking in a reinforcement of rowers at Zant, Cefalonia, and Cerigo.

Mean while, Sebaſtiani Venieri inveſted the citadel of Soppoto in Albania, which, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he took and garriſoned. Marco Quirino likewiſe gained ſome inconſiderable advantages in the Morea, which ſerved no other purpoſe than to animate the troops. At length, Colonna ſet ſail, and joined Don John of Auſtria, with the Spaniſh fleet, at Otranto; about which time the doge died.

## *LODOVICO MOCENIGO, Doge LXXXV.*

HE was ſucceeded by Lodovico Mocenigo, whoſe abilities in the field and cabinet occaſioned his being raiſed on this emergency to the ſupreme dignity [g]. *Lodovico Mocenigo.*

Pinalis, the Turkiſh general, having taken all the troops, horſe and foot, on board, ſet ſail for Cyprus, where he arrived in the beginning of Auguſt. He put in, without any reſiſtance, at the port of Salina, where the troops were immediately landed. It was a great overſight in Dandolo, the governor of the iſland, and Singlitico, general of the forces, not to diſpute the diſembarkation, as was propoſed by Baglioni. *The Turkiſh fleet arrives at Cyprus.*

The firſt inconvenience which reſulted from Dandolo's omitting to attack the Turks on their landing, was the ſubmiſſion of Luſara to Muſtapha. This fort, deſpairing of ſuccours, capitulated, and promiſed an entire obedience, provided the lives and properties of the garriſon were ſecured, which terms Muſtapha granting, a Turkiſh garriſon was received into the caſtle. This example was followed by the neighbouring places, to put a ſtop to which defection, Dandolo detached Cæſar di Tieni, with a body of five hundred men, to lay waſte the country; and, by the ſeverity of the puniſhment, to terrify the inhabitants into their duty.

g Sanſov. delle Vit. di Princip. p. 286.

In

In the mean time, Pinalis reduced Cerines, a sea-port of Caramania, extremely convenient for transporting provisions to the army in Cyprus [h]. Then the Turkish generals held a consultation on the necessary operations, when Hali's opinion was, that the first attempt should be made on Famagosta, after the reduction of which, all supplies would be cut off from the Venetians, and Nicosia constrained through necessity to surrender. In opposition to this plan, Mustapha proposed to begin with the siege of Nicosia, which was defended only by a slender garrison, and slight unfinished fortifications; whereas, if they began with Famagosta, the other city might be fortified in such a manner as to surmount all their endeavours, and baffle the power of Selim. This last opinion was embraced: Pinalis, with one hundred and thirty gallies, was appointed to cruize off the harbour, and to watch the Christian fleet; while Mustapha took upon him to direct the siege of Nicosia.

The number of men at this time in the city consisted of fifteen hundred Italian foot, most of them sickly; three thousand islanders in the Venetian pay; one thousand of the townsmen, bearing arms at their own expence; five hundred Albanian horse, and two hundred foot; two hundred bombardiers, gunners, and matrosses of the natives, and forty Venetians; five hundred noblemen and gentlemen of rank, volunteers in the service, and five hundred peasants at work on the fortifications; besides tradesmen, women, old men, and children, the whole amounting to upwards of fifty thousand souls.

The city had three gates, viz. Porta di Lalini, Porta di Troja, and Porta di Castello, and each of these the Turks proposed battering at the same time. Lines of circumvallation were drawn, batteries erected, and their different posts assigned by Mustapha to the several officers. A muster of the army was likewise made, which, it was found, amounted to fifty-one thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, together with an infinite number of attendants on the camp [i]. Before the batteries began to play, Mustapha set miners to work in order to sap the walls: by this means a breach was soon effected, which the Turks storming with abundance of resolution, the besieged were at first put into confusion; but soon rallied upon the arrival of Andrea Spelio, who, leading

[h] Paruta, lib. i.

[i] Thuan. lib. xljx. tom. iii. Maurocen. lib. v.

them

them back to the breach, renewed the fight, and defeated the infidels with great ſlaughter. Then he ſet about repairing the breach with diligence; in which he was greatly diſturbed by the ſhot from the Turkiſh trenches. The beſieged, in a ſhort time, began to flag in their duty, a relaxation owing to the indolence of Dandolo, the governor, who, by his own example, encouraged the ſoldiers in riot and idleneſs. At laſt, a dearth inſinuated itſelf into the garriſon: the ſoldiers were confined to a ſcanty allowance of bread, and, what they eſteemed a greater hardſhip, they were limited to a very ſmall portion of wine. Upon this ſcarcity, it was reſolved to ſend to Baglioni, who preſided at Famagoſta, for ſuccours, which were denied, the garriſon of Famagoſta preferring their own ſecurity to that of Nicoſia.

Now the beſieged began to murmur and complain, although the famine was owing to their own imprudence and want of frugality: they had hardly as yet ſeen the face of an enemy, excepting in one aſſault; yet did they vehemently exclaim againſt the ingratitude of the ſenate. At laſt the officers, perceiving that nothing beſides keeping them in action could prevent the ſoldiers from mutinying, reſolved upon a ſally. Two thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, under the conduct of Cæſar Tieni, were appointed for this purpoſe. Tieni ruſhed out at the head of the cavalry with irreſiſtible fury, breaking through the files of the enemy, till he penetrated into the heart of the Turkiſh camp, where he made a halt for the infantry, and defended himſelf with incredible valour; but Dandolo had changed his purpoſe, and countermanded the foot, a circumſtance which was attended with the loſs of Tieni and his whole corps of horſe, who were all cut in pieces, after a reſiſtance hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory, in the courſe of which they ſlew near two thouſand of the enemy. From this time the garriſon, by order of Dandolo, contained themſelves within the walls, although Bocaſio, general of the Albanian horſe, conſtantly affirmed that the only probable chance of ſaving the city, was by briſkly repeating the ſallies[k].

Pinalis with the Turkiſh fleet ſteered his courſe to Rhodes, whence he diſpatched five gallies in queſt of the Chriſtians: they returned with intelligence that the Venetian admiral lay with his diviſion at Candia, waiting to be joined by the Spaniſh and eccleſiaſtical ſquadrons,

[k] Paruta, lib. i. p. i. Thuan. ubi ſupra.

whoſe

whoſe arrival was very uncertain; and that he was greatly weakened by a ſtorm and contagious diſeaſe, which had cut off great numbers of the ſoldiers and mariners. This advice the Turk received by means of ſome priſoners the gallies had brought back with them; upon which he immediately returned to Cyprus.

*The dilatory conduct of the Spaniards.*

Andrea Doria, the Spaniſh admiral, was all this while collecting his fleet, and after it was aſſembled ſeveral delays obſtructed his departure from Otranto. The pope uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances that he would ſet ſail and join the Venetians; but they availed nothing, till he received poſitive orders to that purpoſe from Philip. Thuanus attributes this dilatory manner of proceeding to the envy of the Spaniards, who with pleaſure beheld the inactivity of the Venetian admiral, and the decreaſe of his ſtrength by ſickneſs. Certain it is, that before the junction of the fleets was effected, the Venetians were rendered almoſt unfit for ſervice, ſo much were they diminiſhed in number by the long and violent contagion which prevailed in the fleet. At length Doria weighed anchor, and joining Colonna with the pope's gallies, they ſailed in company to Candia, where, after a proſperous voyage, they joined the Venetians. Then a council being held, the Venetian admiral propoſed that the enemy ſhould be attacked, and by that expedient the ſiege of Nicoſia raiſed: Colonna acceded to this opinion; but Doria finding he could not, agreeable to the articles of the league, refuſe his aſſent, threw ſo many obſtructions in the way, as rendered ſo ſalutary a meaſure ineffectual. In ſhort, ſo artfully did he manage matters, that neither the pope or republic had cauſe of complaint, at the ſame time that Doria adhered to his own opinions. Sickneſs ſtill prevailing in the Venetian fleet, the admiral was forced to leſſen the number of his ſhips, in order to man thoſe that remained, after which reduction, the whole combined fleet amounted to one hundred and ſeventy gallies, eleven galleaſſes, four galleons, and ſeven men of war. A ſmall ſquadron was ſent out to gain intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength, and their account was, that it conſiſted of one hundred and fifty gallies, upon which Doria diſſuaded his colleagues from any attack, for the following reaſons, which, at the deſire of the other admirals, he couched in writing; becauſe the Chriſtians were inferior in ſtrength to the enemy, on account of the mortality that had ſwept off ſuch numbers of the troops; and becauſe the rowers were in particular greatly diminiſhed, there was no probability

*Doria's excuſes for declining to fight the enemy.*

bability of ſucceeding in their deſign, ſince the principal buſineſs of a ſea-fight depended upon rightly working the veſſels.

To thoſe ſuggeſtions Colonna anſwered with great ſpirit and truth, that the Chriſtians were not inferior in ſtrength, and admitting they were, that this difference was more than compenſated by their ſuperior ſkill: he then proteſted againſt Doria's conduct, and called the Venetian admiral to witneſs, that the misfortunes which might enſue were to be attributed to Doria only, for whom he had waited the whole ſummer; by whoſe mal-conduct the fleet had been weakened, many opportunities loſt, and the Chriſtian arms diſgraced: he ſcrupled not to declare to Doria, that he muſt anſwer with his head the loſs of Cyprus, which would be the infallible conſequence of his meaſures. To this remonſtrance the Venetian admiral added, that to the loſſes already ſuſtained from delay, ſtill greater might be added by the unſteadineſs of Doria's conduct; that former misfortunes, before the junction of the fleets, might be attributed to the wrong meaſures of individuals; but that falſe ſteps now would neceſſarily redound to the diſcredit of the whole confederate powers. Victory, he ſaid, depended not upon the number of ſhips and troops, but upon the diligence, the ſkill, and the reſolution of the commanders: it was, therefore, his firm opinion that they ſhould follow the only meaſure conſiſtent with honour, reputation, religion, duty, and their engagements: this was fighting the enemy, and not ſtanding idle ſpectacles of the loſs of Cyprus, intailing infamy on the Chriſtian arms.

Doria, perceiving that he could not longer oppoſe them without endangering both his honour and life, conſented they ſhould proceed to attack the Turkiſh fleet; but this reſolution was too late, for Muſtapha had actually reduced Nicoſia[1].

*Muſtapha ſummons Nicoſia to ſurrender.*

After the walls had been a long time battered, Muſtapha ſhot, by an arrow, a letter into the city, acquainting the beſieged that, from his regard to the lives of ſuch a number of people, he had abſtained from ſtorming the city, although he had it wholly in his power for ſix days paſt; but now the ardour of the ſoldiery could not be any longer reſtrained: he therefore adviſed them, if they regarded their own ſafety, to come to a ſpeedy reſolution of ſubmitting to the power they could not withſtand. Im-

[1] Thuan. lib. xlix. Maurocen. lib. v.

mediately

*Is defeated in an assault.*

mediately after this notice he ordered the walls to be scaled in four different places; but he met with a very unexpected resistance, the besieged, as if in a fit of despair, behaving with an intrepidity which astonished the Turks. The fight continued for two hours with great vigour, both sides continuing to relieve those who were fatigued or wounded, by fresh supplies. At last night put an end to the battle, in which above fifteen hundred Turks were slain upon the spot, five hundred prisoners were made, and about one thousand carried off wounded [m].

Thus disappointed, Mustapha began to play again upon the walls with redoubled vigour: he took every measure to distress and dispirit the besieged, and to inspire his own army with hopes, while Dandolo committed the care of the city to subordinate officers. At last the besieged were quite spent with the tediousness of the siege, and the scarcity of provisions: to this was added, the want of unanimity and harmony in their councils. To remedy those evils, a third message was sent to Baglioni at Famagosta, to come with a reinforcement and take the command. He was inclined to accept the invitation; but the inhabitants of Famagosta threatened if he retired to make their own terms with the enemy. Mustapha had now battered the walls with all his heavy cannon for several days; breaches began to appear, and the townsmen had no farther hopes of relief, either from Famagosta, or from the inhabitants of the mountains, all their letters to whom had been intercepted. Mustapha denounced the utmost severity of war, if they did not surrender before he ordered the town to be stormed. No answer being returned, every thing was prepared for a general assault. After his soldiers had refreshed themselves with sufficient rest, he ordered the four towers and bastions to be stormed with so much fury, and in such a disposition, that the front ranks could not possibly give way by the numbers pouring in on the rear. The dispute was obstinate for several hours, both sides seeming determined to conquer or die; but night a second time interposed, and separated the combatants. The enemy left the greater number of dead in the breach; but the loss of the besieged was likewise considerable, some of the best officers being either killed on the spot, or mortally wounded.

*Mustapha storms the city, and is again repulsed.*

Mustapha, perceiving that the city was not to be stormed with his present force, sent to Pinalis for a reinforcement, by means of which, he assured him, the siege

[m] Paruta, lib. i.

would

would not continue above one day longer. The admiral, certain of the deſigns of the Chriſtian fleet, was unwilling to weaken himſelf by a ſtrong detachment; however, yielding to Muſtapha's arguments, he draughted from the ſeveral gallies a body of twenty thouſand men, which he ſent to Nicoſia, under the command of Hali. Muſtapha, upon receiving this augmentation to his ſtrength, reſolved upon another aſſault: at day-light the army was drawn up in the trenches; he bent his main ſtrength againſt the fortreſs of Podocatora, where, he imagined, it would leaſt be expected. In this conjecture he was not deceived; for the ſoldiers who ſcaled the walls found the guard ſecurely aſleep, the motions of the Turks the preceding night having poſſeſſed them with a full aſſurance that they intended raiſing the ſiege. Here a great number were killed without reſiſtance; others, alarmed with the noiſe, deſerted their poſts in the utmoſt conſternation. The count de Roccas, whoſe quarters were at a little diſtance, upon the firſt notice of the attack, armed himſelf, and, with a few attendants, flew to the place of action, where, plunging into the midſt of danger, he was killed upon the ſpot, after having conſiderably retarded the enemy, and given the garriſon leiſure to recollect their ſpirits. His death damped the ardour of the ſoldiers, who immediately gave way, and at laſt fled with precipitation into the midſt of the city. Upon their retreat, the Turks entered in great numbers, reſolving, before they advanced farther, to ſecond the other aſſaults, by attacking the garriſon in the rear. The Italian foot, who defended the three remaining baſtions, behaved with incredible intrepidity: their number was ſmall; but that defect was amply compenſated by ſkill and courage. They every where defeated the enemy; but no ſooner had they cut off one line, than it was replaced by freſh troops; when at laſt they were forced to retire exhauſted and fatigued. They had defeated and repulſed the enemy repeatedly, though abandoned by the Cypriots, who fled in the utmoſt trepidation to their own houſes. Dandolo had, upon this occaſion, diſplayed extraordinary activity, courage, and conduct; had the reſt of his carriage been of a piece, the Turks would probably have been foiled in their attempt: but now his endeavours were too late, they were maſters of all the outworks which conſtituted the chief ſtrength of the city: nothing remained but an ineffectual effort to defend themſelves in the market-place, where Dandolo had drawn up the garriſon. There an obſtinate fight conti-

*Nicoſia ſtormed.*

nued, until, oppreſſed with numbers, Dandolo retired to the town-hall, where he made a ſtand, and ſeemed determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. The chief officer of the Turks ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, promiſing thoſe their lives who would ſubmit before the artillery was brought; but during this parley, the Turks had broke open the gates, pouring in crowds, putting all to the ſword, and among the reſt Dandolo, who now found that his abilities were exerted too late to be of uſe to himſelf or his country. The biſhop alſo was among the ſlain, together with a number of gentlemen of the firſt rank in the iſland. Many, however, breaking ſword in hand through the Turks, eſcaped to the neighbouring mountains.

*The whole garriſon ſlain, and Nicoſia taken.*

Thus, after a ſiege of forty-eight days, the city Nicoſia was taken and plundered; a diſaſter owing chiefly to the indolence, inactivity, and want of vigour in the governor and garriſon. There was no ſpecies of cruelty, barbarous luſt, inſatiable avarice, or brutality, which the Turks did not commit upon this occaſion: matrons, young women, and children, were violated in the moſt ſcandalous and open manner. Old men were murdered in their beds, ſome in churches, and others in the arms of their wives or children, where they ſought for protection, with a view to excite compaſſion. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword were reſerved for a more miſerable death, being dragged in chains over heaps of their maſſacred relations, kindred, and countrymen, to periſh in deplorable dungeons.

Muſtapha, putting a ſtrong garriſon into Nicoſia, ſent back the reinforcement lent him by Pinalis, and began his march to Famagoſta, carrying with him ſeveral engines and inſtruments for a ſiege, which he had erected at Nicoſia. News of the taking of Nicoſia being received at Famagoſta, the governor got every thing in readineſs for a ſiege, ordering all thoſe who were unfit to bear arms to depart the city. Muſtapha, in order to ſtrike terror into the garriſon, ordered Dandolo's head to be placed on a ſpear, and ſhewn to them; but this had no other effect than to inſpire the garriſon with an eager deſire of revenge. As no intelligence of the Chriſtian fleet had been lately received, the Turks began to apprehend that ſome fatal ſtroke was meditated: they determined to ſend Coccialobin, a noted pirate and expert ſeaman, in queſt of them, to procure the beſt information poſſible. He ſoon returned, after having taken a ſmall Chriſtian bark, which informed him of the fixed reſolution of the admirals to fight.

fight. Upon this advice Muſtapha called a council, where Pinalis was of opinion that a general engagement ought by all means to be avoided: Muſtapha and Hali were of a contrary opinion, regarding this prudent advice as one of thoſe minute maxims which meaſures every thing by its immediate utility. All their views centered in the glory of their prince, to whom they thought it a diſhonour that his fleet ſhould decline battle: their motion was carried, and the fleet accordingly cleared of every thing which could poſſibly impede the mariners in action [n].

The Chriſtian fleet was at Candia, where new contentions aroſe among the commanders: theſe terminated in a ſeparation of the fleet, Doria remaining at Candia, while the Venetian and eccleſiaſtical fleets ſailed to Caſtel Roſſo, where they received the firſt advice of the reduction of Nicoſia: upon this the fleets joined again, and a council of war was called to deliberate on the neceſſary meaſures. Sebaſtiano Veniero, Franciſco Duodo, and Marco Quirino, three officers of diſtinction in the Venetian diviſion, were for attacking the Turks; a ſtep which they aſſerted would have the ſame conſequences now, as to the ſafety of Cyprus, as before the loſs of Nicoſia. Theſe officers had the liberty of ſitting and giving their opinions in council, but not of voting, which was confined to the three admirals. Hieronimo Zani and Sforza Palavicini were of a contrary opinion: they ſaid, that their ſailing now to Cyprus would only be loſing time, which might be uſefully employed againſt Negropont. This difference among the Venetian officers was referred to Colonna; but the artful conduct of Doria perplexed the council ſo much, that it broke up without coming to any determination. So high had their diviſions run, that Doria again parted from the other confederates, and retired with the Spaniſh fleet to Sicily, leaving the Venetians, with a ſlender ſquadron under Colonna, to oppoſe the powerful armament commanded by Pinalis.

The Venetians determined upon ſending ſuccours to Famagoſta, the manner of doing which was intruſted to the conduct of M. Quirino and Lodovico Martinenga; and Zani, leaving a body of two thouſand men in Candia, repaired with the fleet to Corfu: here Colonna, after having loſt half his fleet by ſickneſs, parted with the Venetians.

[n] Paruta, lib. ii.

Pinalis, being eased from all apprehensions of an attack, set sail for Constantinople, leaving twelve gallies for the defence of the island, and to prevent Famagosta from receiving supplies. In his course, falling in with two Venetian gallies, commanded by Angelo Suriano and Vincenti Priuli, he attacked them, and their brave defence produced an obstinate and bloody engagement. At last Priuli, after having for several hours withstood the utmost efforts of five Turkish gallies, was killed; but the lieutenant, emulating the spirit of his superior, broke through the enemy's fleet, and joining Suriano, they both arrived safe in Candia.

In the mean time Mustapha, who staid behind with the Turkish army in Cyprus, resolving not to attempt the siege in form before the spring, contented himself with blocking up the city by little forts, which he erected at proper distances. The besieged, taking advantage of this circumstance, sallied out with great vigour, forced the enemy's works, putting the garrisons in the forts to the sword, and totally razing them before succours from the camp could arrive; but the Turks sustained a still more grievous loss in the burning of a yacht, laden with rich cloaths, jewels, and other things of great value, besides many noble prisoners, whom Mustapha was sending as a present to Selim. The misfortune was occasioned by the courage, as it is supposed, of a captive Cyprian lady on board, who, preferring death to servitude, set the ship on fire °.

*A brave sally from Famagosta.*

The next endeavour of the besieged was to request supplies from Venice. This was a matter of the utmost difficulty, as the Turks were in possession of all the ports and passes; but Raguzoni, bishop of the city, willing to risque his own life for the preservation of his country, bravely undertook, and happily effected the enterprize.

A.D. 1571. In the following year Quirino and Martinenga, to whom the care of supplying Famagosta had been committed, draughted out of all the troops in Candia a body of eight hundred men, which, with provisions and stores, they shipped on board thirteen transports under Quirino. After a short and happy voyage, he arrived in Cyprus, and had the good fortune to throw the supplies into the city. The Turkish fleet did all in their power to prevent him; but Quirino attacked them so vigorously, and they were plied so hotly by the cannon of Famagosta, that, after the loss

° Paruta, lib. ii. Maurocen. lib. vi.

of

of four gallies, they were forced to retire. Soon after this exploit, Quirino took two veſſels laden with proviſions for the Turkiſh camp, deſtroyed ſome works which Muſtapha had erected, and then returned to Candia. The ſenate having diſgraced Zani for the opinion he had given in the council of war, promoted Veniero in his room; Quirino and Zacharia Salamone being appointed proveditors. Zani was ſent in chains to Venice to take his trial; but he anticipated by a natural death an ignominious ſentence.

Veniero, as ſoon as he found himſelf inveſted with the command, reſolved to neglect no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and ſerving his country: nor was Selim idle. To divide her forces, and diſtreſs the republic, he ſent Achmet, baſhaw, with an army of ſeventy thouſand men into Albania and Dalmatia: Hali, at the ſame time, was detached with a ſquadron of forty ſail to harraſs the iſlands of the Archipelago, and ſcour the Ægenean ſea; after which ſervice, joining the reſt of the fleet, he was to proceed directly to give battle to Veniero, Muſtapha, all this while, being employed in the ſiege of Famagoſta [p].

As to the confederacy formed in the preceding year by the king of Spain, the pope, and the republic, ſo many difficulties had occurred, that it was hitherto of little prejudice to the common enemy, and now was like to be entirely diſſolved, in deſpite of all the endeavours of his holineſs to cement and reconcile the parties. So far did the pontiff carry his zeal, that he declared, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, he himſelf would embark in the fleet, and expoſe his perſon to all dangers. At length his mediation had the wiſhed for effect; the treaty was renewed between Spain, the holy ſee, and the republic, each agreeing to furniſh a certain force, until the whole fleet ſhould amount to two hundred gallies and one hundred tranſports: the army to fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, Don John of Auſtria being appointed commander in chief. The only contention was who ſhould have the command in the abſence of Don John: Philip's party aſſerted, that the choice ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the prince; but the Venetians, ſuſpecting this to be an artifice to bring Doria, whom they juſtly hated, again into office, determined to refer the diſpute to his holineſs, with whoſe diſlike to Doria they were well acquainted. The pope's deciſion was, that the three ſuperior officers ſhould ſhare

[p] Paruta, lib. ii.

the command; but that the chief direction of affairs ſhould reſide in Colonna; a determination that was perfectly agreeable to the Venetians, who had an entire confidence in the abilities and integrity of that officer [q].

This point being ſettled, other difficulties ſoon occurred; one of the utmoſt conſequence conſiſted in their determining where their operations ſhould commence, whether in the Venetian or Spaniſh dominions. Philip inſiſted, that as he ſupported the greater part of the expence, he had a right to expect the firſt fruits of the league. The Venetians affirmed, that by theſe means the league would be a prejudice to their affairs, if, by giving up Cyprus, they ſhould go in queſt of conqueſts which could never produce any benefit to the republic. Here the pope interpoſed, ſending his legate into Spain to prevail on Philip to recede from ſo unreaſonable a demand, and to ſend Don John of Auſtria to take upon him the command. Pompey Colonna was pitched upon for this ambaſſy, who having laid his inſtructions before Philip, was anſwered with proteſtations of his great zeal for religion, and affection for the head of Chriſt's church: his late conduct, he ſaid, was ſufficient to evince his inclinations, as he had, at a prodigious expence, fitted out a great fleet, with ten thouſand Germans, eight thouſand Spaniards, and an equal number of Italians on board, to oppoſe the enemy of Chriſtianity: but he feared that thoſe mighty armaments were to little purpoſe, as he could not help ſuſpecting the ſincerity and good faith of the Venetians. In the firſt place, he ſaid he was aſſured that they had never given up thoughts of peace, and that perpetual couriers paſſed between Venice and Conſtantinople; he had therefore reaſon to believe that their only deſign in propoſing this treaty, was to obtain more eaſy terms from Selim, by forming a ſtrong combination againſt him. As to the emperor, he owned, his inclinations might be good; but his ability was too ſlender to ſuffer him to declare againſt ſo potent an enemy as the grand ſeignor. Colonna, returning with this anſwer, found that new obſtructions on the ſide of his holineſs had ariſen. In the former league with Charles V. it was ſtipulated that the emperor ſhould bear half the expence, the Venetians two-thirds of the remaining half, and his holineſs one-third. Now the exchequer of the holy ſee was ſo exhauſted, he ſaid, as to be able to bear only a ſixth of the expence, the

[q] Thuan. lib. xlix. Paruta, ubi ſupra.

reſt

reſt muſt be ſupplied by Philip and the republic. Againſt this propoſal Suriano and Soranzo, the Venetian ambaſſadors, exclaimed, ſaying, that at firſt no more than a fourth was demanded of the Venetians, though, by the force of intreaty, and for the honour of the Chriſtian arms, they were induced to advance a third. In fine, it was ridiculous, they affirmed, for his holineſs to pretend the want of money, which he had ſo many eaſy methods of procuring; as it was a proverbial ſaying, that the pope's quill was a rich mint, by one ſtroke of which he could coin what ſums he thought proper. But this point the ambaſſadors were conſtrained to yield, the league being eſtabliſhed upon the ſame footing as the preceding [r].

However, this was no more than an agreement which Philip had it in his power to perform, or not, as he pleaſed; and, indeed, it was apparent by the little preparation he made, that his quota would fall greatly ſhort of his engagements. From hence Mocenigo, the doge, who had always been averſe to breaking with the Turks, found an opportunity of more ſtrongly recommending pacific meaſures: he affirmed, that the republic was only the tool of Spain, to make a diverſion which ſhould withdraw the Turkiſh forces from aſſiſting the Moors in Granada. It ſeaſonably fell out that Mahomet, the grand vizir, who had always given proofs of his regard for the Venetians, had upon this occaſion ſignified, that Selim was diſpoſed to liſten to reaſonable propoſitions. This notice was joyfully embraced by the greater part of the ſenate; and it was reſolved that Jacomo Raggozini, a man well ſkilled in the Turkiſh conſtitution, ſhould be ſent to Conſtantinople, under pretence of ſettling a cartel for the exchange of priſoners. Now the face of affairs took a different turn; thoſe who thought they could make ſome advantage of the neceſſity of the republic, ſaw plainly, from the ſpirit of her ambaſſadors, that her whole views centered not in the league. Accordingly the pope diſpatched an envoy to Venice, who, from his integrity, ability, and public character, he doubted not would be able to repair the late breach, and reconcile the differences between the confederates. This was Colonna, who employed his elocution and addreſs ſo effectually, that, in ſpite of a very warm oppoſition in the ſenate, the league which he propoſed was approved, and ſoon after ratified [s].

*The doge and a party in the republic are for making peace with Selim.*

[r] Thuan. ubi ſupra. Paruta, ibid. [s] Paruta, lib. ii. Maurocen. lib. vi.

This treaty imported, that a perpetual league and alliance, offensive and defensive, should take place between his holiness Pius V. his catholic majesty Philip of Spain, and his serene highness Mocenigo, doge of Venice, against Selim, emperor of the Turks. It was stipulated, that the allies should not only attack the common enemy in the dominions immediately in his possession, but likewise Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and other cities tributary to the Turks on the coast of Barbary; that when no expedition for the common benefit was intended, the Venetians should assist Philip in Barbary with fifty gallies, well provided; that in the same circumstances he should supply the republic with an equal number, upon any attack within the gulf of Venice, from La Valora extending along the coast to the city of Venice. It was farther agreed, that the operations of every campaign should be settled the autumn preceding, the pope being appointed arbiter in all differences which might arise; and that none of the allies should even hint at a separate peace without the joint consent of all the parties. A place was left for the emperor, the kings of France and Portugal, to embrace the league if they chose to accede[t].

*The conditions of the treaty between Philip, the pope, and the Venetians.*

This treaty of alliance was made public on the 11th of June, with the usual formalities; then the senate entered upon consultations with the allies concerning the operations of the war, and what instructions should be given to their admirals. It was determined immediately to hazard a battle, the issue of which would probably alter the sentiments of those who attributed the long continuance of the war to the delays of the Spaniards, and likewise ease the allies of the heavy burthen of new levies, and the augmentation of stores and shipping. It was likewise decreed, that the war should be conducted with spirit and activity; and that such bold strokes as in other cases might precipitate into destruction, would, in this war, be the surest means of safety and conquest. It was farther determined, to give Venieri orders to omit no opportunity of fighting the enemy, even before the junction of the allies, provided they were not unreasonably superior in strength: the same orders were sent to Colonna by the pope. Embassies were dispatched to the emperor, and to the kings of Poland and Portugal, to invite them into the league, which negociations the pope took upon himself.

[t] Thuan. ubi supra.

Amidst

Amidſt theſe preparations Muſtapha was not idle in Cyprus: having ſent to Nicoſia for his cannon, he broke up his winter-quarters, and removed his camp to Famagoſta. Forty thouſand ſoldiers, labourers, and pioneers were employed in repairing the works deſtroyed by the beſieged: he alſo drew trenches round the city, and raiſed batteries of bombs and cannon, with which he played vigorouſly on the garriſon. The number of the beſieged amounted to four thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, beſides three thouſand of the townſmen and peaſants in arms, and two hundred Albanians, who performed notable ſervice. Antonio Bragadino had the ſupreme direction; Baglioni was the next in command. The former was governor of the citadel; Neſtor Martinenga was general of the artillery; and Laurentio Tiepoli had an honourable rank and great authority. The Turkiſh works were proſecuted with ſpirit, and daily approaches were made towards the ramparts. As ſoon as they had completed ten little forts round the city, in which were placed their heavieſt cannon, they played with fury on the walls, battering the whole ſouth ſide of the city for ſeveral days without intermiſſion. Over this attack Muſtapha preſided in perſon; nor did the garriſon oppoſe him with leſs vigour. For four days both ſides continued to fire with unremitting fury, when the beſieged made a partition of the command, aſſigning certain diſtricts to each of the ſuperior officers. The Turks ſent a trumpet with letters to the garriſon; but Baglioni returned him with an anſwer full of reſolution and defiance. On the following day, after a warm action, letters were found in the foſſe, ſummoning the inhabitants to ſurrender, and promiſing them full ſecurity of their freedom and property; but, inſtead of complying, the garriſon exerted themſelves with redoubled efforts, and ſo hotly charged the enemy with great and ſmall arms, that it was ſaid their loſs amounted to thirty thouſand men, beſides ſeveral batteries diſmounted: however, apprehending a ſcarcity of ammunition, they limited the number of charges to every gun, hoping by this caution to make their powder laſt until they could receive ſupplies from Candia.

At length, after great ſlaughter, the Turks carried their approaches to the bottom of the walls; upon which they ſet about filling the ditch with the utmoſt diligence, which the beſieged left no means untried to oppoſe. A kind of ſconces were contrived by Joannes Mormeri to defend them from the ſhot of the enemy; but he being unfortunately

nately killed, the Turks became maſters of the ditch: here they erected works to ſcreen them from the fire of the garriſon, placing before them large ſacks of wool and earth. Thus covered they began to ſap the walls, and to open mines, which the beſieged often rendered uſeleſs by countermines, at the ſame time retarding the operations of the beſiegers by perpetual ſkirmiſhes, ſallies, and a continued fire of muſquetry and cannon. Baglioni exerted himſelf in a manner altogether incredible: his reſolution and courage ſurmounted every hazard and fatigue: in body and mind he ſeemed invincible, being every where preſent, and directing the vigour and intrepidity of the ſoldiers with admirable conduct, magnanimity, and preſence of mind. He animated, exhorted, and ſpirited his men to action by his voice and example: the languid he excited, comforted thoſe that were oppreſſed with wounds or wearineſs, and praiſed and rewarded the brave and perſevering.

*An aſſault given, in which the Turks are repulſed.*

At length the mine under the parapet was fired, which blew up with ſuch an exploſion as equally terrified the beſiegers and beſieged. A breach was made in the walls, which the Turks ſtorming, met with a reſiſtance they little expected. Baglioni, aſſembling his men, attacked the aſſailants with ſuch fury, that they were driven headlong from the breach: they renewed the aſſault, and were a ſecond time repulſed; not diſcouraged, they mounted the breach in greater numbers, imagining their perſeverance would tire out the beſieged; but in this hope they were deceived, for Baglioni had ſo well concerted his meaſures with the other officers, that the fatigued and wounded were carried off, and their places ſupplies with freſh troops from the other quarters. After five ſucceſſive attacks, all the endeavours of the Turks were fruſtrated, and they were compelled to abandon the breach with prodigious ſlaughter. The loſs on the ſide of the beſieged would have been inconſiderable, had it not been for the death of two brave officers, the count Giovanni Franciſco Goro, and Bernardino Eugebino: their greateſt diſtreſs aroſe from the fatigue endured from the time the Turks became maſters of the ditch. In the day they were continually employed in diſturbing the operations of the enemy, and at night in repairing the breaches made by the miners and furious diſcharge of heavy cannon. On the eighth day after the laſt aſſault, a new mine was ſprung, which blew up with ſo much ſucceſs, that ſeveral yards of the wall were entirely carried

carried away, and a breach made ſufficient to admit twenty men abreaſt. To this both the aſſailants and defendants flocked, with a fury almoſt incredible; hope and deſire of conqueſt impelling the former, while deſpair, and the laſt efforts of expiring liberty animated the latter. The combat was incredibly obſtinate and bloody; at length the Turks gave way, and were ſoon after totally routed and driven before the garriſon. On this occaſion the women, children, and clergy fought like ſoldiers, annoying the enemy with ſcalding water, burning ſulphur, and pitch, with a fury not to be paralleled in hiſtory. The biſhop of Limiſſo, with a croſier in his hand, ſtood in the breach exhorting, intreating, and animating the troops with temporal and ſpiritual arguments. In ſhort, their enthuſiaſtic courage ſurmounted every difficulty; and the Turks, aſtoniſhed at ſo much bravery, found the garriſon impregnable againſt human ſtrength, and to be conquered only by delay. For this reaſon they determined to be leſs frequent in aſſaults, which had coſt them the lives of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers: however, after their artillery had played for ſeveral days with ſome ſucceſs upon the walls, another mine was ſprung, by which the counterſcarp was totally demoliſhed. A body of four thouſand janizaries was choſen to enter the breach, which they did with great intrepidity, being ſupported by another corps of ſix thouſand ſelect ſoldiers. The reſiſtance of the beſieged was equal to what might have been expected from their former valour. But the event did not correſpond. After a violent conflict for three hours the Turks remained in poſſeſſion of the counterſcarp, the beſieged being forced to abandon it through wearineſs and want of numbers: their retreat, however, was made with ſuch order, and after ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, that the victors had little to boaſt of the advantage they had gained. Two thouſand had been blown up by the ingenious but horrible contrivance of Baglioni, who ſprung a countermine as ſoon as the enemy had mounted the breach.

*The Turks gain the counterſcarp.*

By loſing the counterſcarp the garriſon was expoſed to perpetual watchings, and fatigues in raiſing new defences againſt the beſiegers, and maintaining conſtant ſallies to impede their progreſs. The Turks were indefatigable; they had now brought the whole camp to the very walls; they were induſtriouſly erecting works to cover their farther approaches; and conſtructing batteries for driving the beſieged from the poſts they poſſeſſed. Nor were the defendants leſs aſſiduous in filling up all the breaches with hides,

hides, wet earth, wool, and other materials. In this employment the induſtry, vigilance, and ſpirit of the women were amazing: they divided themſelves into troops, and, without regarding quality or ſex, ſtood up in the defence of liberty, by labouring in the moſt ſervile occupations. Females of the firſt faſhion might be ſeen ſweating under loads of earth, heavy ſtones to repair the walls, or water to extinguiſh the flames kindled by the bombs thrown into the city. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts upon the gates, the enemy took a ſhorter method, by throwing, with great force, burning torches into the town, which ſeizing hold of the houſes, took off the attention of the beſieged from the outworks. So dreadful a ſmoke was raiſed, that the Turks, unſeen, began to open another mine; but ſtill the vigilance of Baglioni prevailed; and, by ſpringing another ſucceſsful countermine, he fruſtrated the attempts of the enemy. At length famine was like to effect what foiled all the endeavours of the beſiegers. Corn, wine, and proviſions having been long conſumed, the garriſon had, for ſeveral days, drank vinegar mixed with water inſtead of wine, and eat the moſt nauſeous animals in the place of their uſual proviſions. Theſe inconveniencies were chearfully ſupported; the ſoldiers murmured not becauſe their officers ſet the example by ſharing every hardſhip: but now every kind of proviſions was exhauſted, and they muſt either ſubmit or ſtarve. The Italians in garriſon were reduced from four thouſand to one fourth of that number, moſt of them having died, not by the ſword, but of loathſome diſeaſes, the conſequence of bad living. The Greeks were proportionably diminiſhed; calamities which at laſt began to ſtagger the reſolution of the inhabitants. In this extremity they preſented a petition to Bragadino and Baglioni, requeſting them not to carry their obſtinacy to the total deſtruction of the city, the maſſacre of their wives, children, and all that was dear to them. They remonſtrated, that their fidelity or conſtancy could never be accuſed, as they had ſupported every evil, and braved every danger as long as the leaſt hope of relief or liberty remained; but that now theſe were extinguiſhed, and it was unreaſonable to purſue a plan of conduct that muſt, in a few days, terminate their lives by famine or the ſword. At preſent it was probable that Muſtapha would grant honourable terms, which was more than they could poſſibly expect after the garriſon was weakened with ſickneſs, famine, and fatigue.

*Famine in the city.*

To

To this petition Bragadino answered in a courteous and obliging manner. He commended their courage, soothed their despair, and assured them, that if the succours he expected did not soon arrive, he would take every precaution to save the lives and freedom of men deserving of the highest honours. Thus all again determined to wait the event of the general's promise.

The Turks having now finished their works, sprung a mine under the citadel, by which a considerable opening was made, which they attempted to storm, but were repulsed by the superior courage of the besieged. Next day another assault was given, in which, after a sharp conflict of six hours, the Turks were again defeated with great loss. At last powder failed the besieged, and they were reduced to a few charges only: provisions had long been wanting; and they now had intelligence that Barzotti Barbaro, coming with supplies from Candia was shipwrecked. In short, every thing contributed to conquer the spirit of this brave garrison, they were finally compelled to propose terms of capitulation. Accordingly a treaty was set on foot, and hostages were exchanged. Commissioners for settling the articles having met, the following terms were agreed to by both parties: that the officers and soldiers should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed in safety to Candia, under an escort of three Turkish gallies; and that the inhabitants should remain in the free use of their religion, untouched in their property, and in full possession of their freedom. These conditions having been mutually signed, the garrison marched out, and the soldiers embarked on board the ships provided for them by Mustapha. Next day Bragadino went to pay his compliments to Mustapha, attended by Baglioni, Martinenga, and some of the chief officers. At first they met with a civil reception, Mustapha ordering a seat to be placed for Bragadino on his own right hand. They soon entered into discourse about the prisoners; and Mustapha taxing Bragadino with some violences committed by the garrison during the suspension granted for settling a capitulation, Bragadino, with a generous disdain, denied the charge, calling it false and designing. Upon which Mustapha, rising up in a fury, ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and the others to be massacred before his face. Bragadino was reserved for a more cruel treatment; after being insulted with the most opprobrious language; after undergoing the most excruciating tortures; after having his ears, nose, and lips cut off, his neck was stretched upon

*Capitulates on honourable conditions.*

*The barbarity of Mustapha.*

upon a block, and trampled upon by the daſtardly Muſtapha, who aſked him where was now that Chriſt whom he worſhipped, and why he did not deliver him out of his hands? At the ſame time the ſoldiers on board the fleet were deſpoiled of every thing, and laſhed to the oars. This day's work being finiſhed, Muſtapha entered the city, where he gave immediate orders that Tiepolo ſhould be hanged upon a gibbet. Before Bragadino had recovered from his wounds, he was carried in deriſion to all the breaches made in the walls, loaded with buckets filled with earth and mortar, and ordered to kiſs the ground as often as he paſſed by Muſtapha; a ſpectacle that raiſed pangs of compaſſion in the callous hearts of the meaneſt Turkiſh ſoldiers, but could not move the obdurate breaſt of the brutal Muſtapha. This brave Venetian was afterwards cooped up in a cage, and ignominiouſly hung to a ſail-yard in one of the gallies, where his intrepid ſoldiers were chained to the oars. This ſight rendered them almoſt furious: they exclaimed againſt the baſeneſs, the treachery of Muſtapha: they called aloud for revenge, and deſired to be ſet at liberty, that they might, even without arms, reſcue their brave general, and inflict the deſerved puniſhment upon their mean, daſtardly, and cowardly foes. Their requeſt was anſwered with cruel laſhes; Bragadino was taken down, conducted to the market-place, amidſt the din of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, where he was flayed alive. His ſkin was hung, by way of trophy, to the ſail-yard of a galley, ſent round all the coaſts to inſult the Venetians. In this manner periſhed the intrepid Bragadino, who ſuffered equally by the ſhameful procraſtination of the republic, and the barbarity of a brutal enemy (A). His head, with thoſe of Andrea Bragadino his brother, Lodovico Martinenga, and the brave Quirino, were ſent as preſents to Selim. As for Hercules Martinenga, he eſcaped the firſt fury of Muſtapha, re-

(A) He bore his ſufferings with ſuch an admirable conſtancy, that even in the midſt of torments, he calmly reaſoned with Muſtapha upon the duties of honour, virtue, and a ſoldier. He then taxed him with perfidy, cruelty, and cowardice, qualities the leaſt becoming a general of all men. After his ſkin was pulled down to his navel, the force applied by the executioner made the blood ſtream out; upon which, with amazing firmneſs, he cried out upon Chriſt's ſufferings. But theſe are ſcenes we cannot deſcribe without horror. The reader may ſee them at large in Paruta, Mauroceni, and other Venetian hiſtorians.

nounced

nounced his religion, and entered into the service of Selim, where he, in a short time, arrived at high honours.

The reduction of Famagosta was an advantage of high consequence to the Turks. By possessing it, they became absolute masters of the rich, fertile, and famous island of Cyprus. The conquest cost them, from their first landing, about a hundred thousand lives, and many officers of the first rank and merit in the Turkish service.

During these transactions in Cyprus, that the Christians might not be less employed in other parts, the bashaw of Negropont put to sea in June with a formidable fleet, and arrived in the night at Malacca, a port of Candia, unperceived by the inhabitants. Another Turkish fleet sailed to the gulf of Suda, where they wasted, burnt, and destroyed all the neighbouring villages, carrying off a great number of the inhabitants into slavery. The Venetians collected about thirty gallies to oppose the enemy, from which design they were diverted by a storm. In the mean time, Uchali seizing the opportunity, sent forty gallies towards Rattimo, where landing the troops, the most beautiful of cities was taken and burnt, after the conquerors had loaded themselves with rich booty. Leaving this place, they made an attempt, with very different success, upon Canu, a port in Candia, where they were so warmly attacked by Francisco Justiniano, that they retired with the loss of four thousand men. Hence the squadron steered to the island of Cerigo, which was desolated with a barbarous fury; as if to revenge their late disgrace, they would commit the most enormous barbarities on the weak and defenceless. *Motions of the Turkish fleet.*

All this while Veniero lay with the bulk of the Venetian fleet at Corfu, waiting to be reinforced, and impatient of delay. From thence he detached some gallies to bring him advice of the motions and strength of the enemy. They returned with intelligence, that the Turks were sailed to Zacyntho. Afterwards Troni was sent out to procure farther advice; but being driven out of his course by a storm, he fell into the hands of the enemy. As soon as the Turks had learnt of Troni, that the Venetian fleet lay at Corfu, they determined to sail in quest of it: but Veniero knowing his inferior strength, retired to Messina, in order to be joined by the confederates. The Turks afterwards, making a descent on the islands of Zacyntho and Cephalonia, carried off prisoners to the amount of six thousand souls; steering from thence to Batrinto, where they *They lay waste Cephalonia, &c.*

*A Turkish army enters Albania.*

they expected to overtake Veniero[a]. Disappointed in this expectation, they directed their course to Albania, whither Achmet, the beglerbeg of Greece, had come with numerous forces, to suppress some insurrections which appeared among the Stradiots in favour of the republic. Achmet marched to Scutari at the head of a choice body of infantry: but finding himself too weak to enter upon action, he sent for a reinforcement to the fleet. Accordingly forty gallies, filled with soldiers, were detached to his assistance. In their route, this squadron met with two Venetian gallies, whom they took, after a warm contest. Soon after some Venetian transports fell in their way, and became an easy prey.

Having received this reinforcement, Achmet marched to Delringo, to which he laid siege with a numerous army and train of artillery; the fleet also was detained to block up the harbour, and a galley dispatched to Uchali to assist his squadron. This officer, after having seized upon some of the republic's merchantmen, sailed in company with Hali to the coast of Dalmatia, where the latter landing with a strong corps, attacked Soppoto, and took it after a very gallant resistance, in which he lost a great number of men: here the whole garrison was put to the sword, the town plundered, and then deserted. Emanuel Mormori, by whose bravery the city had been taken from the Turks the preceding year, became now their prisoner and slave. From hence Hali went to Durazzo, where he was joined by Uchali.

Sarra Martinenga commanded in Delringo: he had long served in the French army, where he acquired great reputation; but peace with Spain ensuing, and the civil wars being composed, he returned to Venice, and was appointed to the government of this city. He now shewed himself deserving of the trust reposed in him: with a slender garrison, ill provided, he stood a siege of thirty days against a potent enemy. The intrepid conduct of Hermalao Tiepolo had twice, with great hazard, relieved him with scanty supplies of water. After having fulfilled every duty which his country, his honour, and courage required, he was at length forced to yield to numbers, and the extremity to which he was reduced; but he capitulated upon honourable terms, having stipulated for all the honours of war, the effects of the soldiers, and hostages for the se-

[a] Paruta, lib. ii.

curity

curity of the liberty and property of the citizens. These articles were kept no better than those at Famagosta, although the breach of them arose from no treachery of Achmet. The naval officers had claimed a share in the reduction of Delringo, a circumstance which so highly incensed Achmet, who alone had undergone all the fatigue of the siege, that he admitted his troops within the walls, where they immediately fell to plundering. The naval officers, equally desirous of sharing the booty as the glory with Achmet, landed a large body of seamen, who joined in sacking the town and massacring the garrison, until not a soul escaped alive besides Martinenga and Hieronymo Veniero, who were saved by the humanity of the bashaw [b]. Martinenga has been blamed by some historians for surrendering the town sooner than his situation required, but unjustly, for, at the time of capitulation, he was confined to his bed, and when asked concerning the capitulation, said, that a man deprived of the ability of fighting, had no opinion.

In the mean time the Turkish officers consulted whether so late in the season they might venture upon the siege of Catharra; but as they could come to no resolution, they sent to Constantinople for the grand seignor's orders. That the intermediate time might not be wasted, Caracosa, a captain of pirates, and Uchali, bashaw of Algiers, were sent with a squadron of forty gallies to make an attempt on Castelnuovo, and then on Carzola. The former of these towns was commanded by Antonio Balbi, who, upon sight of the enemy, offered to submit, for which pusilanimity he was deservedly stigmatized with perpetual banishment. What rendered his disgrace the more remarkable was, that the women of the place, perceiving his and the garrison's intention to surrender, seized upon their arms, shields, and coats of mail, and mounting the ramparts, headed by Rossello Dalmatino a priest, by their hostile appearance saved the city from an attack, the Turks directing their course to Lessina, which was deserted by the governor, who retired into the citadel on the enemy's approach. The Turks set fire to the town, and pillaged the island; but they were attacked by the inhabitants, and driven with slaughter to the fleet [c].

In this manner ended the operations of the campaign. By the ensuing spring Colonna had got in readiness his

[b] Paruta, ubi supra. Thuan. lib. xlix. [c] Paruta, lib. ii. Thuan. lib. xlix.

complement of twelve gallies, with which he set sail for Messina: here waited Veniero, with intention of joining him, but that officer was detained at Corfu by various accidents. Colonna, understanding that the Venetian fleet was in great danger from the vicinity of the Turkish admiral, sent repeated messages to Veniero to set sail for Sicily, which he did as soon as the situation of affairs would permit. Mean while Don John of Austria, having finished the war in Granada, arrived at Barcelona, and there embarking two regiments, set sail for Genoa. After assembling some troops here, and getting ready a number of gallies and transports, he steered for Messina, to join Veniero and Colonna, leaving Doria and the marquis of Santa Cruz to bring up the remainder of the army and fleet. He arrived at Messina after a short and prosperous voyage, and was welcomed by the two confederate admirals, and the loud acclamations of the soldiers and mariners [d]. Next day he called a council of war, at which were present Veniero, Colonna, Lodovico Requesnes, lieutenant in the absence of Doria, Pompey Colonna, and Agostino Barbarigo. He opened the council with a short apology for the delays on the part of his Catholic majesty; laid before them the number and condition of his forces, which consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, of which eight thousand eight hundred were Spanish, eleven thousand Italians, and the remainder Germans, with a numerous artillery, ninety gallies, and twenty-two transports. He then lamented the state of affairs, complained of the surmises which had been spread, equally injurious to Philip and his own honour. He said, that the desire of avoiding battle was not the cause of the delays, which were owing to real and insurmountable difficulties; that the moment these had ceased, the fleet and army were got with the utmost expedition in readiness, and now it was their business, he said, to recover the lost time by a double portion of industry, activity, and zeal. Veniero and Colonna returned him thanks for his obliging apology; and the former imagining there was no other impediment, proposed that they should immediately seek the enemy. To this design Don John objected, under the same pretexts offered the year before by Doria, although he was sensible that the harbours, towns, and territories of the republic were groaning under all the severities of a cruel and rigorous war. He said, that it would be folly to leave Messina be-

*Don John of Austria joins the combined fleet.*

[d] Thuan. lib. xlix.

fore the whole fleet was joined, as the enemy were greatly superior in strength and number of ships: nor would he permit the Christian fleet, in which consisted the public security, to be precipitated into manifest danger.

As soon as the Turks understood that the combined fleet was at Messina, they weighed anchor from Catharra, and sailed to Corfu, where they continued fifteen days, plundering the villages and suburbs of the towns, without attempting to lay siege to any fortified place. Towards the beginning of September they steered for Constantinople, ravaging Cephalonia a second time with all the horrors of war. Stopping in the gulf of Lepanto, they sent to Selim for farther instructions; and in the mean while detached the famous pirate Caragiali in quest of the Christian fleet, to procure the best intelligence possible; but after his return the season was so far advanced, that, imagining no steps would for this year be taken by the confederates, the corsairs of Barbary were dismissed, to the number of forty gallies. The bashaw, leaving Hali in the gulf of Lepanto with one hundred and fifty gallies, went to Constantinople to spend the winter [c].

Mean while the sixty gallies, left in Candia for the relief of Famagosta, hearing of the fate of that unhappy city, set sail for Messina, agreeable to Veniero's orders. Upon their arrival the whole Venetian fleet amounted to one hundred and nine gallies, and six men of war. Then the admirals met to consult on their operations: Veniero pressed Don John of Austria, that, laying aside all hesitation and delay, the Turkish fleet might be attacked, saying, that if they avoided battle they should by all endeavours be reduced to the necessity of fighting. Here Don John again raised doubts and scruples; and though he did not openly oppose the proposition, yet he wasted the time that might have been better employed in action. He made such objections, sowed such dissensions among the officers, and so confounded their measures, that no plan could be proposed that did not meet with its cavillers and opponents. Some, magnifying the strength of the Turkish fleet, recommended caution, circumspection, and deliberate counsels; others, on the contrary, were for giving battle at all events: and this opinion they supported with arguments drawn from the necessity of affairs, the circumstances of both sides, the honour of the Christian fleet,

[c] Maurocen. lib. vi.

the intention of the confederacy, and the articles of the treaty.

Theſe ſentiments were frequently repeated in council before a full aſſembly of general officers, and they were ſupported by the earneſt exhortations of the pope's legate on board, who gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of victory, through the mediation of the prayers of his holineſs. At laſt, overcome with ſhame, Don John of Auſtria publicly gave orders that every thing ſhould be got ready for engaging. This order was received with the joyful acclamations of the whole fleet, eſpecially of the Venetians, who wanted nothing ſo much as to revenge the many barbarities committed by the infidels. The prince examined the condition of every ſhip, the number of her crew, and the ſtate of her ſtores, arms, and proviſions with the moſt minute preciſion. The Venetian fleet was found well provided in every thing beſides men, of whom a great number had periſhed by ſickneſs. To remedy this deficiency four thouſand of his troops were diſtributed among the Venetian gallies. The fleet was then drawn up in order of battle, in which manner it proceeded againſt the enemy, with all poſſible caution, in four diviſions, each diſtinguiſhed by a flag. Three diviſions compoſed the van: the fourth continued in the rear, as a body of reſerve. The diviſion on the right, compoſed of fifty gallies, was commanded by Doria; that on the left, conſiſting of an equal number, by Agoſtino Barbarigo; Don John himſelf kept the center; and the rear, conſiſting of thirty gallies, was committed to the conduct of Alvaro Baſſano. Six large Venetian men of war were towed in front, two being placed before each diviſion to ſuſtain the firſt effort of the enemy, and to annoy them with their heavy artillery: ten gallies beſides were ſtationed without the line to provide for all ſudden emergencies, and againſt all accidents; and eight gallies were diſpatched under Colonna to reconnoitre the enemy, and bring advice of their diſpoſition [f].

*Don John reſolves to fight.*

In this order the Chriſtian fleet arrived on the 18th of September at Capo delle Colonne, where they were detained for three days by contrary winds. Veniero propoſed they ſhould ſteer for Cephalonia, in order to intercept the Turkiſh fleet, which, from the lateſt accounts, was at Corfu, and force them to engage. Don John was of a contrary opinion: he preferred ſailing directly to

[f] Thuan. lib. xlix.

Corfu

Corfu with the whole fleet, and his opinion prevailed. Accordingly Baſſano was diſpatched to Tarento, and Canalis to Galipoli, with orders to take ſome troops on board at thoſe places, and proceed directly to Corfu. Then weighing from Capo delle Colonne, the fleet arrived in four days at Corfu. Thence proceeding to the continent, they put into the port of Gominezze, where they were joined by Andrada, who returned with advice that the Turks were in the gulf of Lepanto, and had detached ſixty ſail either to Conſtantiople or the coaſt of Barbary, for corn and other proviſions.

*Preparations of the Turks.*

All this time the infidels exerted the utmoſt diligence in procuring intelligence, and ſtrengthening their fleet for action. Having ſome advice of the motions of the Chriſtians, the baſhaw returned to the fleet, recalled the piratical auxiliaries which he had diſmiſſed, and all the other ſquadrons detached on different purpoſes. Caragiali was intrepid enough to ſail in the night, with a ſmall ſquadron, through the combined fleet, to examine their number, ſituation and deſigns. He even had the preſumption to land within ſhot of the allies, and take priſoners a body of ſoldiers, who ſtrolled about the ſhore, little ſuſpecting an enemy. From them the neceſſary intelligence was procured; upon which it was debated whether or not battle ſhould be offered. Parthi, ſangiac of Negropont, an officer of great merit and experience in naval affairs, argued ſtrenuouſly againſt hazarding a battle at this juncture; but he was oppoſed by the majority, and indeed overruled by the laſt inſtructions of Selim, which were read in council, importing that they ſhould ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting the enemy.

This reſolution being formed, Mahomet was diſpatched into the inner parts of the gulf of Lepanto, to collect as many troops and ſhips as could poſſibly be got together. He drew from the neighbouring garriſons about four thouſand horſemen, whom he diſmounted and put on board the fleet. Mahomet, ſangiack of Morea, ſent alſo fifteen hundred diſmounted troopers to ſerve on board. Then Caracoſa, a renowned pirate, was detached for intelligence.

*The confederacy among the Chriſtians almoſt broke off by a trivial occurrence.*

In the mean time a trivial occurrence had like to have diſſolved the league, and given the Turks all the advantage they could deſire. One of the commiſſioners, a Spaniard, appointed by Don John of Auſtria, for victualling the fleet, had behaved with great arrogance towards many of the Venetian officers: upon which Veniero reprehended him gently; but the fellow retorting abuſe and ſcurrility,

the Venetian gave orders he ſhould be ſeized. The commiſſioner, aſſiſted by ſome other Spaniards, not only reſiſted, but ſlew the officer in the diſcharge of his duty, an outrage which ſo highly incenſed Veniero, that he ordered the commiſſioner and his accomplices immediately to be hanged at the yard-arm, without conſulting Don John. The Spaniſh general conſidered this ſtep as an inſult upon his authority; and his indignation received additional fuel from the remonſtrances of the Spaniſh officers, eſpecially Doria, who hoped from thence to breed ſuch diſſenſions as might fruſtrate the reſolution of the council, and even diſſolve the confederacy. They inſiſted upon ſatisfaction; but the moderation and prudence of Colonna and Barbarigo healed the wounds made by the impetuous and warm temper of Veniero, and baffled all the endeavours of Doria to bring this affair to an open rupture. They ſo ſtrongly recommended the neceſſity of unanimity to Don John, that he was reconciled to Veniero, and determined to proſecute the plan laid down in council [g].

But the Spaniſh officers, ever averſe to a battle with the Turks, raiſed new cavils, by propoſing that the fleet ſhould inveſt ſome of the cities lately taken by the Turks on the coaſt of Dalmatia. Such a ſtep, they ſaid, would draw Parthi out of the gulf of Lepanto to the ſuccour of the place, when they could engage him to more advantage than in a narrow channel. Although this advice was plauſible, the Venetians eaſily perceived that the ultimate intention of it was to avoid a battle; they therefore inſiſted on purſuing the former reſolution, and ſailing immediately to the mouth of the gulf, when, beyond doubt, the impatient and haughty diſpoſition of the Turks would induce them to come out and engage. A third propoſition was, that they ſhould lay aſide all contention about things of little importance, and unanimouſly attack Navarra and Modon, by the reduction of which they would reap utility and glory. It was probable that the Turks would attempt the relief of thoſe towns: if they did, there would be an opportunity of fighting; if not, the ſurrender of places ſo important would pave the way for an inſurrection in the Morea, where the inhabitants were quite oppreſſed [h].

Agreeable to this propoſal, a reſolution was formed of ſailing directly to the Morea, and there determining operations by circumſtances. The fleet weighed from the

[g] Thuan. lib. xlix. Paruta, lib. ii. [h] Maurocen. lib. v.

coaſt

coaſt of Albania, and ſailing in the order we have before deſcribed, purſued its courſe to Cephalonia. The ſame miſtake prevailed in both fleets, each imagining that the other would decline coming to action. When the Turks were at Santa Maura, the confederates lay at Curſolari; from whence the enemy could be deſcried. Don John of Auſtria, by the advice of Doria, gave ſtrict orders to Baſſano, who commanded the reſerve ſquadron in the rear, by all means to avoid joining battle, until it was certain that the enemy had no ſeparate diviſion in reſerve. Then Doria extended his line on the right, Barbarigo doing the ſame on the left, and ranging as cloſe to the ſhore as the ſounding would permit. The center was commanded by Don John, and the whole fleet diſpoſed in order of battle, without the leaſt confuſion or tumult. Immediately on the right of the royal galley which carried John of Auſtria, were ſtationed Colonna and the pope's ſquadron; on the left the Venetians, with two large men of war placed before each diviſion [i].

The Turks, ſeeing the Chriſtian fleet making ſail towards them, inſtantly cleared ſhip, and made every thing ready to engage with the greateſt alacrity, expedition, and good order. In the center Parthi, the high admiral, took his ſtation, having on both ſides one hundred and thirty gallies ranged in line of battle. At the diſtance of ſixty ſhips from his right, Hali took poſt with eighty gallies, which he drew up cloſe to the ſhore to oppoſe Barbarigo. The ſangiac of Alexandria commanded in the right wing, and Uchali on the left, the whole fleet being ranged in a ſtrait line, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of the Turks, who generally form a creſcent. Both ſides appointed a certain number of light veſſels to ſail conſtantly round the fleets, to bring intelligence to the admirals of the ſtate of affairs. When the fleets approached within a ſmall diſtance, Don John, taking the confederate ſtandard in his hand, accompanied by Veniero and Colonna, went into a barge, and rowed round the fleet, exhorting and animating them to an exertion of their abilities and courage, which exhortation was renewed along the whole line, by the loudeſt acclamations; then he returned to his own ſhip, where he found all the quarters manned, and every thing ready for the ſignal to begin the battle.

On a ſudden the wind, which had been contrary, died away, and a perfect calm enſued: now it was that Doria

[i] Thuan. ubi ſupra. Paruta, ibid.

was discovered to have changed the order of battle. Instead of keeping the line, agreeable to orders, he turned the heads of his division towards the shore on his right, to prevent being surrounded. This disposition of Doria had almost been attended with ruinous consequences, as it gave the Turks an opportunity of breaking the line. The centers joined battle, the first onset being sustained by the large ships in front, who played furiously with their heavy artillery on the Turkish gallies. Veniero sent some large gallies to support them, and his example was happily followed by Colonna: the enemy, unable to bear this vigorous charge, divided to the right and left; the greater part going to the right, which was opposed to Barbarigo, on whom they discharged showers of arrows, which darkened the sky, attended, after their barbarous manner, with loud shrieks and shouts. Getting between Barbarigo and the shore with some light gallies, they furiously attacked him in rear, front, and flank. This brave officer opposed them with equal courage, and superior abilities; for they were often repulsed, broke, and put in confusion. Victory had like to have declared for him, when, after an obstinate conflict, during which he displayed every quality of a great commander, he was shot in the eye, of which wound he died next day [k].

*The battle of Lepanto.*

In his place succeeded Marino Contareni, his nephew, and the rival of his virtues, who, after having pushed the advantages gained by Barbarigo, and put the enemy to flight; after having driven some on shore, sunk and disabled others, was slain by an arrow, and with him fell Visconti Quirino and Andrea Barbarigo. Nevertheless, the next in command kept so constant a fire upon the enemy, that, deserting their ships, they fled on shore, many being drowned endeavouring to escape, and the vessels were dashed in pieces against the rocks. The same good fortune attended the center of the combined fleet, where hardly a Turk escaped, no friendly shore being near to afford them refuge. On the right, the battle was supported by Doria on one side, and Hali on the other. The Turks, in consequence of his wrong disposition, got between him and the center of the fleet, where a violent conflict ensued, Doria resolving to close the line, and prevent his being surrounded; an aim which he effected after a hard struggle, and great loss on the side of the enemy. Two gallies, in which the sons of the Turkish general

[k] Maurocen. lib. vi. et Aut. citat.

fought,

fought, were taken; but in ſpite of all theſe diſadvantages, the infidels fought with ſurpriſing fury and perſeverance, while the action was vigorouſly ſuſtained by Veniero, ſeconded by Colonna, Matharin de l'Eſcut, a Frenchman, and ſeveral other commanders. Don John chuſing four hundred of the flower of the regiment of Sardinia, and accompanied by Lope Figueroa, and a body of the young grandees of Spain, made an attack on Hali, who was ſurrounded by four hundred janiſſaries and one hundred archers. The charge was given and received with great vigour: the diſpute was long, obſtinate, and bloody; victory for a long while appeared doubtful, and both fleets ſeemed to refer the iſſue of their differences to the event of the engagement between the two admirals. All beſides Veniero were idle ſpectators; and both parties laboured under the moſt terrible anxiety and fear for their commanders, while none thought of ſupporting them, ſeeming to look upon it as a trial of valour. At length Hali was killed, and his galley taken by Don John; but not without very conſiderable loſs of officers and ſoldiers [1].

*The Turks are defeated with prodigious ſlaughter.*

Parthi, who had all this while been engaged in the hotteſt of the fight, was at laſt ſeparated from his diviſion, and ſingly encountered by four Venetian gallies. After he had maintained a ſharp conteſt till almoſt his whole crew was killed, he retired into a ſmall yacht he had prepared againſt extremities, and went off from the battle, leaving all his valuable effects a prey to the conquerors, and pouring forth terrible execrations againſt Hali, and thoſe raſh counſellors who had reduced him to the neceſſity of flight. Of all the Turkiſh diviſion, only that under Uchali now remained. This cunning officer, paſſing by Doria into the middle of the Chriſtian fleet, ſo contrived matters that he could either engage or retreat at pleaſure. But when he perceived, by the imperial ſtandard's being taken down, that Hali and Parthi were defeated; when the clouds of ſmoke were diſpelled, that he could plainly ſee the Turkiſh fleet deſtroyed, and the Chriſtians every where victorious, he retired with precipitation. Some Venetian gallies that lay next to him obſerving his deſign, attacked him with great courage, imagining they ſhould be ſupported by Doria. They were greatly inferior in number and ſtrength to Uchali, having loſt more than half their compliment of men in the former

[1] Paruta, lib. ii. p. 2.

part

part of the action. However, determined to make up with courage what was wanting in power, the fight was maintained with fury; Uchali determining, at all hazards, to eſcape, and the Venetians fighting with expectation that the arrival of Doria would ſoon relieve them: in which hope they were deceived; that treacherous admiral taking deſignedly a long ſweep, did not return until he thought the Venetians muſt have been defeated, or the enemy ſo weakened as to become an eaſy prey. The Venetians obſerving this conduct, placed their whole confidence in their own bravery, and determined rather to die than either yield or leave an open paſſage to Uchali. The efforts they made were incredible, and ſuch as the Turks could not have withſtood had they not been greatly ſuperior in number to their fatigued enemies. At length the renegados broke through, juſt as Doria came up with a ſerious intention of attacking him; but it was too late. A high ſea riſing prevented his purſuing them; however, after having recovered two Venetian gallies, which Uchali's ſquadron was towing a-ſtern, he ſtood for the reſt of the fleet, having ſhamefully ended a battle, otherways the moſt glorious upon record [m].

Such was the battle of Lepanto; in which it is difficult to ſay whether Don John of Auſtria, Colonna, or Veniero proved the greateſt ſoldier and commander. Certain it is, that nothing could exceed the vigilance, conduct, and intrepidity of each. The Venetian diviſion had, indeed, ſupported the great burthen of the engagement; but that was owing not to the fault of Don John or Colonna, but to the treachery of Doria, who almoſt the whole time kept aloof.

The Turks likewiſe fought with incredible bravery, many gallies continuing the fight after almoſt the whole crews had been killed; others were ſunk, or burned by their own crews, rather than ſtrike to the conquerors. About one hundred and thirty of their gallies were taken; the reſt of their fleet was either daſhed upon rocks, ſwallowed by the waves, or deſtroyed by fire, excepting about thirty ſhips which Uchali carried back to Conſtantinople. Twenty-five thouſand of their men were killed, including their two chief admirals, with many other officers of the firſt diſtinction; many were drowned, and about three thouſand five hundred were taken priſoners. On the ſide of the confederates fifteen gallies were loſt; of which ten

[m] Thuan. lib 1. tom. iii.

were

were Venetian; ten thousand were slain in the action or died of their wounds. Among the latter was Agostino Barbarigo, whose prudence, experience, moderation, and courage, could not exempt him from that fate which his country and allies greatly lamented. His death, says Thuanus, was more than an equivalent for the liberty restored by his bravery to one thousand two hundred Christian captives in the Turkish fleet [n].

After the battle, a council of war was summoned, in which it was resolved that, considering the number of the wounded, the scarcity of provisions, and the advanced season of the year, the most advisable measure was to lay up the fleet to the ensuing season, when they could return to action with redoubled vigour. This resolution was by many people condemned as imprudent and unseasonable. All was in confusion at Constantinople, the Turkish navy was entirely ruined, their coasts and islands were naked, deserted, and in the utmost consternation, while the confederates rode triumphant in the Archipelago. By pursuing their advantages, it was supposed, the haughty Selim must have sued for peace before the spring: nothing could have withstood an armament flushed with so glorious a victory, much less an enemy drooping under their defeat, and desponding in adversity as much as they tyrannized in prosperity. The chief blame fell upon Veniero, as the republic was the most interested in terminating the war. His unwillingness to keep the sea was attributed to his great tenderness and care of a slight wound received in the leg; but such reproaches were equally invidious and unjust. Veniero too well knew the grudge the Spaniards bore the Venetians; the unwillingness with which they were brought to engage; and that nothing besides a prevailing notion that the Turks would refuse battle, could have induced them to advance so far as the gulf of Lepanto. He now saw with what emulation they beheld the glory the republic acquired, and with what joy they would embrace any opportunity of obscuring the lustre of her reputation. Such allies were not greatly to be relied on; and to this consideration, rather than to his wound, was the conduct of Veniero to be ascribed: indeed, it must be acknowleged that his conduct in another respect is less excusable. Filippo Bragadino had been sent by the senate, before they were informed of

*Veniero taxed with cowardice.*

[n] Maurocen. lib. vi. Paruta, lib. ii. Baron. sub an. 1571.

the

the victory with thirteen large gallies, to reinforce the Venetian ſquadron, and upon his arrival he found that the Turks were utterly defeated. He requeſted of Veniero that he would permit him to purſue the flying enemy with fifty ſail, promiſing to give a good account of them, and likewiſe of ſeveral Turkiſh provinces, which would probably be in the utmoſt conſternation after ſuch a defeat. He ſtrongly repreſented the advantages of ſuch an enterprize, and the probability of its ſucceſs; but Veniero was deaf to his remonſtrances, either from an apprehenſion of the dangers of the ſeaſon, or an unwillingneſs to commit that to the conduct of another which he knew to be a duty incumbent on himſelf. Thus, between caution and envy, the faireſt opportunity for ending the war that ever could offer itſelf, was loſt [o].

Don John having reſolved, agreeable to the reſolution of the council of war, to ſeparate from the Venetians, Veniero propoſed that an attempt ſhould firſt be made on Santa Maura. In compliance with this remonſtrance Don John diſpatched certain gallies to examine the ſtrength and ſituation of the place, and in what ſpace of time it might probably be reduced. The captains of the gallies reported on their return that probably fifteen or twenty days would finiſh the enterprize; upon which he dropt the deſign, ſaying that it was a paltry iſland, of too little conſequence to the confederates to merit the expence and trouble that would attend its reduction. His influence prevailed; and the whole fleet, without any farther undertaking, ſet ſail for the iſland of Corfu, where they divided their plunder and conqueſts (B). From thence the

[o] Maurocen. lib. vi.

(B) The ſpoils were divided in the following manner: Philip, for his ſhare, had fifty-eight gallies, ſix galliots, ſixty-eight large cannon, eight bombs, and one hundred and twenty-eight pieces of light artillery, with one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen priſoners. To the Venetians was given a portion agreeable to the number and ſtrength of their ſhipping. They had for their ſhare forty-four gallies, a number of galliots and galleaſſes, one hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon of various ſizes, with one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-two priſoners. That of his holineſs was the ſmalleſt, but the moſt honourable, as among his priſoners he reckoned Achmet and Mahomet, the ſons of Hali. The eccleſiaſtical ſhare amounted to twenty-one

the ecclesiastical and Spanish fleets retired to Messina, which port they entered in triumph. After their departure Veniero took Margarita near Corfu, granting their lives and liberty to the inhabitants, but burning and destroying the citadel. Soppoto was likewise seized by the Albanians, and put under the government of Venice, but it was soon recovered by Selim [p].

These places were of little consequence; the opportunity of striking a decisive blow was now lost: had the combined fleet but appeared off the Morea the Greeks would have been delivered from slavery. A general disaffection to the Turkish government appeared among them, and they expected nothing less than the recovery of their liberty, as an immediate consequence of the victory of Lepanto: they requested Don John that he would but approach so near the shore as to let his shadow be seen in the Morea, which they said was sufficient to terrify the Turks into submission, and restore them to their pristine happiness. Certain it is, that great advantages might have been gained by a vigorous prosecution of the terror they had struck all over the Othoman empire. Instead of this, the time was consumed in vain-glorious triumphs, ovations, and embassies [q].

But the winter was employed on both sides in making fresh preparations for the ensuing campaign: Selim was at Adrianople when the news of the defeat arrived, upon which he set out with the utmost expedition for Constantinople, to prevent all tumults and disturbances, the sure consequence of disappointments in the Othoman empire. Here he conducted, with the assistance of the wise Mahomet, his grand vizir, every thing with such prudence, spirit, and resolution, that all was quiet; nothing appeared but a spirit of revenge, and the utmost diligence in equipping a new fleet, in augmenting the garrisons on the coasts, casting ordnance, and forwarding other military preparations. Uchali's reception was, contrary to expectation, extremely gracious. Selim thanked him for his bravery in the action, and prudence in bringing safe back the division of the fleet under his care. In this particular

*Great preparations made on both sides.*

[p] Paruta, lib. ii. p. 2.

[q] Baron. Eccles. sub hoc an.

ty-one gallies, with a proportion of smaller vessels, fifty-four pieces of artillery of different sizes, and eight hundred and eighty-one prisoners (1).

(1) Vide Paruta, hoc cit. Thuan.

the

the emperor acted like a ſound politician; for Uchali's influence and character were at leaſt equal to his abilities; nor could any thing more encourage the troops than to ſee the commander applauded, whoſe conduct had ſaved the only remnant of the Turkiſh naval power [r].

His holineſs and the republic, on the other hand, omitted nothin g which could unite more ſtrongly the preſent confederacy, as well as increaſe its power by the addition of new allies. The cardinal Alexandrino had conſtantly reſided at the court of Philip, to keep him ſteady to his engagements, and to his weight was joined that of the Venetian reſident. They now demonſtrated to his miniſtry, how ſoon the Othoman empire might be cruſhed by a ſeaſonable and vigorous exertion of the confederate power; but Philip was ſtill ſlow in his meaſures, though prompt in his promiſes. The war in the Low Countries, the proſpect of a rupture with France, as well as a general diſlike and jealouſy of the Venetians that prevailed in his army, raiſed numberleſs difficulties, which all the addreſs of the pope and ſenate found no eaſy matter to remove. Veniero, that no diſputes on his account might ariſe, was deprived of his command, and Foſcareni appointed by the ſenate in his room. This laſt, immediately after his promotion, was diſpatched into Spain, with full powers to ſettle what plan of operations ſhould be thought neceſſary by Philip and Don John of Auſtria. But the firſt ſtep was to engage the Spaniards heartily in the alliance; in which endeavour Suranza laboured with the diligence and addreſs of an able and honeſt miniſter [s]. An ambaſſador was likewiſe ſent to the emperor to try, if poſſible, to move him
A.D. 1572. to break the truce with Selim. The Venetian was ſoon followed thither by the pope's legate, who was no leſs aſſiduous than the ſenate in ſtirring up a formidable confederacy againſt the Turks: but their zeal was not attended with the expected ſucceſs; the emperor had too often experienced the power of the Turks, to imagine it would ſink under one defeat, and the deſtruction of a ſingle fleet. Their great ſtrength and vaſt reſources of men and money, conſiſted in the prodigious extent of their dominions on the continent, and not in their commerce, fleets, or iſlands. He therefore anſwered the ambaſſadors with aſſurances of a ſincere regard for the pope and republic; but owned that his circumſtances would not admit of exhibiting proofs detrimental to his own intereſt

[r] Thuan. ibid. [s] Paruta, ibid.

and

and the good of the empire. His treaſury, he ſaid, was low; and breaking with the Turks would give the Proteſtants an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances. In ſhort, engaging in the confederacy would equally expoſe his own dominions to Turks and Chriſtians, at a time when he was leaſt able to reſiſt either. He therefore adviſed the ambaſſadors to apply to other princes, and particularly to the king of Poland, whoſe vicinity to the Othoman empire and power, would render his alliance more valuable. Their endeavours he promiſed to ſecond with all his influence; for which purpoſe he ſent an ambaſſador to Warſaw: but neither in Poland nor in Ruſſia were their negociations ſucceſsful [t].

At this time pope Pius V. died, and was ſucceeded by Gregory XIII. whoſe inclinations to the confederacy were not yet known. This event was a real affliction to the Venetians: it diſconcerted their meaſures, as his holineſs had warmly eſpouſed their cauſe againſt the Turks, and left nothing uneſſayed to humble the pride, and reduce the power of that empire. Colonna had quitted Rome, to get the fleet in readineſs, when an expreſs was ſent to acquaint him with the pope's death, and the expiration of his commiſſion. Upon this intimation, he returned to congratulate Gregory on his acceſſion, and had the addreſs to eſtabliſh himſelf in the command, and prevail upon the new pope to adopt the meaſures of his predeceſſor: however, it was the month of June before theſe armaments were ready to put to ſea from Meſſina. Here too Don John of Auſtria, having aſſembled certain Italian, Spaniſh, and German regiments, embarked them in a ſquadron of twenty-two gallies, which he diſpatched to Corfu. They were ſoon joined by twenty-five gallies under Suranza, whom Foſcareni, the admiral, had ſent for the execution of ſome enterprize. Suranza, agreeable to his orders, laid his inſtructions before Colonna, and Andrada, the Spaniſh admiral. He found Colonna eager to enter upon action; but Andrada full of grave excuſes and wiſe maxims on the neceſſity of deliberation. At length, being hard preſſed by Colonna and Suranza, he replied, that his inſtructions forbad him to leave Corfu without farther orders: he expected to be reinforced by the fleet which Alvaro Baſſano was then collecting at

[t] Thuan. ubi ſupra. [u] Paruta, lib. iii. Thuan. lib. liv. tom. iii.

Meſſina;

Messina; and after that junction he was obliged to wait the issue of the troubles in Navarre [u].

*Quarrels between the Venetian and Spanish officers.*

Upon this declaration, the Venetians exclaimed loudly against the Spaniards: they complained of being sacrificed to the pride, the politics, and the jealousy, if not the hatred, of Philip and his ministry. Upon their promises, they said, they had engaged the republic in this war; yet as soon as the season for action arrived, their dilatoriness and treachery left her to shift for herself. Under Doria, the first year of the war, this was apparently the case: nor were affairs altered much for the better in the folllowing; Famagosta was lost, and in consequence the kingdom of Cyprus, before the Spaniards were ready to put to sea; and afterwards they were in a manner compelled and deluded into the most glorious victory that had ever been obtained over the Turkish power. The Venetians even asserted, that Don John's conduct had been blamed by the ministry and greater part of the Spanish nation: they said, that no arguments, no prospects, no ambition, or thirst of glory, ought to have induced him to hazard a fleet upon the safety of which so much depended. So far did some persons carry this notion, as to assert that he ought to have been punished for his temerity: but now, cried the Venetians, the Spanish conduct is too barefaced to leave any doubts of their inclination to see the republic impoverished and reduced by a war, of which she is the chief support, and in which she is the chief sufferer. Their pretended apprehensions of disturbances in Lombardy were too gross to impose on the senate; nor were those other excuses better founded, which set forth the necessity of preparing against a change of measures in the consistory, by the accession of a new pontiff: his holiness's views were obvious from his conduct. Upon the whole, the Venetians concluded, that jealousy was the only spring of action in the Spanish cabinet; it was, therefore, high time to regard their own security, and break off an alliance productive of nothing but infamy, treachery, and distress. For these reasons it was proposed, and soon carried in the senate, that M. Antonio Barbaro should again renew his negociations of peace with Mahomet, the grand vizir, and bring things as near a crisis as he possibly could, without actually concluding the treaty, until he had acquainted the republic of the terms that would

*Negociations for a peace between the senate and Selim.*

[u] Paruta, lib. iii. Thuan. lib. liv. tom. iii.

be

be granted. At the same time it was decreed, to send John Micheli into France, and Antonio Tiepoli into Spain, both men of experience and great eloquence. The first to dissuade his Christian majesty from breaking with Spain, as it was currently believed he intended to do, both by assisting the Protestants in the Netherlands, and by entering with an army into Lombardy. As for Tiepoli, his instructions were to excite Philip to perform his engagements, and not to suffer a war, begun with great expectations, and conducted with some success, to languish through indolence and inactivity [y].

Barbaro entered immediately upon the subject of his instructions with Mahomet: he found that sage minister equally inclined to peace, as he had always been averse to a war with the republic. These, notwithstanding the great preparations, were the general sentiments of the divan and the whole Turkish empire; however, Mahomet deferred giving a definitive answer, until the arrival of the French ambassador, the bishop of Aix. The truth was, the Turkish ministry carefully watched the progress of the confederacy, determining to take their measures accordingly. Before it was known that the emperor had refused to break the alliance; that the Spanish councils were as dilatory and sluggish as formerly; that the Poles, the Portuguese, and the Russians, had declined entering into any engagements, they seemed to listen with pleasure to the resident's proposals. Afterwards, when the sentiments of those different courts came to be known, and that the Venetians alone must support the whole war, they rose in their demands, talked with the imperious air of conquerors, and in a strain so lofty, that they seemed to have forgot their late disgrace. Thus, every prospect of peace vanished, and the senate again determined to prosecute the war with all possibly vigour [z].

In the beginning of July, Colonna was joined at Corfu by the rest of the ecclesiastical fleet, on board of which were several of the young nobility of France, who desired leave to serve against the Turks, under so distinguished an officer. Among others was Charles Lorraine, marquis de Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise. This volunteer the Venetians complimented with the honour of nobility, the highest mark of distinction the republic ever confers on a foreigner. The whole fleet being joined, they set

[y] Paruta, lib. iii. [z] Thuan. lib. liv. Maurocen. lib. viii.

ſail for Gomminize, where a ſurvey was taken of their ſtrength, which was found to amount to one hundred and forty gallies. Don John had in the mean while left Meſſina, and arrived at Palermo, whence he diſpatched letters to the confederates, acquainting them that his inſtructions were to join them as ſoon as the ſtorm apprehended from France ſhould be blown over. He ſtrongly recommended to Colonna to enter upon no enterprize before the whole allied fleet ſhould be united. Again the Venetians uttered loud complaints againſt this extraordinary method of proceeding: they obſerved that new obſtructions were eternally raiſing, and the ſacred faith of treaties, if not openly broken, at leaſt rendered fruitleſs. It was now full time that the fleets ſhould be joined, if Don John did not deſire that Candia ſhould ſhare the ſame fate as Cyprus. Andrada himſelf was ſo confounded by their reproaches, and the barefaced conduct of the Spaniſh miniſtry, that he propoſed the fleet ſhould ſail to join Don John.

In the mean time Tiepoli, finding that the intention of his inſtructions was effected before he arrived in France, ſet out without delay for the court of Philip. As all apprehenſions of an attack from France were removed, he imagined the Spaniſh monarch would now be aſhamed to defer the junction of the fleets. He laboured with all the arguments of reaſon and oratory, to quicken the meaſures of the court, and procure orders for Don John's entering upon action, and eſtabliſhing a footing for the winter in the Turkiſh dominions. To all his remonſtrances the king anſwered with ſmooth ſpeeches and ſoothing promiſes.

The phlegm of Philip was not more diſagreeable to the Venetians than was the ambiguous reply with which their ambaſſador Micheli was diſmiſſed by the king and queen of France, importing that the king beſt knew his own affairs; however, that he would act no ways prejudicial to the common intereſts of Chriſtendom, or the particular intereſt of the republic, whom he greatly valued and eſteemed. This was in anſwer to the public inſtructions of Micheli; but the real motive of his embaſſy was to procure the king's mediation with Selim, by means of his miniſter at the Porte, in which he ſucceeded; his moſt Chriſtian majeſty promiſing to engage heartily in the buſineſs, but with the neceſſary delicacy and ſecrecy, to avoid giving umbrage to Philip.

During

During these negotiations, the fleet set sail from Corfu for Candia. When they arrived at Cephalonia, some scouts were sent to bring intelligence of the enemy: these soon returned with advice of their being in the gulf of Napoli, in the Morea, to the number of two hundred and twenty sail. Upon this, the confederates steered to Cerigo, where the enemy were descried from the tops, and the fleet in consequence drawn up in order of battle. When they had approached so near as to discover each other distinctly, the Turks suddenly changed their course, and, though greatly superior in strength, declined battle, after some shot had been exchanged: nor did the confederates care to pursue, contenting themselves with the glory of having offered battle to Uchali. The Turks steering westerly, the confederates sent an express to Don John, who it was supposed must be arrived at Corfu, to request that he would immediately join them with his fifty-three gallies, which would give the Christians a superiority over the enemy. To hasten this design they turned their course towards Corfu, in order to meet him on his way. Next day, off Capo Motapan, they were again seen by the Turks, who, leaving off watering, immediately prepared for battle. The combined fleet did not decline action; for crowding sail they bore down on the enemy with a favourable breeze, which ceased before they came within shot; so that the gallies were ordered to use their oars, and take the heavy ships in tow. Uchali, in order to separate the combined gallies from the heavy ships, made a feint as if he declined battle: this had its effect; for Suranza ordered the gallies to part with the ships in tow, and pursue the enemy. As soon as the infidel perceived them to be at a sufficient distance for his purpose, he ordered his rowers to push with all their might, which they did so effectually as actually to divide the fleet. Suranza now perceived his error, and endeavoured to retrieve it: both he and Colonna attacked the Turks with such fury on one side, while the heavy ships kept a brisk fire on the other, that Uchali did not think fit to hazard a general action, or wait the fruits of his stratagem. He stood aloof, and both the fleets continued for the space of two hours cannonading at a distance without coming to close fight; then each steered a different course, as if the engagement had broke off by mutual consent.

By this time Don John was arrived at Corfu, from whence he steered to Lepanto; but the wind proving ad-

verse, he returned again to Corfu, where he met with the express from Colonna. Pardo, who bore this commission, acquainted his highness of the combined fleet's having met Uchali, and offered battle, which he believed they had since accepted, from a brisk discharge of artillery he heard at sea, on his course to Corfu. Don John was greatly disturbed at this account; to bring certain advice of which he dispatched Bassano with two galliots. Bassano soon discovered a fleet a-head, and mistaking it for the Turkish, returned with the utmost precipitation to Corfu, where he put every thing in commotion by a false alarm, which was in vain contradicted by the Venetian pilots on board, until the arrival of the Christian fleet next day confirmed the pilot's assertion, to the great confusion of Bassano. Foscareni had now joined the fleet with a reinforcement; so that the confederates were equal in every respect to the enemy. He and Colonna were for going in quest of the Turks; but Don John, as if he had direct orders to oppose every proposition for the honour and interest of the confederacy, was perpetually raising new obstructions. Among others, he alleged, the Venetian division was unfit for action, on account of the small number of mariners on board. To this remark Foscareni replied with indignation, that it would not appear to be so from their having twice, without his assistance, offered battle. Colonna's interposition and prudence prevented the breach from becoming wider, and obtained a resolution in a council of war, that they should look out for the enemy; that, for the greater expedition, the heavy ships should be sent to Zant, there to wait farther orders; and in short, that every expedient should be used to redeem the time lost, and restore the credit of the Christian arms.

*Don John joins the confederate fleet, and takes the command.*

Accordingly the whole fleet weighed anchor, and steered for Cephalonia. Here they were informed, that sickness prevailing among the Turks, had compelled Uchali to put into the port of Quaglia in a distressed condition. Foscareni and Colonna were for attacking them without loss of time; and the proposal was so reasonable, that Don John could not refuse his assent. However, he found means to frustrate the plan, by consuming two whole days in making unnecessary dispositions, and examining minutely the condition of each vessel. In vain did the other officers represent that the opportunity would be lost: Don John calmly replied, that the events of battle were so precarious, that too much caution could not be used in guarding against them. At last he weighed, and

the

the pilots had orders to steer to Modon; but whether by secret directions or mistake is uncertain, they brought the fleet to Rodona. Here they were wholly exposed to the enemy's view; a circumstance that put the Turks upon uniting their fleet, which before lay in two different harbours; providing every thing against an attack, and taking such measures as must have greatly disconcerted the Christians. Colonna was the first who discovered the mistake; upon which, without staying for orders, he bore down upon a part of the Turkish fleet that fell about a mile a-stern. Here he began the engagement, imagining he should be supported by the rest of the fleet; but finding no prospect of relief, he retreated. Foscareni did all in his power to prevail on Don John either to permit him, with his division, to assist Colonna, or to advance with the whole combined fleet; both which proposals he peremptorily refused. In this manner was the happy occasion lost of ruining the Turkish navy: warm disputes afterwards arose concerning the plan of their future operations [a]. It was on all hands agreed that Modon was to be attacked; but Colonna and Doria differed in the manner: the former was for attacking it both by sea and land; the latter with the land forces only. Each supported his sentiments with strong arguments and equal vehemence: with Colonna sided the Venetians; and with Doria all the Spanish officers. In these debates so much time was lost, that Don John proposed returning to winter at Messina. This proposal drove the Venetians into despair: they railed without moderation against the treachery of the Spaniards; they said they were betrayed to the enemy, and made the tools of their allies. Don John was stung with these reproaches, which he could not avoid, although he knew them to be just. In his heart he approved the conduct of Colonna and the Venetians; but his instructions tied him up from entering upon such enterprizes as were suitable to his own spirit and the common interest. At last the fleet was brought before Navarrino, which he determined to batter, rather for want of any other employment, than that he thought the place of consequence. The troops and cannon were landed, batteries were erected under the conduct of Bonello, a celebrated engineer of Florence, and every thing disposed for an assault; but, by an omission of the besiegers, a body of five hundred chosen troops were thrown into the town.

*Colonna's bravery, and the misconduct of the other confederate officers.*

[a] Aut citat. ubi supra.

This miſconduct on the ſide of the Chriſtians was compenſated by other blunders, no leſs groſs, committed by the Turks. Cuſhain baſhaw, and the beglerbeg of Greece, having been apprized by Uchali ſome months before of the probability that the Chriſtians would make a deſcent on this place, neglected, notwithſtanding, to aſſemble an army for its protection. They had now made ſeveral forced marches to relieve the garriſon, but were retarded by the difficulty of the roads, and a variety of counſels. Theſe two generals blamed Uchali for not covering the place with his fleet; and this charge he knew would be ſufficient to diſgrace him with Selim. At length Navarrino was reduced to the laſt extremity, when ſuddenly a violent ſtorm of rain came on, and, continuing for three days, greatly harraſſed the beſieged. This incident afforded the Spaniards a pretence for abandoning an enterprize, in which they were never hearty. A council was called, and Don John remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt terms the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege before ſickneſs, the natural conſequence of lying upon wet ground, and under deluges of rain, ſhould ſeize the troops. The Venetians oppoſed this reſolution with all their power: they ſaid it would bring eternal diſgrace on the confederacy to raiſe the ſiege, when the town was ready to ſurrender for want of neceſſaries, and while the beſiegers abounded with proviſions, men, and ammunition: but Don John perſiſted in his reſolution, which was accordingly put in execution. What adds to the diſgrace of the confederates, is the diſtreſs to which the army under the baſhaw, the fleet commanded by Uchali, and the town were reduced. So far had the renegado's apprehenſions of receiving condign puniſhment carried him, that he went off to Barbary with twenty-five ſail, leaving the reſt of the fleet to ſhift for themſelves. So ill informed was he of the Chriſtian counſels, that he imagined nothing could ſave the place; for the loſs of which he doubted not but his head muſt be anſwerable. In this manner ended a campaign, which produced nothing but diſgrace, altercation, and a prodigious expence, though the allies might eaſily have terminated the war, had they acted up to the ſpirit of their engagements [b].

As ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed the fleets ſeparated: Don John with the Spaniards retired to Meſſina: Colonna with his diviſion ſet ſail for Oſtia; while the Vene-

[b] Paruta, lib. iii. Maurocen. lib. ix. Thuan. lib. liv.

tian

tian admiral steered to the gulf of Catharra, to make an attempt upon a magazine the Turks had erected upon that coast. It was given out on all sides that the war would be resumed with the utmost vigour early in the following spring, at the same time that negotiations for a peace were going on between Selim and the republic, by means of the French ambassador. The Venetians had now too many assurances of the inclinations of Philip, to hesitate longer upon securing the best terms they could with the grand seignor. This point was therefore diligently laboured for the whole winter; and at length brought to an issue less consonant to the spirit and justice of the republic than to the circumstances of her affairs. Peace was concluded upon condition, that Cyprus, as by right of conquest, Antivari, Delrigno in Albania, and Soppoto, by treaty, should for ever be ceded to Selim. It was farther articled, that thirty thousand crowns in gold should, at certain instalments, be paid to Selim, to reimburse him for the expences of the war; after which payment, each should be restored to all their former possessions, the prisoners exchanged, and the merchants reinstated in their former privileges of commerce. Andrea Badoario was sent in quality of ambassador from the republic to Constantinople, to confirm the treaty, which was ratified without consulting his holiness, and carefully concealed from Philip until it was finally concluded. In their own defence, the Venetians urged the necessity of a measure wholly owing to Philip, and the reluctance he had ever shewn to comply with his engagements. This apology was sent to their ambassadors at different courts; in which they warmly exclaimed against the inactivity, and even the treachery of Philip, which had rendered necessary a step equally prejudicial to them, and ignominious to the Christian arms. They affirmed, that inevitable ruin hung over their heads, after they had long supported singly an unequal war against the most powerful monarch on earth; that their treasury was exhausted; their men worn out by fatigue and sickness; their ships diminished in number, and the greater part unfit for service; while the poverty of the people, from a stagnation of commerce, rendered them unable to bear farther impositions. They even endeavoured to prove the expediency of this peace to the safety of Italy, and of Europe in general; arguing that if the republic was destroyed, Selim would then have the key of

A.D. 1573.

*Peace concluded between the Turks and Venetians.*

Chriſtendom in his own hand, and eaſily extend his conqueſts to the utmoſt of his ambition [c].

In order to quiet the pope's clamours, Nicholao Ponti, a man of conſummate wiſdom, erudition, and eloquence, was ſent to Rome; but his holineſs refuſed him a private audience, and diſmiſſed him with a ſharp reprimand delivered in the conſiſtory. However, Suranzo, the Venetian miniſter at Madrid, had better fortune. Either the politics of Philip required his being upon good terms with the republic, or his conſciouſneſs of having given birth to the meaſures they were excuſing, made him willing to admit of their apology. After receiving Suranzo with the greateſt affability, he told him, that nothing but his attachment to religion, his affection for the republic, and regard to the pope's intreaties, had induced him to take arms againſt the Turks: that it was but reaſonable the republic ſhould be permitted to know her own intereſt. She was principal in the war, and he, as an ally only, ought to be ſatisfied with ſuch terms as ſhe choſe to accept: ſufficient it was for him, he ſaid, that he had given proofs of his friendſhip to Venice, and of his zeal for the ſupport of the Chriſtian religion. With this anſwer Suranzo was diſmiſſed, his catholic majeſty conducting himſelf upon this occaſion with uncommon moderation, ſcarcely conſiſtent with the high hand he bore during the war [d].

In this manner was the year 1573 conſumed in negociations and treaties, while the republic was at all the expence of a vigorous war, by maintaining large fleets and numerous garriſons. The conjectures of the divan, upon the ſudden reſolution of the ſenate to ſue for peace, were various. Some imagined that a deep deſign lay concealed under the pretence of moderation; and that nothing leſs than an intention of ſeizing the firſt opportunity of glutting their revenge, could oblige the ſenate ſo eaſily to part with Cyprus and the cities ceded by the treaty. Rumours of this nature prevailed for ſeveral months, and forced the republic to repoſe little confidence in a peace ſo ill founded.

At length they were eaſed of their apprehenſions by diſpatches from Bodoario, with a full confirmation of all the articles of the treaty, ratified by the hand and ſeal of

[c] Maurocen. lib. x. [d] Paruta, lib. iii.

the

the grand ſeignor. Upon this the ſenate aſſembled, and reſolved to acquaint all their reſidents at foreign courts of the event. An immediate reſpite from the fatigues of war enſued, and the republic was once more reſtored to tranquillity; yet did Selim continue augmenting his armies and fleets; a circumſtance which gave umbrage and ſuſpicion to ſome of the more cautious members of the ſenate: others, indeed, imagined that Selim propoſed renewing the war with Spain in Africa. The ſecret grudge he bore to Philip, both on account of his perſecuting the Moors, and acceding to the late alliance to oppoſe him, rendered this opinion extremely probable. It was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of a Turkiſh ambaſſador, who, in a ſecret audience, acquainted the doge and council that his inſtructions were to make an offer of all the Othoman forces to curb the inſolence of Philip, revenge the affronts ſuſtained by the republic, and reduce that haughty monarch within reaſonable limits. He launched out into ſevere invectives againſt the Catholic king, bitterly reproaching him with perfidy, ambition, and tyranny. "Who (ſaid he) can doubt that the Turkiſh empire muſt have ſuffered greater damage from the Venetian bravery, if it had not been betrayed and checked by the policy and envy of Philip? Who doubts but the ultimate views of his cabinet terminate in univerſal monarchy, and the deſtruction of Chriſtian liberty? This, ſaid he, Selim perfectly well knows, aud generouſly offers himſelf to ſtem the torrent of ambition, and ſhield innocence and freedom. The virtue of the Venetians has made him forget that they were lately his enemies. Great minds are ſoon united, and their differences, like the quarrels of lovers, ſerve only the more firmly to rivet their affections. Selim wants not to enlarge his territories; he aſpires not after conqueſts. The burthen of his dominions, ſo widely extended from weſt to eaſt, is already too great for mortal man to ſupport. Whatever his arms ſhall ſubdue, the Venetians may look upon as the property of the republic: their wiſe government merits more extenſive diſtricts, if it were only to increaſe the happineſs of mankind." He then exhorted them not to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of glory, of wealth, and of eſtabliſhing their government on the moſt ſecure foundation[e]. With ſuch blandiſhments did the Turk endeavour to flatter her paſſions, and lead the republic into his maſter's views; but

*Turkiſh ambaſſador comes to Venice.*

[e] Maurocen. lib. x. Thuan. lib. liv.

the

the ſenate was not to be caught by ſweet words, and ſoothed into meaſures ruinous of the peace they had ſo lately purchaſed. They couched their anſwer in as obliging but general terms as poſſible: they expreſſed their warm ſenſe of the honour done them by the friendſhip of ſo mighty a prince; but they ſaid that the complaints againſt Philip were not ſufficient ground for a rupture, to which they could have no other inducement than their deſire of complying with every requeſt of Selim. It was evident, from the reply of the ambaſſador, that he was little ſatisfied with the iſſue of his negociation; however, the ſenate adhered to their anſwer, and he was diſmiſſed with a magnificent preſent.

Soon after his departure, it was known that Selim had reſolved upon an expedition into Africa; upon which orders were ſent to Marco Quirini the admiral not to augment the fleet in Candia, and only to retain ten gallies in commiſſion, for the ſecurity of commerce. All the new levies were diſbanded, and every poſſible ſtep was taken to eaſe the oppreſſion under which the poor had long groaned.

Philip mean while was making mighty preparations, which created ſuſpicion that he would attempt ſomething againſt the republic, in revenge of the ſeparate peace made with Selim. Don John of Auſtria had paſſed from Genoa to Milan in a ſecret manner, where he held frequent conſultations with Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma; in conſequence of which ſoldiers were levied, cannon caſt, and other warlike preparations ſet on foot in the heart of Italy, which could not fail of exciting the jealouſy of the ſenate. To ſhew they were not ignorant of the tranſaction, inſtructions were ſent to Contareni, governor of Verona, to go directly to Milan, and compliment Don John in the name of the republic. Every precaution for the ſecurity of the Venetian territories was taken: the garriſons of the Bergameſe were augmented, and ſtores laid in of proviſion, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. Governors, in whoſe fidelity the ſenate could confide, were appointed, and the ſafety of Bergamo in particular provided for by a body of the rich citizens, who had ever ſhewn their affection and loyalty to the republic, by new fortifications and other alterations, ſufficient to evince that it could not be attacked in a defenceleſs condition; yet were theſe preparations made with ſo much prudence, as gave no cauſe of offence [f].

[f] Aut. citat. ubi ſupra.

Philip,

Philip, in the mean time, had the melancholy proſpect of two formidable wars: one againſt the Moors in Africa, ſupported by the whole ſtrength of the Othoman empire; and the other with his own ſubjects in the Netherlands. Hence proceeded his inability to diſturb the peace of Italy, whatever might have been his inclinations to revenge himſelf on the republic. To quiet her apprehenſions, he therefore ſent orders to his reſident at Venice, Guzman de Silva, to give the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the doge and ſenate, that the levies in Lombardy were not intended to deſtroy the repoſe of Italy, of which he was at this time particularly deſirous: that Don John's negociations at Milan related ſolely to the diſturbances in the Low Countries: that no credit was to be given to the reports of thoſe who, from a buſy diſpoſition, were always blowing up the embers of contention among princes: that his affection for the republic was confirmed by numberleſs teſtimonies of hearty friendſhip, and her ſecurity at this time inſured by the circumſtances of his affairs, ſince nothing could be more impolitic than any ſtep towards increaſing the number of his enemies. He added, that ſound policy required a mutual confidence, ſince nothing could be more prejudicial to both than a ſuſpicious and lukewarm friendſhip. De Silva enforced his inſtructions with all the graces and power of oratory, in a laboured oration he delivered to the council, to which a ſuitable anſwer was returned.

## SECT. IX.

*Rupture with the Houſe of Auſtria. Conſpiracy of Bedmar; the War of Candia; the Conqueſt of the Morea; and Peace of Carlowitz.*

THE repoſe which the republic of Venice had ſo dearly purchaſed by her treaty with the Turks, was in great danger of another fatal interruption, in conſequence of Selim's ſucceſs on the coaſt of Barbary, where Uchali, his admiral, at the head of a powerful armament, reduced the city of Tunis and the fort of the Goletta, notwithſtanding the vigorous defence made by Gabrio Serbellone, the Spaniſh governor. Selim's pride was ſo much flattered, and his ambition ſo ſtimulated by this conqueſt, that he began to meditate other expeditions, and equip ſuch armaments as alarmed all the ſtates of Italy. The Venetians in particular, knowing how little they could depend upon the faith of any treaty made with ſuch barbarians, A.D. 1574.

were

were obliged to make fresh preparations for their defence, and even to implore the assistance of the pope, and his catholic majesty. Without all doubt the sultan intended to carry the war into Candia, when he died, and was succeeded by his son Amurath. It was at this period that Henry III. of France, who had been lately established king of Poland, abdicated his crown in order to ascend the throne of France, vacated by the death of his elder brother Charles IX. The Poles starting difficulties to obstruct his departure, he fairly fled from their country, and used such expedition, that, although they pursued him, he was not overtaken. Having passed through Germany, he entered Italy, and visited Venice, where he was received and entertained with such hospitality and magnificence, as equally excited his gratitude and admiration; and hither came Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, Alphonsus II. duke of Ferrara, and William, duke of Mantua, to pay their personal respects to this young monarch. The republic of Venice had enjoyed but a short respite from the horrors of war, when it was visited by a more dreadful calamity. Divers cities of Lombardy being infected with the plague, which made terrible havock among the inhabitants, the contagion was unhappily communicated to Venice, where it became the subject of dispute among the physicians; some asserting that it was a real plague brought from the Levant, and others affirming it was no other than an epidemical distemper, occasioned by the extraordinary drought and excessive heat of the preceding summer. This last opinion was adopted by two professors of medicine in the university of Padua, whom the senate called to Venice and consulted on this occasion. Their declaration had such weight with the government, that few or no precautions were taken for suppressing this dreadful calamity in the beginning; and, in a little time, it raged to such a degree, that seven hundred persons died of it in one day. The whole number cut off by this pestilence, amounted to twenty-two thousand men, thirty-seven thousand women, and eleven thousand children of both sexes; among the rest, it put a period to the life of Titian Vecelli da Cadore, the celebrated painter, when he had attained to the ninety-ninth year of his age. As for the two Paduan professors, whose names were Girolamo Mercuriale, and Girolamo Capo di Vacca, if they had not made their escape in disguise, they would have been torn in pieces by the enraged populace. At length, by the care and humanity of the doge and senate, this shocking evil was overcome, and finally removed; a blessing, in acknow-

*Henry III. of France visits the city of Venice.*

A.D. 1576.

*Dreadful plague at Venice.*

acknowlegement of which the republic built the beautiful church del Redentore, according to a plan of the famous architect Andrea Palladio. The plague, however, was not the only disaster that distinguished this period at Venice. An accidental fire consumed the whole public palace, and destroyed, among other valuable particulars, the portraits of all the doges, together with a great number of pictures finished by the hands of the greatest masters. The doge, Mocenigo, died in the course of the same year, and was succeeded by

A.D.1577.

*The public palace burned down.*

## *SEBASTIANO VENIERO, Doge LXXXVI.*

THE same who acted as general at the battle of Lepanto: but this great man did not long survive his elevation. He died in the month of March in the following year, and was replaced by the election of Niccolo da Ponte in the eighty-seventh year of his age [f].

*Sebastiano Veniero.*

## *NICCOLO DA PONTE, Doge LXXXVII.*

AS the republic now enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity, and was attentive to nothing so much as to the restoration of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace, vigour of age, and activity of genius were not so necessary to manage the reins of government as were the virtues of discretion and experience. We do not find that any remarkable incident distinguished the administration of this doge, except a visit of two Japonese ambassadors, who had come to Italy, attended by some Jesuits, to pay their spiritual obedience to the pope. They were greatly caressed at Rome by Gregory XIII. as well as by Sixtus V. who now succeeded him in the papacy; and, in their progress through Italy, they repaired to Venice, where they were entertained with great pomp, and received many magnificent presents.

*Niccolo da Ponte.*

In the course of the same year the doge, Niccolo da Ponte breathed his last, on the 30th of July, and, in the following month, Pasquali Cicogna was elected as his successor.

## *PASQUALI CICOGNA, Doge LXXXVIII.*

THE attention of the new doge was also employed on pacific regulations, until the navigation of the republic was interrupted in such a manner by the piracies of the Uscocchi (A), that it was found necessary to chastise that

*Pasquali Cicogna.*

[f] Garzom. Hist. Venet. Murator. Annal. ad ann.

(A) The Uscocchi were corsairs, who harboured in Segna, a city belonging to the house of Austria, on the shore of the Adriatic.

pre-

predatory nation. Beſides, the warlike preparations of the Turks filled Venice with freſh alarms, and ſtimulated the government to take meaſures to guard againſt the ſtorm whereſoever it might break. Accordingly, their gallies were refitted, and their complements completed, and freſh levies were made in different parts of their dominions. Pietro Gabuzio being employed on this occaſion, engaged in the ſervice of the republic, the famous Marco Sciarra, at the head of five hundred deſperate banditti, who had long infeſted the Campania of Rome, filling it with blood, rapine, and deſolation. Clement VIII. the reigning pope, a pontiff of a proud, imperious diſpoſition, took umbrage at this meaſure, and even threatened the Venetians with temporal as well as ſpiritual vengeance, unleſs they would deliver thoſe miſcreants into his hands, that they might be puniſhed according to their demerits. The ſenate ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to appeaſe his holineſs, and repreſent how much it would tarniſh the honour and good faith of the republic, to ſacrifice thoſe who had taken the oath of allegiance to their ſtate, conſequently had a juſt claim to their protection; eſpecially as the ſaid banditti ſhould never have it in their power to do farther injury to the dominions of the church, but be employed for the ſervice and advantage of Chriſtendom. All their remonſtrances proved ineffectual; the pope remained inflexible, ſo that there was a neceſſity for finding ſome expedient to give him ſatisfaction. Sciarra was afterwards ſlain, and his people were ſent to Candia, where the greateſt part of them died of the plague [s].

*The Venetians are embroiled with pope Clement VIII.*

Mean while, the emperor Rodolphus having received undoubted intelligence that the Turkiſh arms were deſtined againſt his dominions, ſtrongly ſolicited the Venetians to aſſiſt him in making a diverſion againſt the infidels; but the ſenate carefully avoided giving umbrage to a power whoſe vengeance they dreaded from fatal experience. Nevertheleſs, when the Turks actually invaded Hungary and Croatia, the republic began to be in ſuch pain for Friuli, that they reſolved to build a new city, which might ſerve as a frontier and fortreſs againſt the attempts of thoſe barbarians. They accordingly choſe a ſituation on the confines of the Auſtrian dominions, about ten miles from Udine, where they raiſed a noble fortreſs, which they called Palma Nuova, to ſerve as a bulwark to Friuli. This was not the only public work undertaken

*They build the fortreſs of Palma Nuova.*

[s] Maurocen. lib. x. Campana, ad ann. 1593.

and

and finiſhed during the adminiſtration of the doge Cicogna. The famous bridge of the Rialto was alſo built under his auſpices; his government was equally mild and ſteady, and his character ſo diſtinguiſhed for probity and diſcretion, that his death, which happened in the month of April of this year, was univerſally regretted. In the courſe of the ſame month the vacant dignity was filled by the election of A.D. 1596.

## *MARINO GRIMANI, Doge LXXXIX.*[h]

*Marino Grimani.*

THE Venetians, ever attentive to the political concerns of Europe, were extremely diſſatisfied with the peace of Lyons, concluded under the mediation of cardinal Aldobrandino, the pope's nephew, betwixt Henry IV. of France, and Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, which laſt being left in poſſeſſion of the marquiſate of Saluces, with the fortreſſes of Ceutal, Demont, and Rocias Paraviera, had it in his power to exclude for ever the French from Italy. For this reaſon the treaty gave umbrage to the Venetians, and the grand duke of Tuſcany, who ſaw themſelves thus precluded from the hope of all future aſſiſtance from the French monarch. They are even ſaid to have offered great ſums of money to Henry if he would renounce the conceſſions he had made; but, being determined to enjoy that repoſe to which he had been ſo long a ſtranger, he lent a deaf ear to all their ſolicitations. But what alarmed the Venetians ſtill more than the peace, was the conduct of Emanuel, who, notwithſtanding this accommodation, ſtill kept his army on foot, while the conde de Fuentes, governor of Milan, with whom he maintained a ſecret correſpondence, aſſembled from different quarters an army of thirty thouſand effective men, and made vaſt preparations of horſes, waggons, artillery, and ammunition. The Venetians being well acquainted with the turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition of this officer, did not behold this armament without jealouſy, and wiſely put themſelves on their guard, by raiſing a ſtrong body of forces in their dominions on the continent, and putting their gallies in a condition for ſervice; but whether the conde had projected a deſign to ſurprize Marſeilles, which miſcarried; or his extraordinary preparations were made to aſſiſt the emperor in Hungary, or the archduke in Flanders; certain it is, no attempt was made to diſturb the peace of Italy.

*Are alarmed at the peace concluded betwixt France and Savoy.*

A.D. 1601.

[h] Garzom. Murator. Annal. ad ann.

The

*The Uſcocchi are removed from Segna by order of the emperor.*

The republic of Venice, however, found herſelf on the eve of a rupture with the emperor, in conſequence of the piracies of the Uſcocchi, upon whom they could not take vengeance without giving offence to the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe ſubjects they were. In a word, the navigation of the Adriatic, and of conſequence the commerce of Venice, was rendered ſo inſecure by thoſe freebooters, that the republic reſolved to extirpate them, even though at the riſk of a war with the emperor; when the pope and the king of Spain interpoſed ſo effectually at the court of Vienna, that expreſs orders were ſent to the governor of Segna, to puniſh the chiefs of thoſe adventurers, and remove all their families to a diſtance from the ſea-ſide, that they might be no longer able to exerciſe their old occupation. This order was executed accordingly; but this troubleſome race gradually reſumed their former employment in the ſequel [c].

A.D.1602.

*Pretended Don Sebaſtian king of Portugal, appears at Venice.*

In the courſe of this year, an adventurer appeared at Venice, and aſſumed the name of Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, who had been ſlain in a battle againſt the Moors in Barbary. But as we have given a particular account of this pretender, in our hiſtory of Portugal, we ſhall only obſerve in this place, that the ſenate, after having ſent him to priſon, at the requeſt of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, at length ſet him at liberty, on condition that he ſhould immediately quit their dominions. Soon after this tranſaction, the republic entered into an alliance with the Griſons, which was ſcrupulouſly obſerved on both ſides, in ſpite of the conde de Fuentes, who employed all his arts and influence to render it ineffectual.

*League with the Griſons.*

A.D.1603. At the ſame period, they enrolled Henry IV. of France as a noble Venetian, a mark of reſpect which proved extremely agreeable to that monarch, who ſent them in a preſent, the armour he had wore in all his battles, which they ſtill preſerve as a precious depoſit in their arſenal.

A.D. 1606. It was not long before that monarch had an opportunity to give them more ſubſtantial marks of his regard. The ſenate having impriſoned a canon of Vicenza, and the abbot of Nerveſa, for ſome delinquencies, and republiſhed an ancient edict, importing, that no eccleſiaſtics ſhould, for the future, acquire immoveable eſtates, but ſell thoſe they might inherit by will; and that no new churches ſhould be built without permiſſion from the ſe-

[c] Murator. Annal. ad ann.

nate,

nate. Pope Paul V. considering these steps as an invasion of the rights of the clergy, was greatly incensed, and expedited a brief to the doge Marino Grimani, threatening their state with excommunication and interdict, if they did not immediately repeal this decree, and deliver up the prisoners to the nuncio Mattei. The doge dying the same day that the brief was delivered, was succeeded by

## *LEONARDO DONATO, Doge XC.*

*Leonardo Donato.*

WHO, with the senate, resolved to support the measures which had been taken. They represented to his holiness, how reasonable it was to maintain their ancient laws and customs, and recapitulated the disorders that might ensue, if ecclesiastics had an unlimited power to make territorial acquisitions. The pope, however, remained inflexible, and perceiving the Venetians were determined to assert their independency, he published a monitory, declaring the doge and senate had incurred the sentence of excommunication, and threatening to lay the whole state under interdict, if, within four and twenty days, they did not revoke their decrees, and consign the prisoners to the nuncio. The Venetians, on the other hand, published a severe order, that the monitory should not be fixed up in any public place in their dominions; and commanded the clergy to perform divine service as usual, on pain of death. The Jesuits, Theatines, and Capuchins, rather than disobey the injunctions of his holiness, chose to quit the Venetian state, and the Jesuits made their retreat in solemn procession, which gave great offence to the senate. As for the rest of the clergy, they quietly submitted to the laws of their country: nor would the Capuchins of Brescia and Bergamo, follow the example of their brethren. Mean while a literary war commenced betwixt those who wrote in defence of the republic's conduct on this occasion, and the champions of the church, among whom the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine distinguished themselves in supporting the pope's authority. His holiness finding how little the Venetians regarded his spiritual thunder, resolved to chastise them with the arm of flesh. He began to make levies, and endeavoured to interest the court of Madrid in his quarrel. The Venetians, on their part, were not idle: they increased their forces by sea and land, and Italy would have certainly been involved in a new war, had not his catholic majesty, with the grand-duke of Tuscany, and several other princes employed their good offices to avert this calamity. But, above all others, Henry IV. of France exerted himself for this purpose,

*Rupture betwixt the Pope and the Venetians.*

*Preparations of war on both ſides*

from motives of friendſhip for the republic. Already the pope had declared his brother, Franceſco Borgheſe, general of his troops, which were augmented by four thouſand Corſicans, and three thouſand Swiſs. Additions were made to the fortifications of Ferrara and the maritime towns. Philip III. of Spain had promiſed to maintain the papal authority, and even ſent orders to the conde de Fuentes, governor of Milan, to raiſe forces in that country. In order to oppoſe theſe armaments, the Venetians, over and above the troops they had levied in Italy, directed their general, the count de Vaudemont, to engage a body of Germans in their ſervice; and they had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the Griſons and the Swiſs, which they ſecured by large ſubſidies. At the ſame time they equipped a great number of ſhips, in the Adriatic, the Po, and the Lago di Garda, and declared to all the ſtates of Europe, that they would ſacrifice every thing that was dear to them, rather than give up a point in which their liberty and independence were ſo deeply intereſted. Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the French king diſpatched the cardinal Joyeux to Italy, with full powers to negociate an accommodation. This able miniſter firſt repaired to Venice, where he had repeated conferences with the doge and ſenate, whom he found determined and unſhaken in their purpoſe. From thence he made a journey to Rome, where he ſoon made an impreſſion on the mind of his holineſs. He expatiated on the fatal conſequences of war and diſcord. He deſcribed the great power and wealth of the republic: he repreſented that the king of England had promiſed to aſſiſt them by ſea, and even to declare war againſt Spain; and he frankly owned, that if his catholic majeſty ſhould commence hoſtilities, the moſt Chriſtian king would oppoſe him with all his power. Theſe remonſtrances had ſuch weight with the pontiff, that he inveſted the cardinal with full power to effect a pacification, ſaving the honour of the holy ſee, and ſtipulating as a preliminary, that the Je-

A.D.1607. ſuits ſhould be reſtored. The cardinal, however, on his return to Venice, found the ſenate ſo tenacious and inflexible on this point, that he was fain to wave the preliminary. Nevertheleſs, with the aſſiſtance of Don Franciſco di Caſtro, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he concluded a treaty of peace, in conſequence of which, the two priſoners were conſigned to the cardinal, by the ſecretary of the republic, who proteſted that they were given up, in token of gratitude, and reſpect to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, without prejudice to the authority and independence of the ſtate. The cardinal having delivered them to the pope's commiſ-

ſary,

fary, entered the college, where the doge and the savi were assembled: there, the doors being shut, he removed the interdict, and they annulled all the decrees they had made in opposition to those censures. The Jesuits remained in exile; but the Theatines and Capuchins were reinstated; and the senate sent an ambassador to Rome, to return thanks to the pope, and make profession a-new of their filial veneration for his holiness. Notwithstanding these submissions, the republic still maintained their decrees touching the effects of the clergy, and continued to judge and punish ecclesiastic delinquents. Immediately after this pacification, Fra Paolo Sarpi, a Venetian servite, and famous theologician, who had, with great ability, written in defence of the republic, in the last dispute with Rome, received intimation from cardinal Bellarmine, to be upon his guard, as there was a design against his life. In consequence of this caution, he, by order of the senate, wore a coat of mail under his tunic: but being much incommoded by the weight of it, he at length laid it aside, and in a few days was set upon by assassins, who left him for dead, with three and twenty wounds in his body, and then escaped in a gondola, which the pope's nuncio had prepared some days before. Fra. Paolo recovered, and the infamy of this assassination remained with cardinal Borghese, the favourite nephew of his holiness [h]. This was the last incident, which in any shape disturbed the government of the doge, Leonardo Donato, who died in the month of July, in the year 1612, and was succeeded by Marcantonio Memo, a nobleman of distinguished prudence, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

*Accommodation effected by the mediation of the French king.*

*Assassination of Fra Paolo.*

A.D. 1612.

## *MARCANTONIO MEMO, Doge XCI.*

A new flame had like to have been kindled about the succession of Monferrat, upon the death of Francisco, duke of Mantua, without heirs male. The pretenders were the duke of Savoy, and cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga, who assumed the title of duke of Mantua, as heir to his brother, the deceased duke Francisco. Being destitute of forces to support his pretensions against such a powerful competitor, he had recourse to the protection of different states; and the Venetians, together with Cosmo, grand-duke of Tuscany, declared in his favour, apprehending that the duke of Savoy depended upon the assistance of Spain, which might seize this opportunity to enlarge her dominions on the side of Italy. Moved by this consideration, the Venetians, when the duke of Savoy took the field, and

*Marcantonio Memo.*

[h] Siri. Memor. Record. Garzon. Murator. Annal.

*Contest about the Monferrat, betwixt the duke of Savoy and the cardinal duke Ferdinando Gonzaga.*

made himself master of Trino and Altea, supplied the cardinal duke with money, to raise a body of three thousand Germans. At the same time, he engaged in his service a like number of Swiss, and a considerable body of Italians, while the grand-duke of Tuscany undertook to send him a strong reinforcement. Spain, however, was so far from supporting the duke of Savoy, that Philip having in vain exhorted him to desist from hostilities, restore the places he had taken, and refer the dispute to the arbitration of the pope, he ordered the governor of Milan to take the field against him; and that officer accordingly obliged him to relinquish the siege of Nizza della Paglia, which he had undertaken. In a word, he was fain to comply with a good grace, and promised to consign the conquests he had made in the Monferrat, to the imperial and Spanish ministers, who afterwards restored them to the duke of Mantua.

In the course of the following year, the Uscocchi resumed their trade of piracy, and not only disturbed the commerce of the republic of Venice as usual, but also made prizes of all the Turkish vessels that fell in their way; insomuch that the grand seignor sent an officer to Venice, with a threatening message, as if the republic connived at, and encouraged the insolence of these people. Twelve of their armed barks, at this very period, falling in with a Venetian galley, commanded by Christoforo Veniero, near the island of Pago, made themselves masters of it by surprize, and massacred the whole crew and all the officers, except the commander. They afterwards pillaged several places belonging to the Venetians as well as to the Turks, and carried off into captivity a great number of women and children. All the measures taken by the archduke Ferdinand, to punish and restrain those adventurers, proving ineffectual, the Venetians sent the captain of the Gulf to make reprisals, and he executed his orders with such success, that many nests of those pirates were destroyed.

A.D. 1614.

*The Uscocchi renew their depredations.*

A.D. 1615. But the republic, not content with committing hostilities against the Uscocchi by sea, blocked up Trieste and Fiume with their gallies, and sent a detachment by land, to destroy the salt-works, which the inhabitants of Trieste had raised, contrary to their engagements with the Venetians. This detachment being attacked and cut in pieces by two Austrian partizans, the republic sent an army of ten thousand men into the Austrian territories, where they took above sixty villages, and invested Gradisca, a strong fortress on the river Lisonzo, which, however, they were not

not able to reduce. These hostilities produced an open and declared war betwixt the house of Austria and the state of Venice. The forces of the republic being augmented by new levies, which were made in Albania and Dalmatia, the two proveditors, Foscarino and Erezzo, reduced Chiavaretto, Lucenisо, Fara, and some other places. On the other hand, the Austrians being strongly reinforced, not only repulsed the Venetian army, but ravaged great part of their territories with fire and sword. During these transactions, the doge died, and his place was filled with

*Rupture betwixt the Venetians and the house of Austria.*

## *GIOVANNI BEMBO, Doge XCII.*

THE next year proved rather more favourable to the arms of the republic. They took the fortress of Mascheniza, and destroyed Sorisa, which was a nest of the Uscocchian pirates. The proveditor Foscarini, and count Francesco Martinengo, recovered Pontieba, which the Austrian had reduced, and afterwards made themselves masters of Caporetto, a place of importance: at the same time Don Giovanni de Medici, entered into the service of the republic, with the title of governor-general [1]. They were in a fair way of prosecuting the war to advantage against the Austrians by land, when they found themselves obliged to make head against a formidable enemy at sea: this was no other than the duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, the professed enemy of Venice, whose pretensions to the sovereignty of the Adriatic he could never digest. This nobleman, partly stimulated by envy, and partly fired with ambition to signalize himself in behalf of the house of Austria, equipped a powerful armament of galleons, which he sent into the Adriatic, under the command of Francesco Riviera, to make a diversion in favour of the Austrian arms; but he found the Venetians so well prepared to receive him, that he thought proper to retire, and take shelter at Brindisi. The duke d'Ossuna, more and more animated against the republic, found means to reinforce his armament in such a manner, that his fleet not only compelled the enemy to quit the sea, but even threatened Venice with a siege, under the auspices of Don Pedro de Leyva, who was now appointed general in chief of the expedition. In this emergency, the Venetians repaired all the fortifications at the mouths of the Laguna, provided magazines, and armed the inhabitants. The captain-general, or proveditor, Gian Giacomo Zane, steered to Liesina with his fleet, composed of forty light gallies, as many

*Giovanni Bembo.*

*The duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, fits out a fleet against the Venetians.*

A.D. 1617.

[1] Garzon. Murator. Annal.

barcalongas, ſix galeaſſes, and fifteen galleons, having on board twenty thouſand men, but moſtly undiſciplined. The Spaniſh or Neapolitan armada coming in ſight, a battle muſt have enſued, had not the Venetian general ſuddenly tacked about, and retired into harbour. He was tried, in the ſequel, for this puſillanimous conduct and acquitted. Mean while Riviera, being driven by contrary winds upon the coaſt of Dalmatia, fell in with ſome Venetian ſhips, richly laden, which they took, and theſe prizes did more than defray the expence of the expedition. However, as a negociation for peace was, by this time, ſet on foot at the court of Madrid, his catholic majeſty ſent orders to his fleet to quit the Adriatic. Nevertheleſs, the Venetians having received a reinforcement of four thouſand three hundred Hollanders, under the command of John count of Naſſau, they paſſed the Liſauzo, and made an attempt upon Gorizia; but all their efforts miſcarried, and what by diſtemper, and what by the ſword, above thirty thouſand ſoldiers are ſaid to have periſhed in the courſe of this campaign; whereas the loſs of the Auſtrians did not much exceed the eighth part of that number.

*The Venetian fleet decline battle.*

*The campaign by land unfavourable to the republic.*

During theſe tranſactions, Pietro Gritti, the Venetian ambaſſador at Madrid, ſubſcribed ſuch articles of accommodation as were by no means agreeable to his conſtituents. It was ſtipulated that the archduke Ferdinand, now king of the Romans, ſhould remove the Uſcocchi from Segna, to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea-ſide; and that the places taken on both ſides in the courſe of the war ſhould be mutually reſtored. The ſenate of Venice, who expected to be indemnified for the damage done to the ſtate by the depredations of the duke d'Oſſuna, were incenſed againſt their miniſters who had ſubſcribed thoſe articles, and refuſed to relinquiſh the ſiege of Gradiſca, which their arms had reduced to extremity; when the governor of Milan taking the field, ravaged the territories of Bergamo and Crema; a diverſion that ſaved Gradiſca, and induced the ſenate to ratify the articles without farther delay. Thus were the bleſſings of peace reſtored to Lombardy and Friuli; but the Adriatic was ſtill agitated from the late ſtorm. As the Raguſans had given ſhelter and furniſhed proviſions to the armament of the duke d'Oſſuna, the Venetians ordered their admiral to ravage the territories of that republic. In this extremity the Raguſans had recourſe to Oſſuna, who ſent Riviera to their aſſiſtance, with a ſtrong ſquadron of gallies and galleons; and the two fleets came in ſight of each other on the 10th day of December. Next day the cannonading began at a diſtance;

*Pacification with the houſe of Auſtria.*

diſtance; but the Venetian ſoldiers were ſo intimidated, that they abſolutely refuſed to obey the orders of their general Veniero: mean while, the wind increaſing to a very hard gale, the two fleets parted. The Venetians bore away for Albania and Sclavonia, with the loſs of five gallies which foundered in the ſtorm; and the Spaniards took refuge in Manfredonia and Brindiſi. The Venetian officers who had miſbehaved on this occaſion, were ſeverely puniſhed in the ſequel, and Veniero was handſomely rewarded. The republic, with a view to redeem her honour, and aſſert her dominion in the Adriatic, immediately augmented her navy, which had three thouſand Hollanders on board, ſo as to form a more powerful armament than ſhe had equipped for a ſeries of ages; and her admiral putting to ſea, cruiſed along the gulf a whole year, without ſeeing the face of an enemy; for the duke d'Oſſuna never afterwards made any open attempt againſt the ſtate; though he is ſaid to have employed in the ſequel the moſt treacherous means for the deſtruction of the republic [m]. Mean while, conferences were held with the miniſters of the emperor Matthias, and his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, for the punctual execution of the articles of the treaty. The trade of the Adriatic was ſecured by tranſplanting the Uſcocchi corſairs from Segna and the ſea ſide to Carlſtadt and other Turkiſh frontiers, and all their veſſels were reduced to aſhes. The republic of Venice had ſcarce begun to taſte the ſweets of this pacification, when ſhe found herſelf on the very brink of deſtruction, from one of the moſt dangerous and deſperate conſpiracies that ever was planned; a conſpiracy which is ſaid to have taken its origin from the indefatigable brain of the turbulent duke d'Oſſuna, whoſe hatred to the Venetians was equally malignant and implacable: in a word, the ſenate diſcovered that a deſign was formed to ſet fire to the arſenal, and different parts of the city; to force open and plunder the Zecca and the treaſury of St. Mark; to maſſacre the principal ſenators; and occupy all the ſtrong poſts of Venice. For the execution of this infamous plot, the marquis de Bedmar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, is ſaid to have introduced into the city, under various pretences, a conſiderable number of French and Spaniards: armed barks were provided to ſeize and ſecure the harbours of the Laguna; and a fleet of large ſhips from Naples was to ſpread terror and confuſion along the coaſt, and land a body of troops betwixt Friuli and Venice.

*The Venetians again inſulted by the duke d' Oſſuna.*

A.D. 1618.

[m] Murator. Annal.

*Conspiracy of the marquis de Bedmar.*

nice. The historians Nani and San Real describe minutely all the circumstances of this conspiracy, which, after all, is left in such obscurity as we cannot pretend to elucidate; inasmuch as the senate observed the most cautious silence with respect to the examinations that were taken on this occasion. They did not, even in the most distant manner, pretend to accuse the duke d'Ossuna; but admitted the Spanish ambassador into the council, without making the least complaint or mention of this horrible attempt. Some writers, and among the rest, Vittorio Siri, look upon the whole conspiracy as a fiction; observing, that it would have been mere madness to think of mastering such a city as Venice, full of people, divided by an infinite number of canals, defended by a number of fortresses, and secured by a naval force, much more powerful than any that the viceroy of Naples could equip for the execution of such a plan. Certain it is, however, a great number of Frenchmen and Spaniards were apprehended in Venice, and other parts of the republic's dominions, and of these some were hanged, and others thrown into the sea [n]. The doge, Giovanni Bembo, dying at this period, was replaced by

## *NICCOLO DONATO, Doge XCIII.*

*Niccolo Donato.*

WHO did not survive his elevation above one month. Then the election fell upon

## *ANTONIO PRIULI, Doge XCIII.*

*Antonio Briuli.*

WHO at that time commanded the forces of the republic in the neighbourhood of Veglia, from whence, returning to Venice, he was received with great solemnity by the senate and people [o]. The Venetians, still watchful over the interests of Italy, could not without jealousy behold the progress of the duke de Feria, the Spanish governor of Milan, who, on pretence of assisting the Catholics of the Valtelline against the heretics, had reduced several places, and even built forts in the country of the Grisons, who were the allies of the republic. The senate not only supplied them with money to take measures for their own defence, but they made strong remonstrances at the court of Madrid; endeavoured to interest the pope and all the Italian princes in the common cause; and made the most pressing instances with Lewis XIII. of France, to engage in a league with them and the duke of Savoy, in order to bridle the ambition of

[n] Vide Nani, San Real, Siri, Garzoni. [o] Murator. Annal.

Spain;

Spain; and this aim at length they accomplished: not that the French king really intended to use compulsive means against the court of Madrid, with which he was so intimately connected in point of consanguinity and alliance, but he imagined that the very fame of this confederacy, would induce the ministry of Philip IV. to listen to terms of accommodation, nor was he disappointed in this expectation. The Spanish monarch agreed to consign all the fortresses which he had taken or built in Rhetia and the Valtelline, to the pope, who should garrison and keep them as a deposit until the Catholic religion should be secured in that country from all attempts of the Protestants. A.D. 1622. *League betwixt France and Venice with respect to the Valtelline.*

This year was distinguished at Venice by a melancholy incident, produced from the jealousy and rigour of the state inquisition; Antonio Foscherini, a noble Venetian and senator, being accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with foreign ministers, was publicly executed as a traitor to his country; but after his death his innocence was accidentally discovered. Certain persons being tried and convicted of bearing false witness, one of them confessed, that he had unjustly informed against the senator Foscherini, for the sake of the reward given to those who discovered state criminals. All that the senate could do on this melancholy occasion, was to punish severely the infamous informer, and publish an edict vindicating the reputation of the deceased nobleman, and restoring his family to their former rank and honours [p]. *Execution of Antonio Foscherini.*

In the course of the succeeding year, the doge, Antonio Priuli, paid his debt to nature, and was succeeded by A.D. 1623.

## *FRANCESCO CONTARINO, Doge XCV.*

WHO died in the second year of his administration, and Giovanni Cornaro was elected in his room. *Francesco Contarino.*

## *GIOVANNI CORNARO, Doge XCVI.*

NEITHER was the government of this new doge disturbed by the horrors of war, or any other calamity; although great part of Italy was embroiled on account of the succession of Mantua and Montferrat, which was contested by a variety of competitors. The republic acknowleged Charles Gonzaga, duke de Nevers, in France, who was indeed the true heir, and even assisted him with their influence at different courts of Europe, as well as with money, artillery, and ammunition; but they did not enter as principals into the war, contenting themselves with *Giovanni Cornari.* A.D. 1628.

[p] Nani. Vittorio. Siri. Murator. Annal.

main-

maintaining their army and navy on a respectable footing.
A.D. 1629. After a reign of four years, the doge Cornaro departed this life; and Niccolo Contarino was chosen his successor.

## *NICCOLO CONTARINO, Doge XCVII.*

*Niccolo Contarino.*

IT was in the course of the following year, that Charles Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, being besieged in his capital by the imperialists, solicited the Venetians so earnestly to take some effectual measures for his relief, and the French ambassador made such pressing instances for the same purpose, that they sent thither a considerable detachment, together with a convoy of provisions and ammunition; but they were totally routed by the besiegers, who hampered the place more and more, until it was reduced by famine and the plague to such a deplorable condition, that there was not a sufficient number of soldiers left to defend the ramparts. Such was the defenceless state of the flourishing city of Mantua, when the besiegers, either by treachery or surprize, entered the place, which
A.D. 1630. they sacked and plundered for three days. As for the duke, he was stript of all his effects, and turned out of the city with his duchess, in such indigence, that he was obliged to borrow two thousand pistoles of the Venetians for present subsistence [q]. These were not the only inconveniencies which the republic suffered from the siege of Mantua. The plague, which began in that city, spread itself over great part of Lombardy, and even extended to Venice, where it raged to such a degree, as to sweep off above seventy thousand souls, besides five hundred thousand that perished by it in other towns and territories of the republic. The infanta Maria, his Catholic majesty's sister, being betrothed to the emperor's son Ferdinand, king of Hungary, it was resolved, as Italy was infested by the plague, that the same gallies which brought this princess as far as Naples, should carry her to Trieste. The Venetians, jealous of their prerogatives in the Adriatic, opposed the passage of this fleet with great eagerness and perseverance, offering to conduct the infanta in their own gallies; and the dispute rose so high as even to threaten a rupture; but at length the imperialists and Spaniards agreed to accept of the republic's offer; and she was accordingly conveyed in their gallies from Ancona to Trieste, and treated in the voyage with incredible magnificence. At this period death deprived them of their doge, Niccolo Contarino, who was succeeded by [r]

*Reduction and sack of Mantua.*

*A dreadful plague at Venice.*

[q] Nani. Vianoli. Vittorio. Siri [r] Murator. Annal.

*FRANCESCO*

## *FRANCESCO ERIZZO, Doge XCVIII.*

IT was now they began to enjoy in reality the bleſſings of repoſe, while Germany, Piedmont, and ſome other parts of Italy were deſolated by a cruel war. The only circumſtance that ruffled their tranquillity was a difference with pope Urban VIII. about the boundaries of the Ferrareſe, which, however, was ſoon amicably determined. A fleet of corſairs from Algiers and Tunis having entered the Adriatic with a deſign, as it was believed, to ſeize the treaſure of the Loretto, Marino Capello, the Venetian admiral, ſailed in queſt of them with twenty-eight gallies and two galeaſſes, and attacking them in the harbour of Vallona, even under the cannon of the Turks, took their whole ſquadron, which he carried in triumph to Corfu. This exploit had well nigh entailed upon the republic a new war with the Othoman Porte, whoſe indignation, however, the ſenate found means to appeaſe [s]. It muſt be owned, for the honour of the Venetians, that, for a ſeries of ages, they had been the chief bulwark of Italy, not only againſt the infidels, but alſo in fruſtrating the deſigns of the houſe of Auſtria, ever famed for ambition and rapacity. The ſtate of Venice, on all occaſions of importance, acted with propriety, dignity, and decorum; and their conduct was always influenced by the wiſeſt maxims of policy and legiſlation. They, with a laudable ſpirit of independence, oppoſed every encroachment of papal uſurpation: they carefully maintained the balance of power in Italy, by protecting and ſupporting every prince and ſtate that was in danger of being oppreſſed; and one of their chief objects was to keep the paſſes into Italy free and open, that in caſe the Auſtrians, either from Spain or Germany, ſhould ſeek to extend their dominions in that country, recourſe might be had to the aſſiſtance of France, and other powers with whom they were in alliance. At this period, a rupture happening betwixt pope Urban and Edward, prince of Parma, whom the Barberini, nephews of his holineſs, wanted to deprive of Caſtro and Ronciglione, hoſtilities commenced, and the duke of Parma would have been totally ruined if the Venetians had not interpoſed their aſſiſtance and good offices, in conſequence of which a pacification was effected.

*Franceſco Erizzo.*

A.D. 1638.

*The Venetian admiral takes a whole ſquadron of Barbary corſairs.*

*Wiſe maxims of the republic.*

A.D. 1646.

In the courſe of this year, however, an incident happened which was productive of melancholy conſequences to the republic of Venice. A Malteſe ſquadron cruiſing

in the neighbourhood of Rhodes, falling in with a large Turkish galeass, accompanied by two small gallies and seven saicks, attacked them without hesitation, and, after a desperate engagement, took the large galeass, which belonged to the sultaness, and was bound to Egypt; so richly laden, that the cargo was valued at three millions of gold. The sultaness was so exasperated at this loss, that she employed all her influence in exciting Ibrahim, the grand seignor, to revenge the insult, and he accordingly determined, especially as the powers of Europe were at war among themselves, to turn his arms against Christendom without farther delay. A prodigious armament of gallies, galleons, and saicks were equipped, having on board fourteen thousand spahis, seven thousand janizaries, and about forty thousand other infantry. It was given out at Constantinople, that this embarkation was designed against Malta, in revenge for the capture which the knights had made in the preceding year: but all of a sudden the Venetian baily, who had been hitherto caressed at the Porte, was imprisoned, and the Turkish armament sailed directly to Candia, which belonged to the republic. There their forces being landed, immediately reduced the fort of San Todero, and then invested the city of Canea. The Venetians, alarmed at this unexpected invasion, employed all their attention and industry in augmenting their forces by sea and land, and dispatched ambassadors to implore the assistance of all the Christian potentates; but as the most powerful states of Europe were then at war among themselves, they afforded the republic little more than good wishes and commiseration. Pope Innocent X. however, who had lately succeeded Urban VIII. prevailed upon the grand-duke of Tuscany, and the religion of Malta, to join his and the Neapolitan gallies, so as to form a squadron of twenty-three, under the command of prince Ludovisio, who had married his niece, Donna Constantia; but this fleet was too late to be of any service during the first campaign, and that of the Venetians was in a great measure rendered useless by the dissensions that arose betwixt the general Cornaro and Marino Capello.

A.D.1646. Mean while the siege of Canea was prosecuted with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence, in which even the women bore a part, the place was obliged to submit on the 18th of August. Such was the unfortunate beginning of the war of Candia, the most tedious and expensive that ever the republic maintained against the Othomans; a war distinguished by a great variety of great actions, which, though the event proved unhappy,

*Beginning of the war in Candia.*

unhappy, nevertheleſs ſtill redounded to the glory of the Venetian name. In order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turks, it was neceſſary to chooſe a captain-general of the naval forces, and that office was, in the great council, unanimouſly conferred upon the doge Franceſco Erizzo, a very unuſual teſtimony in favour of that illuſtrious patriot, who, though ſeventy years of age, accepted of the charge without heſitation; but death deprived his country of the benefit of his great talents, in the month of January, when Franceſco Molino was elected doge, and the poſt of captain-general conferred upon Giovanni Capello.

## *FRANCESCO MOLINO, Doge XCIX.*

*Franceſco Molino.*

THE Venetian fleet now conſiſted of ſixty-ſix gallies, ſix galeaſſes, forty large ſhips of war, beſides a great number of ſmaller veſſels; a force ſufficient to prevent the Turkiſh armament from coming without the Dardanelles, and even to defeat it in a pitched battle; but neither of theſe objects was purſued. The Turks beſieged and took the city of Retimo, and carrying their arms into Dalmatia, made themſelves maſters of Novigrad. In the mean time the plague co-operated with the enemy in deſolating the iſland of Candia. In the courſe of the following campaign the arms of the Venetians were more ſucceſsful in Dalmatia, where they recovered Novigrad, and reduced to their obedience Nadino, Scardona, Zemonico, and ſome other places. This period was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the gallantry of Tommaſo Moroſino, commander of the capitana, who defended himſelf againſt fifty-two Turkiſh gallies, and, though he loſt his life gloriouſly in the engagement, deſtroyed above fifteen hundred of the enemy. The next atchievement of the Venetian arms was the reduction of the important fortreſs of Cliſſa, an advantage overbalanced by the effects of a dreadful ſtorm, which ſhattered the greateſt part of their naval force. Two ſhips and three gallies foundered, including the capitana, in which periſhed divers noblemen, together with Giam Batiſta Grimani, the captain-general, who was ſucceeded in that office by Luigi Mocenigo. The Turks, mean while, undertook the ſiege of Candia, capital of the iſland, but met with ſuch a warm reception from the garriſon, that, after ſome fruitleſs attacks, they relinquiſhed that enterprize for the preſent. At the ſame time Jacopi da Riva, the Venetian admiral, obtained a victory over the Turkiſh fleet, which he attacked in the harbour of Focchia, where he burned thirteen

*Succeſs of the Venetians in Dalmatia.*

A.D. 1648.

*Firſt ſiege of Candia by the Turks.*

thirteen of their veſſels, took a large ſhip of war, a galeaſs, and a galley, and killed three thouſand of their ſoldiers and ſeamen. This action was the more honourable for the republic, as they had not been joined this year by the gallies of pope Innocent X. who was become lukewarm in
A.D.1650. their concerns. In Candia, the Turks having raiſed the ſiege of the capital, though ſtill determined on the conqueſt of the iſland, in order to hamper that city, built a regular fortreſs in its neighbourhood, to which they gave the name of New Candia, and from which they reaped all the advantage they had propoſed in its erection. The ſucceeding campaign, however, was favourable to the arms of the republic. On the 22d day of June the Turkiſh armament, conſiſting of ſeventy-three gallies, ſix galeaſſes, fifty-three large ſhips of war, and a great number of ſmall veſſels, ſteering betwixt the iſlands of Santorini and Scio, fell in with the Venetian fleet, which, though much inferior in number, did not decline the battle. It being late when they engaged, the night parted them; but next day the action was renewed with great fury on both ſides; and, after a long and deſperate conflict, victory declared for the Venetians. The enemy bore away in confuſion, leaving in the hands of the victors eight large ſhips of war, a great galeaſs, and the capitana, commanded by the baſhaw of the Morea. The Venetians afterwards ſacked the iſland of Leria, and burned a great number of merchant-ſhips belonging to the infidels. Mean while the French ambaſſador at Conſtantinople endeavoured to mediate a peace, to which the Porte refuſed to conſent on any other terms than that of the republic's making an entire ceſſion of the iſland of Candia.

*The Turks build New Candia.*

*A naval victory obtained by the Venetians.*

No action or enterprize of importance diſtinguiſhed the two following campaigns; but, in the third, Lorenzo Delfino, general of Dalmatia, at the head of ſix thouſand men, inveſted the ſtrong fortreſs of Chnin, which he began to batter with great fury, when a body of five thouſand Turks came to the relief of the place, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege with equal damage and diſgrace.
A.D.1654. In the month of June the Turkiſh and Venetian fleets engaged in the Levant, and, although the latter was greatly inferior in point of number, it maintained the battle with ſurpriſing bravery, and even deſtroyed ſome of the enemy's ſhips; but, at the ſame time, its own loſs was more conſiderable; though each ſide claimed the victory, to which neither had a good title[t].

*Another ſea engagement.*

[t] Vittor. Siri. Vianoli. Graziani. Murator. Annal.

In

In the following March, the place of doge being vacated by the death of Francesco Molino, was filled by the election of A.D.1655.

## *CARLO CONTARINO, Doge C.*

*Carlo Contarino.*

IN the same month Francesco Morosino, the captain-general, having subdued the island of Egina, from which he carried off four hundred slaves, he attacked and made himself master of Volo on the coast of Macedonia, which he pillaged and reduced to ashes. But he derived much more honour from a victory over the Turkish fleet, which he obtained at the Dardanelles, on the 21st of June, when he took or destroyed twenty-four of their gallies, and killed, or made prisoners near eight thousand of their men. He afterwards besieged Napoli di Romania, which, however, he could not reduce: but he took Megara, which he burnt, after having pillaged the place, where he found a considerable booty, with a great quantity of corn. Carlo Contarino dying in the second year after his elevation was succeeded by

*Morosino defeats the Turkish fleet off the Dardanelles.*

## *FRANCESCO CORNARO, Doge CI.*

*Francesco Cornaro.*

WHO surviving his election but twenty days,

## *BERTUCCIO VALIERO, Doge CII.*

*Bertuccio Valiero.*

WAS elected in his room.

Alexander VII. having succeeded Innocent X. in the papacy, the republic of Venice had reason to expect a considerable reinforcement from his holiness, for, in the conclave, he had written with his own hand, the decree obliging the future pope to send a squadron of gallies, with three thousand infantry to the defence of Candia: but he was no sooner preferred to the tiara, than he started a thousand difficulties, and all the Venetians could obtain was a reinforcement of four gallies. Nevertheless, the fleet of the republic, as usual, sailed to the Dardanelles, in order to block up the Turkish armament, which being very powerful, resolved to force its passage, under the command of Sinan, bashaw, who, on the 26th of June, gave battle to the Venetians, commanded by the captain-general Lorenzo Marcello, whose fleet consisted of twenty-five ships of war, as many gallies, seven galeasses, and seven gallies belonging to the religion of Malta: after an obstinate engagement of two hours, the infidels betook themselves to flight, and, being pursued, great numbers of them leapt into the sea. Many of their ships were burned, and others dashed in pieces against the rocks: thirteen gallies, five galeasses, and six ships of war

*A glorious victory obtained by Lorenzo Marcello.*

war were taken by the Venetians. Ten thousand infidels are said to have been slain; five thousand Christian slaves recovered their freedom, and a great quantity of artillery, ammunition, provision, and plunder fell into the hands of the victors. But the joy occasioned by this glorious victory was, in a great manner, damped by the loss of the captain-general Marcello, who lost his life in the engagement. After this fortunate event the Venetians subdued the island and rock of Tenedos, together with the isle and city of Lemnos, which they secured with strong garrisons[u]. But both these islands were retaken next year by the infidels, who had exerted themselves surprisingly in preparing a new armament, of extraordinary strength, against the republic. In this emergency they renewed their solicitations with the pope, and urged them with such earnestness and humility, that he resolved to exert himself in their favour; but, in the first place, he insisted upon the restoration of the Jesuits through all their dominions; and this point being gained, he granted, by way of subsidy, to the republic, the effects of the little convents he had abolished, and the orders of Cruciferi and Spirito Santo, which he had suppressed within the territories of the state.

A.D.1657. It was at this period that Mocenigo, their captain-general, encountered fourteen large ships of war from Barbary, going to join the Turkish armada. As they were strongly manned with veterans, they maintained an obstinate battle for some time, but at last were overpowered; four of them were taken, three ran ashore and were burnt, and the other seven escaped with difficulty. After the action the Venetians took the port and fortress of Suazich, where they made prize of a number of Turkish and Barbary saics; but in a subsequent encounter at sea, the general Mocenigo lost his life, and his ship, the capitana, destroyed by fire. His death was, in a little time, followed by that of the doge, in whose room Giovanno Pesaro was elected.

*Progress of the war.*

A.D.1658.

## *GIOVANNO PESARO, Doge CIII.*

*Giovanni Pesaro.*

THE republic being by this time exhausted by a long expensive war, it was debated in the senate, whether they should not accept of peace on the conditions proposed by the grand seignor, namely, that of giving up the island of Candia; but it appeared so arbitrary and unjust to the majority, that they resolved to continue the war to the last extremity, rather than comply with such dishonourable

[u] Garzon. Stor. Venet.

terms.

terms. The pope, the rich cardinals, and many noblemen of Rome, were so affected by this generous resolution, that they vied with one another in giving assistance to the republic; over and above the twelve gallies furnished by the pope, the grand-duke, and the Maltese, ten stout ships were equipt for their service by the cardinals and nobility. Even cardinal Mazarine sent them a supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and the court of France, being disgusted with the Othoman Porte, resolved to send a strong reinforcement to Candia, provided the peace with Spain should take effect. Nothing of consequence, however, happened in the course of this campaign; and next year the doge being removed by death, was succeeded by

*The cardinals and nobility of Rome contribute to the assistance of the Venetians.*

## *DOMINICO CONTARINO, Doge CIV.*

HOSTILITIES seemed to languish in the Levant, as the papal and Maltese gallies did not join the Venetian armada. Nevertheless, Morosino took by surprize the fortress of Tamon, in the gulf of Cassandra, which he demolished. He likewise reduced and destroyed Chesme in Natolia, where he acquired a rich booty, together with a good train of artillery. The Venetians also ravaged the island of Patmos, and took Castel Ruzo, a considerable fortress, which they dismantled.

*Dominico Contarino.* A D. 1659.

*Conquests by Morosino.*

Cardinal Mazarine having induced Lewis XIV. to send a body of four thousand men to the assistance of the Venetians in Candia, that reinforcement, under the command of prince Almerigo, landed at Suda, and, joining the Venetian troops, advanced, in order to form the siege of Canea; but finding it strongly reinforced from Nuova Candia, they changed their plan, and directed their march towards this new city, the garrison of which was now diminished by the draughts made to Canea. They had already entered the suburbs, and taken some cannon, when the soldiers began to plunder in the utmost confusion. The Turkish garrison taking advantage of their disorder, sallied out upon them with such impetuosity, that they were entirely routed and fled to Candia, with the loss of fifteen hundred men; and with this abortive attempt the campaign ended. Prince Almerigo being taken ill, was conveyed for the benefit of the air to the island of Paros, where, however, he died in the month of November.

*Miscarriage of the Venetian arms in Candia.*

In the following summer, George Morosino, who had succeeded Francesco as captain-general, sailed in quest of

the Turkiſh fleet, and fell in with it on the 25th day of Auguſt, off the iſland of Melo. The enemy was ſtruck with ſuch a panic at ſight of the Chriſtians, that they bore away in great confuſion. Seven of their gallies running aſhore, the crews made their eſcape: four were taken, ſome daſhed in pieces on the rocks, and the remainder diſperſed. The ſame good fortune attended Antonio Priuli, who took ſome rich Turkiſh prizes, and deſtroyed a good number of their veſſels; but, on the other hand, ſome Venetian ſhips, richly laden, fell into the hands of the Barbary corſairs. The pope, mean while, endeavoured to form a league of the Chriſtian princes againſt the infidels, but his meaſures proved ineffectual. The king of Spain had his hands full in Portugal: Lewis XIV. had a warm ſide to the Othoman Porte, the ancient ally of his crown: the emperor was more diſpoſed to prolong the truce with the Turks, even at the expence of ſome conceſſions, than to enter the liſts again with ſuch a formidable antagoniſt; and even the pope was ſtartled at the thoughts of expending more money in oppoſing the arms of the Muſſulmans; ſo that the Venetians were left to ſuſtain the whole weight of this ruinous war: all that they could therefore do in the courſe of the enſuing campaign, was to make depredations on the trading ſhips of the enemy. The captain-general having received intelligence that the naval caravan of the Turks had arrived at Scio, in its way to Egypt, with a great quantity of rich merchandize, beſides valuable preſents deſigned for Mecca, he ſailed thither with great expedition. At ſight of his fleet ten ſhips were run aſhore, and, being abandoned by their crews, fell into the hands of the Venetians. The caravan retiring into the harbour of Coos, the Venetians attacked them there on the 29th day of September, and made themſelves maſters of three ſhips: but their chief efforts were directed to the largeſt of the number, on board of which was an aga of the ſeraglio, with a lading valued at half a million of gold; but this veſſel was unhappily ſet on fire and conſumed, and the aga, ſwimming for his life, was made priſoner. Of twenty-eight Turkiſh ſaics eighteen were taken, and ten burned to aſhes [x].

A.D.1661.

A.D.1663.

*The naval caravan of the Turks taken or deſtroyed by the Venetians.*

*Rupture betwixt the emperor and the Turks.*

Whatever averſion the emperor Leopold had to a rupture with the Porte, he now found himſelf obliged to take a ſhare in the war againſt thoſe infidels. Without the

[x] Muratori annal.

leaſt

leaſt previous intimation, they took the field againſt him in Hungary with ſuch a numerous army, as even ſtruck terror into his capital, Vienna. They reduced, almoſt without oppoſition, Neuhauſel, Nitria, Novegrad, and Levenz, and made themſelves maſters of Claudepolis, in Tranſylvania. Then the emperor raiſed a melancholy clamour at all the courts in Chriſtendom: he went in perſon to Ratiſbon to implore the aſſiſtance of the diet, and immediately ſet on foot a negociation for a league with the pope and the Venetians. At the ſame time he aſſembled an army in Hungary, and being reinforced by ſix thouſand French troops, under monſieur de Coligni, gained ſome advantages in that country. A body of Turks were routed by the marechal de Souches; and the imperial general Montecuculi obtained a glorious victory over the Othoman army. Nevertheleſs Leopold did not intermit his endeavours to effect an accommodation with the infidels, and the peace was actually concluded before the end of the ſecond campaign, upon terms that were neither honourable nor advantageous. A.D. 1664. *Peace re-eſtabliſhed.*

The grand ſeignor had been ſo intent upon the war in Hungary, that little was done towards the conqueſt of Candia; where, nevertheleſs, the Venetians ſtruck no ſtroke of importance. Neither the pope nor the Malteſe ſent their gallies to aſſiſt them in the courſe of this campaign. His holineſs was diſguſted with the republic for having exacted the toll from ſome traders of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate navigating in the Adriatic; but Alexander dying in the courſe of the following year, and being ſucceeded in the pontificate by Clement IX. the affairs of the republic aſſumed a more favourable aſpect, as they now received conſiderable ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips from the new pope, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Tuſcany, the religion of Malta, and cardinal Franceſco Barberino. The captain-general Franceſco Moroſino was immediately diſpatched to the Levant with a reinforcement of three thouſand ſoldiers, and a great quantity of munition of war. This was a very ſeaſonable ſupply, as the grand vizir had prepared a formidable armament, in order to undertake the ſiege of the city of Candia. In the month of May he landed with a numerous army, and the firſt ſtep he took was to deſtroy Nuova Candia, that his troops might have no hope of ſheltering themſelves in that place, from the dangers and fatigues of the ſiege: then he inveſted the capital, and began his approaches with equal ſkill and reſolution; for he was well ſupplied A.D. 1665. A.D. 1667. *The memorable ſiege of Candia.*

ſupplied with engineers from France and Germany, who had renounced their religion and entered into the ſervice of the infidels. On the other hand, the Venetians had omitted nothing which could contribute to the defence of the place: it was well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines of proviſion: the fortifications were in good order; and the garriſon was numerous, reſolute, and even zealous to diſtinguiſh themſelves for the honour and defence of the Chriſtian faith. So deſperate were the aſſaults on one ſide, and ſo determined the defenders on the other, that, in the courſe of the ſiege during that campaign, the Venetians loſt ſix thouſand regular ſoldiers, comprehending eight hundred officers; and of the Turks an incredible number was ſlain; but their army was continually ſtrengthened by freſh reinforcements, and the grand ſeignor in perſon repaired to the Morea, that he might be at hand to animate the undertaking (B).

A.D.1668. The marquis Franceſco Villa, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity, as general for the Venetians in Candia, now quitted the ſervice in diſguſt; and his place was filled by Mombrun, marquis de St. André, a French hugonot of fourſcore, who had acquired great reputation as a brave experienced officer. The operations of the ſiege were carried on with unremitting ardor, notwithſtanding the plague, which had found admittance into the Turkiſh army. The batteries and bombs played night and day without ceaſing; mines were ſprung, breaches were made, and terrible aſſaults given; but the courage of the beſieged roſe in proportion to the increaſe of danger. They repaired the breaches with indefatigable care; repelled the attacks with ſurpriſing reſolution; maintained a conſtant fire of artillery and ſmall arms; and harraſſed the enemy with repeated ſallies, in which they deſtroyed the works, and ſpiked up the cannon of the beſiegers. At ſea, the captain-general Franceſco Moroſino attacked the Turkiſh fleet in the night, and took five gal-

*Moroſino attacks the Turkiſh fleet by night.*

(B) On the 6th of April a dreadful earthquake was felt in Dalmatia and Albania. The city of Raguſa was almoſt entirely levelled with the ground, and not above four hundred of the inhabitants, and ſixty monks, eſcaped with their lives. Budua was totally deſtroyed; Caſtel Nuovo and Dulſigno were in a great meaſure overthrown; and the city of Cataro overwhelmed by the ſea. Great damage was done to Traù; and the ſhock was felt at Venice, and in many places of Italy (1.)

(1) Murator. ann.

lies,

lies, with the capitana of the famous corsair Duraib Bey, who lost his life in the engagement. The auxiliary gallies of the pope, the Maltese, and Naples, did not arrive in time to be of any service; and retired to their respective harbours before any opportunity of action occurred: but in the beginning of November, the French volunteers, together with the cavalier de la Torre at the head of seventy-three knights of Malta, and four hundred chosen men, arrived in Candia, and reinforced the garrison of the capital. The French gentlemen being joined by many Savoyard and Italian volunteers, made a furious sally on the 16th day of December, and, bearing down all before them, slew great numbers of the enemy; but being at length overpowered, they were obliged to retreat with great loss; after which effort they reimbarked, and returned to Provence. The campaign in these parts is said to have cost the Christians ten thousand men, including many officers of distinction; but the loss of the Turks amounted to near four times that number, comprehending several bashaws, beys, and beglerbegs.

Divers potentates of Europe, stimulated by the solicitations of the pope, resolved to exert themselves effectually for the relief of Candia. Lewis XIV. of France, equipt a powerful armament for this purpose, consisting of a numerous fleet, having on board eight thousand disciplined troops, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, high-admiral, and the duke de Noailles. Several princes of Germany sent supplies of men and money to the Venetians. Laura, duchess regent of Modena, assisted them with a complete regiment of a thousand men, and a considerable quantity of gunpowder; the pope contributed men, gallies, and money, and appointed Alexander Pico, duke of Mirandola, general of his forces in Candia. On the 16th day of June, the French fleet, consisting of thirteen gallies, fourteen men of war, four fire-ships, and fifty smaller vessels, arrived in Candia, and found the city reduced to a miserable situation. All the outworks were already taken; and practicable breaches formed; so that a general assault was every hour expected. The French generals, contrary to the opinion of Morosino and Mombrun, resolved upon a vigorous sally; and this design was executed on the 25th day of the month, at break of day, when they attacked the enemy's trenches with such impetuosity, as the besiegers could not resist. They overthrew or routed all that opposed them; and the infidels fled on every side in the utmost terror and

*The Venetians are reinforced by different powers.*

A.D. 1669.

confusion; when an unlucky accident wrested out of the hands of the Christians, one of the most glorious victories that ever was obtained. The French having penetrated to the Turkish batteries, two barrels of gunpowder chanced to blow up and destroyed about thirty men: the rest, believing that all the ground was undermined, were seized with such a panic, that in spite of all the efforts of their officers to retain and keep them in order, they gave way, and began to retreat in the utmost confusion. The Turks, perceiving their disorder, resumed courage, and attacking them in their turn, drove them back to the city with considerable slaughter. The duke of Beaufort, with a great number of gallant officers and gentlemen volunteers, lost their lives on this occasion. The duke de Noailles was so chagrined at the issue of this unfortunate affair, that, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of Morosino and others, he could not be prevailed upon to stay; but reimbarked the remains of his troops, and set sail for France about the middle of August, carrying along with him a good number of the Venetian garrison, who seized this opportunity of making their escape. The retreat of this general was disapproved of in France, and he was forbid to appear at court: but he is said to have loudly complained of Morosino, for not supporting the French in the sally; asserting that the siege of Candia would have been raised that day, had the Venetian general done his duty. It was rumoured that Morosino kept aloof, either because he was jealous of the reputation of the French auxiliaries, or he had upon the carpet, a secret negotiation for peace. It is much more probable that Noailles would not stay, because he foresaw that the place would certainly be taken. The auxiliary gallies of the pope and other princes, had arrived in July, under the command of the bailli Vincenzo Rospiglioſi, the pope's nephew; and the duke de Mirandola was already there, with the land forces of his holiness and the duke of Modena. But all these succours little availed against the power of the Turks, who multiplied every day in consequence of receiving fresh reinforcements, and prosecuted their operations with such fury and perseverance, that although the besieged disputed every inch of ground with incredible valour, they at last found themselves reduced to extremity, and determined to capitulate. Rospiglioſi seeing their case desperate, reimbarked the remains of his troops, and set sail for the Mediterranean. Next day, the garrison hoisted a white flag, and the vizir appointed

*A furious sally made by the French auxiliaries.*

appointed deputies to treat of the ſurrender of the place. On the 6th day of September, the treaty was ſigned, by which the Venetians yielded to the Turks the city of Candia, which was by this time become a mere burying ground, and exhibited a horrid ſpectacle of deſolation. All that remained to the Venetians in Candia were the fortreſſes of Suda, Carabuſo, and Spenalunga with their territories: they retained alſo Cliſſa and other acquiſitions they had made in Dalmatia and Albania; and they were at liberty to carry off all the inhabitants who did not chooſe to remain in Candia; with their baggage, proviſions, and arms. It was computed that the loſs of the Venetians at Candia during the preſent year, did not fall ſhort of eleven thouſand fighting men; ſo that this was one of the moſt bloody and deſperate ſieges that ever was recorded in hiſtory [y].

*The Venetians are obliged to capitulate.*

When the news of the loſs of Candia arrived at Venice, one would have thought the laſt day of general judgment was announced. All the ſtreets reſounded with groans, cries, and lamentations. The people, worked up to a pitch of deſperate fanaticiſm, ran about deploring this diſaſter, throwing out wild reflections upon Providence, curſes againſt the Turks, and the moſt atrocious calumnies and reproaches againſt Moroſino, whom they loudly reviled as an infamous traitor for not having ſeconded the ſally of the French auxiliaries, when they were in ſuch a fair way to obtain a complete victory over the beſiegers. Had that general been then at Venice, without all doubt he would have fallen a ſacrifice to the fury of the populace. Their grief was reinforced with their fears; for they dreaded that the perfidious Turks, notwithſtanding the treaty, would take advantage of the exhauſted ſtate of the republic, and follow their blow by an immediate expedition againſt Venice itſelf. This, however, was not the caſe: the infidels adhered punctually to the articles of the treaty. The city of Rome was alſo deeply affected by the loſs of Candia, and the pope took it ſo much to heart, that it was ſaid to be the occaſion of his death, which happened after a ſhort illneſs on the 9th day of December [z]. In the following year, the captain-general Franciſco Moroſino was boldly accuſed in the ſenate of Venice, of having been the cauſe of the loſs of Candia by his miſconduct; but after a fair and

*The city of Venice filled with lamentation for the loſs of Candia.*

*Moroſino accuſed in the ſenate and acquitted.*

y Garzon. Stor. Venit. Vittorio. Siri. Valiero. Vianolo. Graziano. z Murator. Annal.

impartial hearing, he was unanimously acquitted. The republic now employed her whole attention in repairing, by a sage system of œconomy, the damage she had sustained in the war. New regulations were made for the encouragement and extension of commerce; and the arts of peace were cultivated with equal diligence and success. They had enjoyed the happy fruits of those sagacious measures about five years, when the doge died, in the ninety-first year of his age, and was succeeded in that dignity by Niccolo Sagredo, procurator of St. Mark.

## *NICCOLO SAGREDO, Doge CV.*

A.D.1675. HE did not, however, long survive his election; for his country was deprived of him in the course of the following year; and his death was attended with a very extraordinary incident. The suffrages of the electors, in the choice of a successor, being united in favour of Giovanni Sagredo, a nobleman every way qualified to execute that important office, when his name was announced from the balcony to the people assembled in the square, a few plebeians began to exclaim, "We will not have him!" and immediately a dangerous tumult arose. In consequence of this commotion, the saggi in the great council, thought proper to set aside the election of Sagredo, and promote Luigi Contarino to the ducal throne.

*Niccolo Sagredo.*

A.D.1676.

## *LUIGI CONTARINO, Doge CVI.*

*Luigi Contarino.* ABOUT five years after this event, the plague, which had raged in different parts of Germany, was advanced as far as Gorozia and other confines of the Venetian state; but the senate took such wise and effectual precautions, as stopt the progress of this dreadful visitation. The republic was at the same time alarmed by extraordinary preparations for war at Constantinople, which were intended against the emperor Leopold. Accordingly the grand vizir Cara Mustapha invaded Hungary, with an immense army, and advanced almost without opposition to Vienna, the siege of which he immediately undertook. As we have described this enterprize, and recorded the events of the war, in our history of the German empire, we shall only observe in this place, that in order the more effectually to oppose the arms of the infidels, the Venetians were, by the earnest intreaties of pope Innocent XI. prevailed upon to engage in an alliance with the emperor and the king of Poland, and thus involve themselves in a new war with the Othoman Porte.

A.D.1682.

A.D.1684.

Th:

The doge dying in the beginning of this year, he was succeeded by

## *MARCANTONIO GIUSTINIANO, Doge CVII.*

*Marcantonio Giustiniano.*

BESIDE the motives of zeal that ſtimulated the ſenate to ſeize every opportunity to annoy the inveterate enemies of the religion and liberty of Chriſtendom, they flattered themſelves with the hope of being able, by means of the diverſion that would be made by their allies, to indemnify themſelves for the loſs of Candia; either in recovering that iſland, or in making conqueſts of equal value. The efforts which they made in this firſt campaign, fully anſwered their expectation. Their bailli fortunately eſcaped from Conſtantinople in the diſguiſe of a ſailor. They forthwith increaſed their land and ſea-forces, and gave the chief command of them to Franceſco Moroſino, who had attained the ſummit of reputation, by his exploits in the preceding war. The pope ſupplied them with a ſum of money; and their fleet was joined by ſeven Malteſe gallies, and four belonging to Coſmo III. grand-duke of Tuſcany. In the month of Auguſt, their general made himſelf maſter of the important fortreſs of Santa Maura, in the iſland of Leucate; then he compelled the ſtrong fort of Prereſa to ſurrender, and in the ſequel reduced Vanizza, Seromero, and ſeveral other places. Nor was the ſucceſs of their arms leſs remarkable in the following campaign, when they transferred the ſeat of the war into the Morea, and inveſted the city of Corone. True it is, they met with a very obſtinate reſiſtance from the Greek inhabitants as well as the garriſon; and they were obliged to make head againſt a Turkiſh army that advanced to the relief of the place; but this being defeated on the 7th of Auguſt, they took the town by ſtorm, and gave it up to plunder, after having put all they found in arms to the ſword. Here they found above fourſcore pieces of braſs cannon, with a great quantity of proviſion and ammunition. The general of their infantry was prince Alexander, brother of the duke of Parma; prince Maximilian of Brunſwick, ſerved at the head of ſome German regiments belonging to his father; and among the volunteers, was Philip, prince of Savoy. After the reduction of Corone, the Venetian army being reinforced with three thouſand Saxons, proceeded to ſubdue Zernata, Calamata, Chiefala, Gomenozze, and other places. The infidels were not more fortunate in Hungary, where the duke of Lorraine, at the head of the imperialiſts, took the ſtrong city of Buda in

*Succeſs of the Venetian arms in Leucate and the Morea.*

A.D. 1685.

A.D.1686. in the face of ſeventy thouſand Turks, commanded by the grand vizir in perſon. General Veterani made himſelf maſter of the rich and flouriſhing city of Seghedino on the Tibiſco; and prince Lewis of Baden reduced Septemeccleſiæ, Siclos, and Dardo on the Drave. The Venetians proſecuted their advantages with unremitting ardour, having conferred the command of their land-forces on Otho William, count of Koningſmarc, a native of Sweden. The captain-baſhaw, appearing in the ſpring, before Chiefala in the Morea, which he hoped to recover, Moroſino ſailed thither; but on his arrival, he found the enemy had retired with great precipitation, leaving their artillery behind. Then the generals reſolved to turn their arms againſt Navarino, a ſtrong place, which they inveſted accordingly. A ſeraſkier advancing to its relief with a conſiderable body of troops, the Venetians quitted their intrenchments to give battle to the enemy, who were quickly routed, and the conſequence of this victory was the ſurrender of Navarino. They afterwards reduced Modona, and inveſted Napoli de Romania, which capitulated after an obſtinate defence, in the courſe of which the ſeraſkier made a fruitleſs attempt to raiſe the ſiege. Argos was abandoned by the enemy, and all Arcadia and Termis ſubmitted to the republic. Finally, in the month of October, general Cornaro beſieged and took the ſtrong fortreſs of Segna in Dalmatia. The infidels were humbled in every quarter. In Hungary, the duke of Lorraine and the elector of Bavaria, obtained a complete victory at Moatz over the prime vizir; and afterwards reduced Eſſeck, Agria, and Mongatz. Then the duke of Lorraine entering Tranſilvania, ſubdued that whole province, ſecured the towns with imperial garri-

*The progreſs of the republic's conqueſts in Greece.*

A.D.1687. ſons, obliged prince Abaffi to put himſelf under the protection of Leopold, to pay heavy contributions, and provide winter-quarters for the army. The Venetian arms continued to proſper in the Morea, where count Koningſmarc took Patraſſo, after having defeated the ſeraſkier in it's neighbourhood. The infidels were by this time ſo diſperſed, that they abandoned Caſtello de Morea, and Caſtello de Romelia, two ſtrong places, well provided for defence. They likewiſe evacuated the city of Lepanto: and the city of Corinth, which is the key of that kingdom, ſurrendered after a faint reſiſtance. Miſtra, ſuppoſed to have riſen from the ruins of ancient Sparta, obtained a favourable capitulation: the campaign in this country was concluded with the reduction of Athens. The ſenate not content with theſe conqueſts, and the

*The Morea ſubdued.*

ſucceſs

success of general Cornaro, who had compelled the Turks to relinquish the siege of Segna, resolved to terminate the campaign with the reduction of Castel Nuovo in Dalmatia, the chief asylum of those corsairs who infested the Adriatic. In this enterprize they employed the gallies of the pope and of Malta, together with two thousand five hundred Germans, who had been hired to reinforce their army in the Levant. In the month of August, this armament appeared before Castel Nuovo, which was immediately invested, and made a very obstinate defence; but at length, the garrison and inhabitants retired, leaving it in possession of the besiegers, who found in it fifty-seven pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

*Siege of Castel Nuovo in Dalmatia.*

These events, which filled Venice and all Italy with exultation and rejoicings, excited at Constantinople murmurs, discontent, and an insurrection; during which sultan Mahomet was deposed, and his brother Solyman raised to the Othoman throne. Proposals of peace were offered at Vienna on the part of the new grand seignor, but rejected by the advice of the duke of Lorraine, who represented how disgraceful and impolitic it would be to lay down their arms in the midst of such victories as had humbled the pride, and abased the courage of the insolent Mussulmans.

*Insurrection at Constantinople.*

In the spring of the succeeding year, death deprived the republic of the doge Giustiniano, and all the suffrages concurred in conferring that dignity on the captain-general Morosino, who now commanded the armament in the gulf of Egina. A.D. 1688.

## *FRANCESCO MOROSINO, Doge CVIII.*

THE doge being joined at Egina, by the gallies of Malta, and the grand-duke, having on board a reinforcement of infantry, he resolved to undertake the siege of Negropont, a place of great strength and importance, capital of the peninsula called by the ancients Eubœa. It was accordingly invested, and they proceeded with such vigour, that a strong intrenchment made by the infidels, was forced, and forty pieces of cannon and five mortars fell into the hands of the besiegers; nevertheless, the garrison made a desperate defence; and the number of the Christians being greatly diminished, not only by the repeated assaults that were given, but also by an epidemical distemper which proved fatal to count Koningsmarc, the doge Morosino found himself, to his unspeakable mortification, obliged to abandon the enterprize,

*Francesco Morosino.*

*Miscarriage of the doge, at Negropont.*

prize, and disabled from attempting any other conquest for the remaining part of the campaign. True it is, the proveditor-general, Girolamo Cornaro, proved more successful in Dalmatia, where he reduced the strong fortress of Knin, together with Verluia, Zounigrad, Grassaz, and the tower of Norin; but all these conquests did not compensate the miscarriage at Negropont.

Meanwhile, the imperial generals in Hungary proceeded in their conquests with such rapidity, that there was a fair prospect of being able to drive the Turks entirely out of Europe; when the French king, in all probability influenced in private by the Othoman Porte, sought occasion of quarrel with the emperor, and, on a frivolous pretence, commenced a furious war in Germany. His army reduced Philipsburg, Mentz, Triers, Bonn, Worms, Spire; and penetrating into the Palatinate, ravaged the country with the most inhuman barbarity. This new war upon the Rhine not only disabled Leopold from prosecuting his success against the infidels, but also impeded the operations of the Venetians, who could no longer recruit her forces from the empire, where the princes had occasion for all their men to defend their own territories. Ambassadors from the Porte had arrived at Vienna with proposals for a peace or truce, and thither likewise plenipotentiaries were sent by the Poles and Venetians: but the pretensions of the Christian powers were still too high to admit of an accommodation. The republic's army in the Levant, was by this time so enfeebled, that it could do nothing but form the blockade of Napoli de Malvasia. Indeed its inactivity was in some measure owing to a fever that seized the doge Morosini, in consequence of which he returned to Venice, where, however, on account of his single miscarriage at Negropont, he was not received with such applause as his glorious atchievements had deserved of his country.

*The French king makes a diversion in favour of the Turks.*

A.D. 1689.

As Leopold was obliged to make head against the French with a powerful army on the Rhine, he could not possibly act with his usual vigour in Hungary, where not above four and twenty thousand men were left under the prince of Baden. Nevertheless, with this handful of troops, that great general defeated the Turks at the Morava, and reduced Nissa, with the fortress of Widen, and several other places: but these were all retaken in the following campaign, when the imperialists in that country were reduced to seventeen thousand, and the infidels increased to an immense army. At length they undertook the siege of Belgrade, which was garrisoned by six

*Transactions in Hungary.*

fix thousand veteran Germans, who would have made a noble defence, had not their valour been rendered useless by a dreadful catastrophe. The magazines of gunpowder were blown up by treachery, with such a terrible explosion and effect, that the place was laid open in different parts, and terror and confusion ensued. In the A.D.1690.
midst of this anarchy the enemy entered, and put the garrison to the sword. In the course of this year, the Venetians converted the blockade of Napoli di Malvasia, *Napoli di Malvasia taken by the Venetians.*
into a regular siege, and the place capitulated on the 12th day of August. They afterwards reduced Vallona, the fortress of Canina, and Vergoraz: but they lost their captain-general Cornaro, who died in the midst of these transactions. He was succeeded in command by Domenico Mocenigo, who sailed thither from Venice, with a considerable supply of soldiers and ammunition; but finding the Turks too numerous to be opposed with any prospect of advantage, and determined to recover Canina and Vallona, he ordered the fortifications of those two places to be blown up, and took the garrisons, with their artillery and ammunition, on board of the fleet. Then he cruised along the Archipelago, in hopes of engaging the infidels by sea; but they cautiously avoided the encounter. The bad success of this armament occasioned A.D.1691.
murmurs at Venice, and disposed the minds of the people to peace; nor were the Turks averse to an accommodation, inasmuch as they had sustained another overthrow in Hungary, where the army of Leopold was so powerfully reinforced, that prince Lewis of Baden found himself at the head of sixty thousand effective men. The grand vizir Mustapha, however, commanded an army much more numerous, with which he conducted himself with such dexterity, as to straiten the imperial general, and reduce him to such necessity for want of provision, that he was obliged to attack the enemy at a great disadvantage, who were intrenched at Salankemen, near the Danube. This battle was fought on the 18th day of *The grand vizir defeated and slain in Hungary.*
August, when the Turks, after a desperate resistance, were totally defeated with the loss of eighteen thousand men, their tents, baggage, and artillery. The vizir himself fell on this occasion, together with the aga of the janissaries, and a great number of bashaws. Even on the side of the imperialists the victory was so dearly bought, that prince Lewis was in no condition to strike any other stroke of importance in the course of this campaign. The pope and the religion of Malta, having reinforced the Venetians

tians with their gallies, the general Mocenigo set sail for Candia, where having disembarked his troops, he invested the strong city of Canea, on the 17th day of July; but the Turks made such an obstinate defence, and the
A.D.1692. place was so often reinforced by detachments from the seraskier, who, having passed the strait with the view to attack the Morea, the Venetians thought proper to abandon the enterprize, while the infidels made an unsuccessful attempt upon the city of Lepanto.

As fortune did not seem to favour the efforts of Mocenigo, he was appointed prætor at Vicenza, and it being debated in the great council who should succeed him as captain-general, the voices unanimously concurred in recommending that charge to the doge Morosino, the glorious conqueror of the Morea. This worthy patriot, though turned of seventy-four, being overcome by the prayers and intreaties of his fellow-citizens, accepted of
A.D.1693. the command, determined to spend the evening of his life in the actual service of his country. Great preparations were made, that he might be enabled to act up to the dignity of his own character, and fulfil his sanguine expectations of his constituents. He accordingly set sail for the Levant, and began to make dispositions for undertaking the siege of Negropont; but being taken ill at Napoli di Romania, expired on the 6th of January in the following year. He was succeeded by

*Death of the doge Morosino.*

## *SILVESTRO VALIERO, Doge CIX.*

*Silvestro Valiero.*

AND the command of the army devolved on the proveditor-general Delfino, who opened the campaign in Dalmatia with the siege of Citclut, a strong fortress which the Turks considered as the key to their dominions in this country. The garrison therefore made a very obstinate defence, in spite of which they were obliged to surrender: the infidels made two desperate attempts to recover it in the sequel, but both proved abortive. Mean-
A.D.1694. while, the Venetian fleet being reinforced by the papal and Malteſe gallies, and Antonio Zeno appointed captain-general of the whole armada, he set sail for the island of Scio, and, landing his troops on the 8th day of September, invested the capital of the same name, which surrendered in eight days after the trenches were opened: here the Venetians found above one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and restored a great number of Christian slaves to liberty. The conquest of such a delightful and fruitful island was celebrated at Venice with extraordi-

*Scio conquered by the Venetians.*

nary

nary rejoicings: but these transports were of short duration. The Turks, exasperated at the loss of Scio, equipt a powerful armament in order to retrieve it, under the conduct of the seraskier, whose fleet the captain-general Zeno attacked in the month of February, before their forces were disembarked upon the island: but he had the misfortune to be discomfited with considerable loss. In consequence of this disaster, Scio surrendered at discretion to the infidels, who soon repossessed themselves of the whole island, the Christian inhabitants of which went into voluntary exile, rather than remain under the dominion of those barbarians. The Venetians imputed the defeat at sea, and the subsequent loss of Scio, to the misconduct of Zeno and Pietro Quirini the ordinary proveditor, both of whom ended their days in prison. Alessandro Molini being appointed captain general, had divers rencounters with the enemy by sea, and gained some petty advantages, which, however, did not compensate for the loss of that fertile island. The first operation of the following campaign, was the siege of Dolagno in Albania, situated on an inaccessible rock, which the Venetians endeavoured to destroy, as an infamous nest of corsairs who infested the Adriatic. This enterprize, however, did not succeed. The besiegers, after having sprung a variety of mines, and given repeated assaults, and repulsed two successive bodies of the Turks that advanced to the relief of the place, were obliged to abandon the undertaking. Meanwhile, Molino sailed in quest of the Othoman fleet, commanded by the captain-bashaw Mezzomorto, and came in sight of it, on the 9th day of August, when the disposition was made for battle: but this was declined by the wily Turkish admiral, who never wanted means to avoid fighting, when he had no stomach to engage. Thus the whole summer passed without action; and the senate made loud complaints that so much money should have been expended to so little purpose. Though the grand seignor in person headed his army in Hungary, and was often provoked to battle, he would not hazard an engagement; but, after having skirmished with the Germans, retired into winter-quarters. At this period, Peter Alexowitz, czar of Muscovy, having made himself master of Asoph, on the Don, proposed to engage in a league with the emperor and the Venetians against the common enemy; and the articles of this treaty were actually agreed upon at Vienna.

*Retaken by the Turks.*

A.D.1695.

*The Venetians unsuccessful in Dalmatia.*

A.D.1696.

By

By the treaty of Ryswick, which was concluded in the course of the following year, the emperor was enabled to make vigorous efforts against the Turks in Hungary, where his army was now commanded by prince Eugene of Savoy, who, at Zeuta, upon the Tibisco, attacked the grand seignor's army, and gained the most glorious and complete victory that ever had been obtained over the
A.D.1697. Mussulmans. With respect to the Venetians in the Levant, this campaign was as inactive as the last; for, though their general attempted at three different times to engage the enemy at sea, he was always frustrated by the stratagems of Mezzomorto, who never failed to secure a safe retreat. Nevertheless, the republic of Venice chearfully resolved to proceed with the war, as the Turkish empire was by this time greatly weakened by the successive defeats they had already suffered in Hungary, and intimidated by the prospect of what they had to expect from the power of the Muscovites, and the victorious arms of Leopold, now freed from the burthen of the war with France. But the court of Vienna was now wholly intent upon the succession of Spain; and the emperor, that he might be able to concenter his whole care upon this object, expressed a desire of effecting an accommodation with the infidels. The king of England, apprized of his inclinations, sent instructions to lord Paget, his ambassador at Constantinople, to make overtures of peace to the vizir Cussein, to whom they were very agreeable. The plan of this peace was reduced to one proposition, importing, that the powers at war should remain in possession of the places they had taken. The divan approving of this project, plenipotentiaries were named by all the different powers, and it was agreed that the con-
A.D. 1698 gress should be held at Carlowitz, betwixt Salankemen and Peterwaradin, under the mediation of the English and Dutch ambassadors: mean while, the operations of war were continued, though faintly. The Venetian general, Delfino, exhausted all his skill in endeavours to draw the Turkish admiral to an engagement, and on the 21st day of September, the two fleets actually came to action; but Mezzomorto finding himself over-matched, found means, as usual, to retire in good order, and all that Delfino could do for the remaining part of the campaign, was to scour the Turkish coasts, and lay the open country under contribution. At length the peace, or truce of twenty-five years, was concluded at Carlowitz, betwixt the emperor Leopold and the grand signor Mustapha II.

*The war flags in the Levant.*

*Overtures of peace.*

and

and alſo betwixt the Poles and the ſaid ſoltan; but ſome diſputes ariſing betwixt the miniſters of the Othoman Porte and Carlo Ruzini, plenipotentiary from the republic of Venice, who refuſed his aſſent to certain points, the other plenipotentiaries and mediators ſtipulated ſuch articles of accommodation for the republic, as redounded equally to her glory and advantage; for ſhe was left in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Morea, with the iſlands of Egina, Santa Maura, Caſtelnuovo, and Priſano, and the fortreſſes of Kuin, Sing, Citclut, and Gabella, in Dalmatia. This treaty was ratified by the ſenate on the 7th day of February, and commiſſaries were appointed by all the contracting powers, to regulate and determine the limits of the Othoman empire; a taſk that was not executed without warm diſputes and intenſe application. Mean while, this glorious iſſue of ſuch a tedious, expenſive, and dangerous war, was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings at Venice, and in every part of the dominions belong to the republic [a]. *Treaty of Carlowitz.* A.D. 1699.

The death of Charles II. of Spain, without heirs of his body, involved all Europe in freſh troubles: a powerful confederacy being formed by the emperor, England, and Holland, againſt the French king, who ſupported his grandſon on the throne of Spain, the new pope, Clement IX. joined the Venetians in offering their mediation to prevent the horrors and calamities of ſuch a war as was now upon the eve of being kindled; but all the parties concerned were too much irritated, and too confident of ſucceſs to liſten to reaſonable terms of accommodation. The French king, however, diſpatched the cardinal d'Etrees to Venice, with a commiſſion to form, if poſſible, an offenſive and defenſive league with the republic, but all his addreſs was loſt upon the ſenate, which wiſely reſolved to maintain the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality, while they took care to keep their forces by ſea and land upon a reſpectable footing [b]. A.D. 1700. A.D. 1701. *The Venetians take no ſhare in the war.*

[a] Garzoni Stor. Venet. Graziani. Annal. [b] Murator.

# CHAP. LXXII.

## *The History of Naples.*

### SECT. I.

*Containing the Reigns of the Princes of Benevento, Capua, &c. to the first Arrival of the Normans.*

A. D. 774.

*The duke of Benevento submits to Charlemagne.*

WHEN Charlemage put an end to the dominion of the Lombards in Italy, by taking Desiderius their last king prisoner, he at the same time obliged the Lombard dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, to acknowlege him as king of Italy, but allowed them to exercise the same power and authority which they had enjoyed before his conquest. Of these three dukedoms Benevento was by far the most powerful and extensive, as it comprehended almost all that part of Italy which is at present known by the name of the kingdom of Naples [c], the Greek emperor possessing only the islands in the bay of Naples, that part of Farther Calabria beyond the rivers Savuto and Peto, a few maritime cities in Hither Calabria, with the city Acripoli, and the promontory in its neighbourhood, called Capo di Licosa; and lastly, the dukedoms of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi, which were very inconsiderable, extending along the shore only about a hundred miles, and interrupted by the Gastaldate, or county of Capua [d]. All the rest of Italy, on the south side of the rivers Garigliano and Fruento, was distinguished by the name of the dukedom of Benevento, which comprised nine of those twelve provinces into which the kingdom of Naples is at this day divided; namely, Terra di Lavoro, Contado di Molise, the Hither Abruzzo, Capitanata, Terra di Bari, Basilicata, the Hither Calarbria, and both the principalities [e].

This flourishing and extensive dukedom was governed by Arechis, who had married one of the daughters of the

[c] Camill. Peregrinus in Dissert. de Finib. Ducat. Benevent. [d] Const. Porphyrogen. de Administ. Imper. cap. 27. Dissertat. Chronograph. de Italia medii Ævi. apud Murator, tom. x. col. 302, 303, & 304. [e] Camill. Peregrin. Hist. Princ. Longobard. apud Murator. tom. ii. Anonym. Salern. ibid. tom. ii. part. ii.

last

laſt king of the Lombards, and had ſubmitted and taken the oath of allegiance to the emperor Charles. However, a few years after, he renounced his allegiance to the Franks, declared himſelf an independent ſovereign, and was acknowleged as ſuch by all the inhabitants of the duchy. To ſtrengthen himſelf againſt Pepin, king of Italy, who reſided at Ravenna, he enlarged and fortified the city of Benevento, and likewiſe built the city of Salerno, on the ſea coaſt, which he ſurrounded with a very ſtrong and high wall. He was greatly beloved by his ſubjects, and engaged in ſeveral wars with the ſubjects of the Greek empire in the duchy of Naples, who were ſometimes obliged to give him hoſtages[f]. He likewiſe made ſeveral incurſions into the territories of the pope, who not being able to oppoſe him, and receiving no aſſiſtance from Pepin, prevailed on Charlemagne to return to Italy. That conqueror accordingly, in the end of the year 786, repaſſed the Alps with a powerful army, and proceeded to Rome.

A. D. 781

*Arechis renounces his allegiance to Charlemagne.*

*Makes inſions into the pope's territories.*

Arechis was then at war with the Neapolitans, about the lands of Nola; but, being apprehenſive leſt they ſhould join the Franks, he immediately concluded a peace with his neighbours, and granted them ſome diaria, or ſubſidies, in the conteſted territory. He ſent his eldeſt ſon Romuald alſo to Rome, with an offer of ſubmiſſion: Charles, however, at the inſtigation of the pope, rejected his offer, and, detaining his ſon priſoner, proceeded with his army into Campania; and, after ravaging the country, made himſelf maſter of Capua. Arechis, not thinking himſelf ſafe in Benevento, went immediately to Salerno, from whence he again ſent deputies to Charles, to ſue for peace. Theſe deputies, conſiſting of his other ſon Grimoald, with the Beneventan biſhops, were ſo ſucceſsful as to prevail with Charlemagne to grant a peace, which was concluded on theſe conditions: that Arechis and the Beneventans ſhould renew their allegiance to the Franks; that he ſhould pay a yearly tribute to Pepin; ſhould deliver up all his treaſure; and give his ſon Grimoald and his daughter Adelgiſa, with twelve others, as hoſtages for his fidelity[g]. The conditions of the treaty being executed, Charlemagne returned to Rome, were he celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter; but, after many intreaties, he reſtored Adelgiſa to her father.

A. D. 787.

*Charlemagne returns to Italy and obliges him to ſubmit.*

[f] Sigon. in Regn. Ital.

[g] Regin. in Annal. Franc.

After the departure of Charles into France, Arechis entered into a negociation with the empress Irene and her son Constantine, for expelling the Franks entirely from Italy. He sent ambassadors to Constantinople, to desire the honour of the patriciate, and dukedom of Naples, with all its dependencies, promising to acknowlege the emperor as his sovereign, and to live after the manner of the Greeks; but requiring to be supported by a Greek army, and that his brother-in-law Adalgisus, son of the late king Desiderius, should be sent over to Italy to raise a party among the Lombards. The emperor readily agreed to these propositions, on condition that Arechis should give his son Romuald as a hostage. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to Naples with the ensigns of the patrician order; namely, the mantle of cloth of gold, the sword, the comb, and the sandals[h]: but before the ceremony could be performed, the young prince Romuald died, an event which hastened the death of his father, who deceased the same year, in the end of August, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was greatly regretted by the Beneventans, and is said to have been a prince endowed with many royal virtues. He published some good laws, built several churches, and erected two stately palaces, one at Benevento, and the other at Salerno. He was a lover of learning, and greatly caressed the learned men of those times, particularly Paul Warnefride, or Paulus Diaconus, who had been secretary to Desiderius, and had escaped to Benevento from Tremiti, whither he had been banished by Charlemagne, on a suspicion of intriguing in favour of Adalgisus (A).

*His son Grimoald succeeds him.*

After the death of Arechis, the Beneventans sent ambassadors to king Charles, demanding Grimoald with great submission and earnest entreaties. Charlemagne made no great difficulty of granting their request: perhaps he thought it was best to allow Grimoald to depart, and to trust to his gratitude, as the Greeks were making preparations to invade Italy, and the Beneventans threatened to revolt if their prince was not restored. He there-

[h] Adrian. Pontif. Epist. 44.

(A) Paul, after the death of Arechis, entered into the monastery of Monte Cassino, and, in gratitude for the protection afforded him by that prince, wrote an epitaph upon him in elegiac verse, which is published in the collection of Muratori.

fore

fore allowed Grimoald to depart after he had agreed to these conditions: that he should oblige the Lombards to shave their beards; that in writings, and on the money, the name of the king should be put before that of the prince; and that he should cause the walls of Salerno, Acerenza, and Consia, to be entirely demolished. At his departure he made him several presents, and sent with him two of his nobles, Anetharius and Panlipert, who afterwards received from Grimoald considerable possessions, and contracted noble alliances in the principality [i]. Grimoald was received by the Beneventans with the utmost demonstrations of joy, and, for some time after his return, he caused the writings and money to pass with the name of Charles; but he neglected to fulfil the last article [k]. As the Greeks still continued their preparations against Italy, Grimoald gave intelligence to Pepin. Instead of following the maxims of his father, and giving assistance to his uncle Adalgisus, he raised an army to oppose him, and being joined by Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, and Vinigise, the general of Pepin, he attacked the Greeks in Calabria, soon after they had landed, and, after a most obstinate battle, entirely defeated and took his uncle prisoner, who, according to Sigonius, was put to a cruel death by torture [l] (B).

*He renounces his allegiance to Charlemagne.*

Grimoald, soon after, began to follow the maxims of his father: having contracted an alliance with the Greek emperor, by marrying his niece Wanzia, he renounced his allegiance to Charlemagne, and resolved to support his independence against the efforts of Pepin, king of Italy. Accordingly, in the fifth year of his reign, a war broke out betwixt him and Pepin, which continued twelve years, with very little intermission. Pepin being joined by his brother Lewis, king of Aquitaine, with an army of Franks, A. D. 793.

*His territories invaded by the Franks.*

[i] Anon. Salern. apud Murator. tom. ii. part. ii. p. 188. [k] Peregr. Hist. Princ. Longob. [l] Sigon in Regn. Ital.

(B) The continuator of Aimonius and Maimburg write, that John, general of the Greek army, which had been transported from Sicily, was taken prisoner, and put to death; but that Adalgisus escaped after the battle, and returned, with a few followers, to Constantinople, where, submitting to his fortune, he passed the rest of his life quietly, in the quality of a patrician, and lived to a great age (1).

(1) Continuat. Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 40. Maimburg. Hist. Icon. lib. iii.

they marched into the principality of Benevento, which they ravaged in a hostile manner. Before the commencement of hostilities Grimoald endeavoured to avert the war, by renouncing his alliance with the emperor, and divorcing his wife Wanzia, whom, under a pretence of her barrenness, he sent back by force to Constantinople. The French, however, advanced into his territories, but they were not able to make any conquests, and the plague seizing their army, they were obliged to return home towards the end of the winter. The war continued to rage with great obstinacy; the French, however, for several years, were repulsed by the Beneventans; and even in the beginning of the century, when Charlemagne had returned to Rome, and received the new dignity of emperor from pope Leo III. Grimoald refused to acknowlege him as such, and braved his power when at its height. In the following year, indeed, the French made themselves masters of Chieti, and some other places in that gastaldate, which they united to the duchy of Spoleto. They also took Lucera in Puglia, but it was quickly retaken by Grimoald, who made Guinigise, or Vinigise, lately created duke of Spoleto, and the whole garrison of Franks, prisoners of war. Grimoald at last, after having gloriously withstood the great power of the French, died about three years after the conclusion of the truce, in the twentieth year of his reign [m]. He was buried at Salerno, near his father and brother, and the epitaph upon his tomb, in elegiac verse, is still extant [n].

A. D. 801.

*who conquer the gastaldate of Chieti.*

*Death of Grimoald.*

A. D. 806.

Grimoald's only son, Gothofred, dying before him, he was succeeded in the principality by one Grimoald, who had been his treasurer. The author of the chronicon of Salerno, represents this prince as cruel and tyrannical; but, according to Erchempert, he was of a mild disposition, and inclined to peace. In order to free his state from the continual incursions of the French, he sent ambassadors to Charlemagne, after the death of Pepin, and proposed a peace with him, which the emperor agreed to, on condition that Grimoald should pay a yearly tribute of seven thousand crowns, but, according to others, of twenty-five thousand [o]. From this time the principality of Benevento became tributary to the emperors of the West as kings of Italy. Grimoald likewise concluded a peace with the Neapolitans, which was not of long continuance. For

*Grimoald II. succeeds to the principality of Benevento.*

A. D. 812.

*He becomes tributary to the emperor.*

[m] Annal. Bertin. apud Murator. tom. ii. par. i. [n] Ap. Camill. Peregr. [o] Annal. Bertin. ut supra.

Theodore

Theodore the patrician, who then governed the dukedom of Naples, under the emperor Leo, ſurnamed the Armenian, granting protection to Dauferius, a noble Beneventan, who had been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt his prince, Grimoald marched againſt the city of Naples, and inveſted it by ſea and land. Theodore, however, ſtill refuſed to deliver up the Beneventan traitor, and a general engagement enſuing, both by land ſea, the Neapolitans were entirely defeated with great ſlaughter. Theodore and Dauferius made their eſcape into the city, where they were again in great danger of their lives from a tumult of the Neapolitan women, whoſe huſbands had been ſlain in the action. Theodore having found means to quell the tumult, immediately ſolicited a peace from Grimoald, who had approached with his army to the very gates of the city. He was ſo ſucceſsful, as to prevail upon the Beneventan prince to agree to a treaty, on condition of delivering up Dauferius, and giving eight thouſand crowns for the expences of the war. Grimoald was ſo merciful, as not only to pardon Dauferius, but to receive him into his former favour; the traitor, however, reflecting upon the heinouſneſs of his crime, was ſeized with remorſe, and went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, carrying a large ſtone in his mouth, by way of penance, which he never took out but at his meals [p].

*and inveſts the city of Naples.*

A. D. 817.

Though Grimoald happily put an end to this conſpiracy, yet, a few years after, another was formed, which proved fatal to him. The chief conſpirators were Radechis, or Radelchis, count of Conſia, and Sico, gaſtald of Acerenza, who, during the reign of Arechis, had fled from the duchy of Spoleto, where he had lived in great authority. As he had offended Pepin, he durſt not return to his own country, Arechis and his ſon Grimoald had heaped a great many favours upon him, and his power and authority became ſo great, that he began to aſpire to the ſucceſſion. Grimoald II. however, being preferred to him, his ambition prompted him to conſpire againſt his life. He accordingly, together with Radelchis, and the other conſpirators, murdered him, when he had juſt completed the eleventh year of his reign [q].

*He is murdered by the count of Conſia.*

Sico, though a ſtranger, ſucceeding to the principality, by the intrigues of Radelchis, renewed the treaty with Lewis the Good, which his predeceſſors had concluded

*Sico IV. ſucceeds.*

[p] Anonym. Salern. ut ſupra. [q] Camill. Peregrin. Hiſt. ut ſupra.

with the French. Radelchis, soon after his accession to the throne, repenting of his villainy, became a monk in Monte Cassino, where he lived in great austerity. Sico, in the mean time, associated his son Sicardo with himself in the government, and being of an ambitious and restless disposition, sought a pretence for attacking the Neapolitans. As they, about that time, expelled their duke Theodore, and elected one Stephen in his room, Sico is said to have declared war against them, on account of the injury done to his friend Theodore. He invested the city of Naples both by sea and land; and, having beat down a part of the wall, was preparing to make a general assault, when duke Stephen submitted: but, to prevent the pillaging of the city, he begged of him to delay his entry till next day, and in the mean time sent out his mother and his two children as hostages. Sico consented to his request; but next morning he found the breach built up, and the Neapolitans prepared for a defence. Exasperated at their perfidy, he renewed his attacks with redoubled fury, but without success, as the Neapolitans defended themselves with great obstinacy. The emperor of the East neglecting to give them any assistance, they had recourse to the emperor Lewis, who sent them some small reinforcements, which enabled them to hold out against the attacks of the besiegers. Sico, however, still continued the siege with great ardour; so that the Neapolitans, considering the precariousness of foreign assistance, and finding themselves, at last, unable to oppose his assaults, prevailed upon him, by the mediation of their bishop Orso, to agree to a peace. The treaty was concluded on condition that the Neapolitans, for the future, should pay a yearly tribute to the princes of Benevento, which was called Collata, and should consent to the transporting of the body of St. Januarius from his church, without the walls of Naples, to Benevento[r]. These conditions being ratified, and hostages given by the Neapolitans, Sico returned with great honour to Benevento, carrying with him the sacred relics, which were long worshipped in that city. A few years after, Sico, under pretence that the Neapolitans neglected paying the tribute, renewed the war against them, which continued during the remaining part of his reign. He died at Benevento, after he had reigned fifteen years, and a magnificent tomb was erected to him before the door of the

*He obliges the Neapolitans to pay him tribute.*

[r] Anonym. Salern. apud Murator. tom. ii. p. 290.

cathedral

cathedral church of that city, with a pompous inscription, which is still extant [s] (C). A. D. 833.

*His death. His son Sicardo V. succeeds.*

After the death of Sico, his son Sicardo possessed the government. He had, during the life of his father, married the daughter of the infamous Dauferius, and now gave himself up entirely to the counsels of his wife's brother Roffrid, by whose bad advice he oppressed his subjects in so miserable a manner, that they at last conspired against his life. In the beginning of his reign he made war upon the Neapolitans, under pretence that they did not pay the tribute. He besieged the city of Naples with a powerful army, and took possession of Acerra and Atella, which he fortified. But Bonus, the Neapolitan duke, defended the city with such vigour, that the Beneventans were obliged to retire, being even forced to abandon Acerra and Atella, the fortifications of which places were razed by the Neapolitans [t]. Sicardo, however, soon renewed hostilities; but upon the intercession of Lothaire, emperor and king of Italy, and of John bishop of Naples, he agreed to a peace for five years. The arrival of the Saracens, whom Andrew, duke of Naples, called over from Africa to his assistance, seemed chiefly to have induced Sicardo to agree to a peace; for they were no sooner sent back to Africa, than he sought to delay the conclusion of the treaty; but the emperor interposing his authority, a peace was at last ratified, in the third year of his reign, after the war had continued, with very little intermission, for sixteen years [u] (D). A. D. 836.

*He concludes a peace with the Neapolitans.*

Soon

[s] Camill. Peregr. Tumul. Princ. Longob. [t] Anonym. Salern. cap. 47. [u] Jo. Diac. in Chron. Epist. Neap.

(C) The Saracens, Agarens, or Ishmaelites, who, a few centuries before, had embraced the doctrines of Mahomet, and had conquered the whole northern coast of Africa, and part of Spain, first infested Sicily and the coasts of Italy during the reign of this prince. In the year 820 they came from Africa, like swarms of bees, into Sicily, took possession of Palermo, and ravaged a great part of that island. Afterwards they crossed the Faro, and landing at Tarento, seized that city, and ravaged the provinces in the lower part of Italy, belonging to the Greeks (1).

(D) This treaty consisted of forty-nine articles, seventeen of which are still preserved by the care of Peregrinus. By these it appears that Amalfi and Sorrento

(1) Epit. Chron. Casinens. Murat. tom. ii. Sigon. in Regn. Ital.

*Repulſes the Saracens;* Soon after the concluſion of this peace, the Saracens from Sicily landed at Brindiſi, and having made themſelves maſters of the place, ravaged all the neighbouring country. Sicardo marched againſt them with a numerous army, but was at firſt repulſed with great loſs. Sicardo, after having reinforced his army, marched again to attack them; but they, deſpairing of being able to reſiſt him, pillaged and burned Brindiſi, and retired with their booty, and a great many captives, to Sicily [u]. They were no ſooner gone than Sicardo marched with his army againſt Amalfi, for what reaſon is not mentioned, though it would appear from the chronicon of Salerno, that his chief motive for attacking that city was his great deſire of poſſeſſing relics, which were then ſuperſtitiouſly believed to be a greater protection to a city than ſtrong fortifications or a powerful army. Theſe he ſpared no pains to acquire, ſending about this time for the body of St. Bartholomew from one of the iſlands of Lipari. He accordingly, without any bloodſhed, ſurpriſed and took poſſeſſion of Amalfi, which he entirely ſtripped of all its wealth, carrying off with him to Benevento the body of their ſaint Triphomen. He likewiſe ordered the walls of the city to be levelled, plundered the neighbouring country, tranſported a great many of the inhabitants to Salerno, and, by promoting alliances between the inhabitants of both places, endeavoured to unite it thoroughly to his principality [w].

*and reduces Amalfi.*

During theſe tranſactions, his own ſubjects continually felt the effects of his cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition. He allowed his favourite Roffrid to ſtrangle an abbot, Alphanus, whom he had perſecuted for ſeveral years, with great malice and enmity, and who came to Salerno, under an oath of ſecurity granted him by his prince. He robbed a great many churches and monaſteries of their wealth; impriſoned and put to death many Beneventan nobles, whoſe eſtates he ſeized; depoſed and impriſoned the fa-

[u] Anon. Salern.

[w] Idem ibid.

rento were then comprehended in the duchy of Naples, and that the conditions of the treaty were regulated according to the Longobard laws. It was ſtipulated that neither of the nations ſhould diſturb the commerce of the other, by ſea, rivers, or land; that fugitives ſhould be punctually delivered up on both ſides; and that the Neapolitans ſhould continue to pay to the princes of Benevento the wonted yearly tribute (3).

(3) Pereg. de Capitular. Sicardi.

mous

mous Deusdedit, abbot of Monte Cassino; and, being jealous of his own brother Siconolphus, he compelled him to turn priest, and afterwards sent him bound to Tarento, where he shut him up in an old tower, that had been built for a cistern. These, and many other acts of tyranny, at last rendered him odious to all his subjects. Some nobles, who had received personal injuries from him, entered into a conspiracy against him, and murdered him in his tent, in the sixth year of his reign. A. D. 839. *Is murdered by his nobles.*

As Sicardo left only one daughter, and a bastard son, and his brother Siconolphus was a prisoner at Tarento, Radelchis, who had been his treasurer or secretary, was unanimously elected prince of Benevento, upon his death [x]. A few months after his accession, the Amalfitans who lived at Salerno despairing of receiving the same favours from him as from his predecessor, burnt their houses in that city, and returned to Amalfi. Radelchis, or Radelchisus, who, before his election, had acquired a great reputation for his justice and probity, began his reign with banishing Dauferius, with his sons Romuald, Arechis, and Grimoald, and some other Beneventan nobles. These exiles privately sollicited the Salernitans to revolt in favour of Siconolphus, brother of the deceased prince, and were joined by Landulph, gastald of Capua, who, being apprehensive of the resentment of Radelchis, on account of the cruelty of his government, had renounced his allegiance to him, and retired to Sicopolis, a strong city in his gastaldate, lately built by prince Sico [y]. Several other Beneventan lords entered into this conspiracy; among whom was Orso count of Consia, a relation of Siconolphus, who had escaped from his prison at Tarento, and concealed himself in the castle of Orso. The Amalfitans were likewise prevailed upon to espouse the cause of Siconolphus, who, the following year, was conducted to Salerno, and declared by his party prince of Benevento. *Is succeeded by Radelchis;* A. D. 840. *who is opposed by Siconolphus.*

Radelchis immediately raised an army to oppose his competitor; and an obstinate and most ruinous civil war ensued. The party of Siconolphus was at first the most successful; for, having entered into an alliance with the Neapolitans, he received succours from them, by which means he defeated the army of Radelchis, reduced great

[x] Stemma Sicon. & Ignot. Monach. Cassin. Frag. apud Peregrin.

[y] Epit. Chron. Cassin. apud Murator. tom. ii. Erchempert. ut supra. Anon. Salern. Leo Ostiens. lib. i. cap. 23. Tabula. Chorogr. medii Ævi.

part

part of Calabria and Puglia, and marching towards Benevento, took several places in its neighbourhood, and at last invested the city itself: but by the bravery of the Beneventans he was quickly obliged to raise the siege and retire. The Saracens, in the mean time, taking advantage of the intestine divisions of the Beneventans, again landed in Italy, and seized Tarento and several places in Puglia. Radelchis, finding the party of his competitor was becoming every day more powerful, desired Pando, governor of Bari, to invite the Saracens to his assistance, not reflecting on the dangerous consequence of such an alliance. The Saracens readily embraced the offers made them by Pando, and encamped without the walls of Bari; but, a few days after, they deceitfully surprised the garrison, and making themselves masters of the city, slaughtered the inhabitants, and threw the governor into the sea. Radelchis, not being in a condition to punish their perfidy, condescended still to court their alliance, and is even said to have robbed the church of St. Mary in Benevento of its treasure, to hire them as auxiliaries. In their first irruption into the territories of Siconolphus, they
A D. 842. were defeated and repulsed with great loss. But not long after, in conjunction with the troops of Radelchis, they marched into the gastaldate of Capua, which they ravaged in a most cruel and barbarous manner, and laid Capua itself in ashes [z].

*The Saracens burn Capua.*

Sicondolphus, perceiving the advantage which his competitor derived from his alliance with the Saracens who had come from Africa, most imprudently followed his example, and sent for those Saracens who had settled in Spain, inviting them to come to his assistance. In imitation of Radelchis, likewise, he robbed the church of St. Mary at Salerno of its treasure [a]. The whole duchy of Benevento then became a scene of blood and devastation. Though Siconolphus, by the assistance of his new allies, gained several advantages over his rival, yet their barbarity and insolence soon made him sensible of the imprudent step he had taken. He therefore resolved to have recourse to the French; and hearing that the emperor's eldest son Lewis had arrived at Rome, he went thither, after having a sixth time robbed the monastery of Cassino, and purchased his friendship at the expence of a hundred thousand crowns [b]. We do not read, however, of any assist-

[z] Tab. Chorog. ap Murator. tom. x. ut supra.
[a] Anon. Salern.
[b] Annal. Bertin. anno 844.

ance

ance given to him at that time by Lewis, for the war continued for several years after this period, almost to the entire destruction of the principality; the Saracens, as it served their interests, sometimes acting as auxiliaries, and at other times as declared enemies to both parties. At length the emperor Lewis, at the earnest intreaties of the abbot of Monte Cassino, marched with an army from Brescia to Benevento, and having obliged the Beneventans to deliver up the Saracens, with their prince Massar, who were put to death without the walls, made a partition of the duchy between the two competitors, allowing Radelchis to retain Benevento, with a certain part of the ancient duchy, and assigning the remaining part to Siconolphus, under the title of prince of Salerno; but at the same time he obliged both princes to acknowlege him as their sovereign, and to swear fealty to him, declaring themselves not only tributaries but feudatories to the French [c]. Such was the consequence of this most ruinous civil war, which had continued, with great animosity, for near twelve years. The emperor Lewis, who had arrived at Benevento about Whitsuntide, after the conclusion of the treaty, returned with his army to Mantua. But the two princes, who were now reconciled, did not long enjoy the fruits of the peace, both dying the same year; Siconolphus leaving an infant son, named Sico, to the care of one Peter, his godfather, and Radelchis, who, by his wife Caretruda, had twelve children, appointing his son Radelgarius as his heir [d], whom he had associated with himself in the principality before his death [e].

A. D. 851.

*The emperor divides the principality between the two competitors.*

Radelgarius, or Radelcar, soon after the death of his father, sent his forces, in conjunction with those of the prince of Salerno, against the Saracens, who were still in possession of Bari. He was not, however, able to reduce the city or expel the infidels: on the contrary, they repulsed his forces, and afterwards made an irruption into Apulia and Calabria, and even advanced to the neighbourhood of Benevento and Salerno. The Beneventans, not able to put a stop to their ravages, sent the abbots of Monte Cassino and St. Vincent to beg the protection of the emperor, offering to submit, as faithful subjects, to the meanest officer he should put over them [f]. The emperor Lewis, by his father's desire, immediately returned

*Radelcar succeeds to the principality of Benevento.*

[c] Sigon. Anon. Salern. Pietro Giannone Hist. di Nap. [d] Camill. Peregr. Stem. Princ. Benevent. Anonym. Salern. [e] Tumul. Radelcar. apud Petegrin. [f] Erchempert. sect. xx.

to

to Italy, and marched directly, with a considerable army, towards Capua, in expectation of being joined by the inhabitants. But they only granted him a few auxiliaries; so that, although he defeated the Saracens in several skirmishes, he was not able to drive them out of Italy [g]. Peter, the regent, betrayed his trust, and, in favour of his own son Ademarius, set aside the young prince, and sent him to France, under pretence of being educated at the court of the emperor [h]. During these transactions, Radelcar, prince of Benevento, died, in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother Adelchis, or Adelgise, a prince of a mild disposition, who was engaged for several years in hostilities with the Saracens, to whom he was obliged at length to give hostages and a yearly subsidy.

A. D. 854.

*He is succeeded by his brother Adelchis.*

Two years after his accession to the principality of Benevento, Sico, the young prince of Salerno, returned to Italy, and was poisoned at Sicopolis, by Lando count of Capua, who the same year removed from Sicopolis, which had been built upon the top of a hill twenty-five years before, and, in conjunction with two of his brothers, Landulph the bishop, and Landonulph the count, built New Capua, on the plain near the bridge of Cassilino. About the same time they likewise revolted from Ademarius, then prince of Salerno, and declared themselves independent. Their father count Landulph, who had been gastald of Capua, put most of his own relations to death, and, about the beginning of the civil war between Radelchis and Siconolphus, began to govern his gastaldate in an arbitrary manner. His sons seeing the principality of Benevento miserably ravaged by the Saracens, and that of Salerno possessed by one whom they looked upon as an usurper, took that opportunity of renouncing their allegiance to Ademarius, who was no sooner informed of their revolt than he marched against them with an army, in order to reduce them; but, after several unsuccessful skirmishes, he was obliged to retire. Lando governed his new county (F) with an independent sway

A. D. 856.

*The counts of Capua declare themselves independent.*

[g] Sigon. de Regn. Ital. [h] Anonym. Salern. cap. 79.

(F) This gastaldate, or county of Capua, was bounded on the north by Arpino, on the south by the lower sea, betwixt the mouths of the Garigliano and Volturno; which two rivers likewise served for the eastern and western boundary of the country, though it possessed some cities on the farther side

sway for five years, and, dying, left his children to the care of his two brothers, Pando and Landulph the bishop, who, betraying their trust, banished their nephews, and seized the county; an usurpation which occasioned a civil war betwixt the favourers of the uncles and nephews.

During the government of Lando at Capua, Ademarius, prince of Salerno, by his cruelty and rapaciousness, entirely alienated the affections of his subjects. Guaferius, the son of Dauferius, who was then in exile at Naples, being encouraged by the malecontents, and privately assisted by the Capuan counts, returned to Salerno, and seizing Ademarius, shut him up in a close prison, a few months after the death of Lando [i]. Adelgise, prince of Benevento, in the mean time, was engaged in repelling the incursions of the Saracens; though he had received, at different times, considerable succours from the emperor Lewis, he was unable to oppose the ravages of the infidels. He therefore entered into an alliance with Guaferius prince of Salerno, and, in conjunction with him, sent an embassy to the emperor, intreating his protection in a most humble manner. Lewis, in the mean time, received an embassy from the emperor of Constantinople, proposing a junction of their forces to expel the Saracens entirely from Italy; he therefore resolved upon an expedition against them, and gave orders for assembling a formidable army, sending likewise to his brother Lotharius, king of France, desiring him to march with some troops into Italy [k]. The Saracens, in the mean time, continued their incursions, and some authors say, at the instigation of Adelgise, who had made peace with them, they invaded the county of Capua, which they ravaged in a most barbarous manner, and from thence proceeded to the dukedom of Naples, which they likewise plundered. The Neapolitans assembling an army, and hiring the troops of the duke of Spoleto, and Gerard count of Marsi, endeavoured to oppose them; but the Saracens gaining the victory, grew more insolent, and ravaged the duchy of Benevento, making themselves masters of Venafro, plunder-

A. D. 861.

*Ademarius, prince of Salerno, is imprisoned by Guaferius.*

[i] Anon. Salern. cap. 85, 86. Stemma Princ. Salern. apud Peregrin. Erchemp. sect. xxvi. [k] Leo Ostiens. lib. i. cap. 37 & 38.

side of both; namely, Sora Caserta and Suessala beyond the beyond the Garigliano, and Volturno 1).

(1) Tabul. Chorograph. ap. Murator. tom. x.

ing

ing the monastery of St. Vincent the Martyr, and raising a contribution of three thousand crowns from the monastery of Cassino; then they retired, undisturbed, with their booty to Bari [1].

A. D. 866. A few months after this event, the emperor Lewis arrived with his army at Sora, and proceeding from thence to Cassino, was received with great respect by the abbot and monks. Upon his entering the county of Capua, he was joined by Landulph, the bishop and count, with a body of Capuans; but Landulph soon after persuading the Capuans to desert, the emperor immediately marched against that city, which he reduced, after a siege of three months. Having almost totally destroyed that place, he marched from thence, in the end of the year, towards Salerno, and was met by Guaferius, with his quota of troops, after having ordered the eyes of Ademarius to be put out. Lewis confirmed him in the principality, and advanced with his army to Benevento, where he was received with great respect by Adelgise. Early in the following spring he ordered his army to assemble at Lucera, and proceeded from thence to invest Bari. Finding the city strongly fortified and garrisoned, and having suffered some considerable losses in skirmishes with the infidels, he turned his arms against Matera, which he made himself master of, pillaged, and set on fire. He likewise reduced several other inconsiderable places belonging to the Saracens, to whom he gave no quarter. Having placed garrisons in Venosa and Canosa, and sent for assistance from his brother Lotharius and the Greek emperor Basilius, he returned, upon the conclusion of the campaign, to Benevento [m]. As the Saracens were continually reinforced from Palermo and Africa, and were besides protected by the Neapolitans, Lewis did not reduce the city of Bari till three years afterwards, though he received a considerable reinforcement from his brother Lotharius, and was assisted by upwards of two hundred sail of Greek ships [n].

*The emperor marches to Benevento against the Saracens*

A. D. 871.

*He reduces Bari.*

After the destruction of Bari, the French and Lombards marched against the Saracens in Puglia and Calabria, and laid close siege to Tarento, from whence, about August, Lewis returned with great glory to Benevento, resolving, after having totally expelled the Saracens from Italy, to

[1] Sigon. Erch. ut supra. [m] Anon. Salern. [n] Annal. Bertin. Epist. Ludov. ad Imp. Basil. ap. Baron. & Murator. tom. ii. par. ii.

make

make a conquest of Sicily [o]. His future schemes of conquest were however frustrated by a singular accident. The empress Engelberga, who attended her husband, had, on several occasions, behaved in an insolent manner to Adelgise; and the French army, elated with their success, had of late begun to oppress the Beneventans, and to treat them with contempt. On these accounts, and some say at the instigation of Basilius, Adelgise surprised Lewis in Benevento, and kept him in prison for forty days; the Beneventans, at the same time, plundering the retinue of the emperor, and expelling them the city. During the emperor's imprisonment, a new body of Saracens arrived from Africa; and being joined by those in Italy, besieged the city of Salerno with an army of thirty thousand men, ravaging the neighbouring country with great barbarity [p]. This new invasion greatly alarmed Adelgise: however, resolving to free his principality from the oppression of the French, before he would give the emperor his liberty, he obliged him to swear upon the sacred relics not to revenge the insult he had received, and never to return to Benevento. After his departure Adelgise joined his forces to those of Guaferius prince of Salerno, to oppose the Saracens, who soon after raised the siege and marched into Calabria, which they entirely destroyed.

*Is imprisoned at Benevento by Adelgise, who soon after sets him at liberty.*

The emperor Lewis, in the mean time, had advanced to Capua, where, by the persuasion of Landulph the bishop and count, who had become his favourite, he put nine thousand Saracens to death, and detained two ambassadors, who had been sent by the prince of Salerno, during the siege, to desire his assistance. A few weeks after he proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned by the pope; and from thence, according to a certain author, marched with his army towards Benevento [q]. Other authors, however, place this expedition in the following year, when he received absolution from his oath from pope John VIII.; some say, that he did not go himself with his army, but gave the command of it to his empress; and that, though a body of Greeks had landed at Otranto to support Adelgise, that prince, despairing of being able to defend himself, left Italy, and fled to Corsica. The accounts of authors, concerning these transactions, are very different, and impossible to be reconciled. We find that this same year Adelgise, by the intercession of his countryman pope

A. D. 873.

*Adelgise is reconciled to the emperor.*

[o] Epist. Ludov. ut supra.
[p] Erchempert. sect. xxxv.
[q] Ann. Berlin. ad anno 872.

John, was reconciled to the emperor, and restored to his principality, which he enjoyed till his death, which happened five years afterwards, when he was murdered by his own relations[r]. The emperor Lewis, soon after his reconciliation with Adelgise, restored the county of Capua to the bishop Landulph: however, he refused to erect Capua into a metropolitan see, and to subject to it the see of Benevento; a favour which the ambitious bishop sollicited with great earnestness.

A. D. 876. Lewis immediately left Capua, and died the following year in France, while the Saracens were still continuing their ravages in Benevento, which induced the inhabitants of Bari to deliver their city to Gregory, governor of Otranto, who took possession of it, with a Greek garrison. At the same time, the Salernitans, Neapolitans, Cajetans, and Amalfitans, having made peace with the Saracens, agreed to their proposal of attacking the Roman dukedom; and accordingly they fitted out a fleet of ships, with which they infested the coasts of the territories belonging to the pope. His holiness earnestly sollicited assistance from Charles the Bald, king of France, whom the year before he had created emperor, and wrote to Guaferius, prince of Salerno, dissuading him from an alliance with the infidels[s]. In the beginning of the following year he again sollicited the emperor's assistance, and excommunicated Sergius, duke of Naples, who was the most zealous friend of the Saracens. He likewise wrote to the prefect of Amalfi, to Landulph bishop of Capua, and to Clio bishop of Benevento, desiring them to exert themselves against the infidels. He even went himself at the head of an army to the neighbourhood of Gaeta, in conjunction with Vido and Lambert, dukes of Spoleto, and prevailed upon Guaferius, prince of Salerno, to renounce his alliance with the infidels, and to declare war against the Neapolitans. Guaferius accordingly attacked the Neapolitans, and took twenty-two prisoners, whom the pope ordered to be beheaded. Sergius, duke of Naples, being privately supported by Lambert duke of Spoleto, and Adelgise prince of Benevento, refused to abandon the infidels; but soon after he was sent a prisoner to Rome by his brother Athanasius, bishop of Naples, who ordered his eyes to be put out. The pope, however, being disappointed of the assistance of the emperor, who came no farther than

*The Greeks take possession of Bari.*

*The Saracens invade the pope's territories.*

[r] Erchempert. sect. xxix. Anon. Salern. c. 126. Aimon. lib. v. c. 80. in fine. [s] Epist. Joan. ap. Baron. anno 876.

Pavia,

Pavia, and was cut off by poison, was obliged to purchase a peace from the infidels, and to promise to pay them a large annual tribute [t].

By the death of the emperor Charles, all Italy was thrown into the greatest confusion. Several competitors claimed the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy; and as the pope's suffrage now appeared of great consequence, Lambert duke of Spoleto entered Rome with an armed force, to compel the pope to declare for him. John, provoked by this outrage, left Rome; and next year went by sea to France. During his absence, Adelgise, prince of Benevento, as we mentioned above, was murdered by his own nephews; one of whom, Gaideris, seized the principality, to the prejudice of Radelchis, the son of the deceased. John returned, towards the end of the year, to Rome, when he found all the coasts of the Roman dukedom, towards Fundi and Terracina, in possession of the Saracens. Five days after his arrival he assembled some troops; and marching against the Saracens, recovered six hundred captives, and took eighteen of their ships [u]. Landulph, bishop of Capua dying, that county was divided, according to his will, betwixt his three grandchildren. Pandonulphus, besides Capua, possessed Tiano and Lasamirta; Lando had Berolassi and Suessa; and the other Lando obtained Calinio and Cajazzeta. At the same time, Landulph, the son of Lando, was chosen bishop. This settlement, however, continued only two months; for the brothers invaded each other's inheritance; and, to support their party, some had recourse to Guaferius, prince of Salerno; others to Lambert, duke of Spoleto; and others to Gaideris, prince of Benevento, and Gregory, governor of Bari and Otranto. To complete the confusion, Landulph the new bishop was expelled, and Landenulph, the brother of the governor of Capua, though a layman, was chosen in his room, and even consecrated by the pope [w], who wrote to Guaferius, prohibiting him, under pain of excommunication, from attacking Capua. Guaferius seems not to have regarded this threat; for we find from Erchempertus, that he besieged Capua both this year and the following. That miserable province was at the same time obliged to support the armies of the prince of Benevento and the duke of Spoleto.

A. D. 878.

*Gaideris succeeds to the principality of Benevento.*

*A civil war in the country of Capua.*

[t] Epist. Joan. lxxxix. [u] Ejusd. Epist. ap. Sigon. [w] Erchemp. sect. xl. Anon. Salern. c. 127.

*The Saracens strengthen themselves in Italy.*

The Saracens in the mean time seized the favourable opportunity for strengthening their power in Italy. Athanasius, bishop and duke of Naples, notwithstanding the great commendations he had received from the pope, for putting out the eyes of his brother, now consented to an alliance with the infidels, in conjunction with whom he ravaged the pope's territories, and those of Benevento and Spoleto, plundering all the churches, monasteries, towns, and cities, through which they passed [x]. The Saracens about the same time over-ran the principality of Salerno, and obliged the Salernitans to conclude a peace with them, and to grant them a settlement in the neighbourhood of their city [y]. At the invitation of Docibilis, duke of Gaeta, who was oppressed by the count of Capua, they likewise sailed from Agropoli, and landing in the neighbourhood of Gaeta, plundered the province to a considerable distance. The pope used his utmost endeavours with the Cajetans to dismiss them; and by going himself to Gaeta, prevailed upon Docibilis to renounce his alliance with them, and to attack them; but, as he quickly found them too powerful, he was obliged to conclude a peace with them, and to grant them a settlement on the north side of the Garigliano, where they fortified themselves, and continued for more than forty years [z]. The pope, to put a stop to the confusion which overwhelmed Italy, thought proper about this time to restore Landulph, bishop of Capua, but allowed Landenulph to reside in the new city, and to govern one half of the diocese. Notwithstanding this partition, the civil dissensions still continued in Capua, brothers and cousins, according as the fortune of war prevailed, suffering banishment, or banishing each other.

A. D. 880.

*Guaferius, prince of Salerno, is succeeded by his son Guaimarius.*

In the following year Guaferius, prince of Salerno, died, and was succeeded by his son Guaimarius. He had not held the principality of Salerno many months, when Gaideris, prince of Benevento, was taken prisoner by Lando, one of the counts of Capua, because he had espoused the cause of count Pandonulph, and had given his daughter in marriage to his son. In room of Gaideris the Beneventans chose Radelchis, the son of their former prince Adelgise, who was soon after informed that Gaideris had made his escape from France, whither he had

[x] Erchempert. sect. xliv. [y] Anon. Salern. c. 128. [z] Leo Ost. lib. v. c. 42. 44. Epist. Joan. cclvi. cclxxix.

been

been sent as a prisoner, and had put himself under the protection of the Greeks at Bari. From thence he proceeded to Constantinople, where he was received in an honourable manner by the emperor Basilius, who conferred upon him for life the government of Oria, an inland city betwixt Brindisi and Tarento[a]. In the mean time Athanasius, bishop of Naples, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope, continued his alliance with the Saracens, in conjunction with whom he ravaged the territories of Benevento. Being in hopes likewise of making a conquest of Capua, he fomented the divisions between the brother counts, and sent troops to the assistance of Pandonulph. The pope not being able to prevail with him to renounce his alliance with the infidels, though he had even gone to Naples for that purpose, returned to Rome, and, in the month of March, denounced a sentence of excommunication against him. This sentence, however, seemed to have no effect; Athanasius united himself more closely than ever to the Saracens, and sent to Sicily, desiring king Suchaim to come over and command a great body of his countrymen, who had settled at the foot of mount Vesuvius. He likewise quartered his army in Capua, where it committed great disorders: and this year, among other prisoners, took the historian Erchempertus, then a youth, and stripped him of all he had[b]. Suchaim, in the mean time, who had taken the command of the Saracens, began hostilities against his ally Athanasius, and allowed his troops to live at discretion in the territory of Naples, where they ravished the women, and plundered the inhabitants of their effects. The Neapolitans thinking these calamities were the consequences of the sentence of excommunication, prevailed on Athanasius to conclude an alliance with Guaimarius, prince of Salerno, against the infidels. The bishop accordingly receiving a considerable body of troops from Guaimarius, and drawing reinforcements from the cities and maritime towns of Capua, obliged the infidels to quit Naples, and retire to Agropoli.

A. D. 881.

*The pope excommunicates the bishop of Naples,*

After their expulsion from his territories, he declared against Pandonulph, count of Capua, and besieged that city in conjunction with the sons of Lando and Landonulph. Pandonulph had recourse to his kinsman Radelchis, prince of Benevento, for assistance, who marching with his brother Aio to his relief, was admitted into the

[a] Erchempert. sect. xlviii. [b] Idem, sect. xliv.

city, and soon after attacked the besiegers, who were at that time assisted by the Amalfitans. Both parties fought with great obstinacy, but neither side could claim a victory. Radelchis, not long after, returning to Benevento, Athanasius persuaded Pandonulph to an accommodation with his brothers, which was accordingly agreed to, and
A. D. 882. confirmed by an oath. But he and his party were no sooner admitted into the city than they seized Pandonulph, and his brother Landonulph the bishop, with all their friends, and sent the count and the bishop prisoners to Naples. The Saracens still continued their incursions, and ravaged the provinces in such a manner, that the lands lay intirely desolate [c]. About this time they assembled a powerful army from Garigliano and Agropoli, and marched to the relief of their countrymen, who were besieged by the Greeks in Santa Severina. They were, however, very unsuccessful in this expedition; for Erchempertus relates, that they were all cut off by the Greeks, who immediately after made themselves masters of Santa Severina and Amantea, and recovered all Lower Calabria.

*who makes himself master of Capua.*

A. D. 884. In the midst of these confusions the Beneventans expelled their prince Radelchis, in the third year of his reign, and chose his brother Aio in his room. Aio had not enjoyed the principality many months, when he was taken prisoner by Guido, duke of Spoleto, at Capua. When the Saracens drew their chief force into Calabria against the Greeks, Guido, or Vido, attacked their settlement at Garigliano, which he took and plundered. Being afterwards met by Aio at Capua, he detained him a prisoner, and proceeded to Benevento, where he disposed every thing according to his pleasure, and afterwards marched quite through the principality to Siponto, now Manfredonia, on the Adriatic sea. The Sipontins, being informed that their prince was a prisoner, surprised Guido in one of their churches, and obliged him to set Aio at liberty [d]. The Saracens, in the mean time, plundered and burnt the monastery of Monte Cassino, which remained for two years in ruins, while Athanasius, bishop of Naples, renewed his hostilities against the Capuans, and endeavoured to persuade Atenulphus to seize his cousin Lando and his sons, and to assume the sovereignty of all Capua. Atenulphus at first rejected his advice, and even discovered it to his cousins; but, about two years

*Aio succeeds his brother Radelchis.*

[c] Erchempert. sect. li. [d] Idem. sect. xlviii. lix.

after,

after, he allowed himself to be persuaded, and having drawn a great many young men over to his party, surprised Capua, and immediately declared himself count. As a security for his engagements to Athanasius, he sent his son a hostage to Naples; and, to prevail with pope Stephen IV. to countenance his usurpation, he sent the abbot of St. Vincent, and Dauferius, a deacon, to Rome, offering to submit to the pope, to restore Gaeta to him, and to assist him against the Saracens who were settled at Garigliano; which promises, however, he afterwards neglected to fulfil [e]. Some time before this revolution in Capua, Guaimarius, prince of Salerno, not being able to oppose the Saracens, who, in conjunction with Athanasius, ravaged his principality, went to Constantinople to ask assistance from the Greek emperors Leo and Alexander, who the same year had succeeded their father Basilius. They received him with great honour, created him a patrician, supplied him with money and provisions, and, upon his return, sent with him a considerable body of Greeks, who were put in garrison at Salerno [f]. Pellegrinus informs us likewise, that they granted him a charter, which is recorded by Summontes [g], confirming to him the principality of Salerno, according to the treaty of partition made betwixt Siconulphus and Radelchis [h].

A. D. 887.

*Atenulphus usurps the sovereignty of Capua.*

Soon after his return, Aio, prince of Benevento, renounced his allegiance to the Greeks, and attacked their garrison in Bari. The bishop of Naples, in the mean time, invaded his territories, and those of Atenulphus, count of Capua. In short, all those provinces which compose the present kingdom of Naples were engaged, about this period, in civil wars, and, with great animosity, contributed to their mutual ruin. They concluded solemn treaties, which they violated in the sequel; and, instead of uniting to expel the Saracens, continually associated themselves with the infidels, who made no scruple of serving in opposite armies. The anarchy which prevailed at this time in Italy was greatly increased by the death of the emperor Charles the Gross, without male issue. The Italians, on this occasion, resolved to be governed no longer by a foreign prince, and chose Berengarius, duke of Friuli, for their king, who, by the mother's side, was great grandson of Charlemagne. He ob-

A. D. 888.

*Aio renounces his allegiance to the Greeks.*

*Berengarius and Guido contend for the crown of Italy.*

[e] Erchempert. sect lxiii. & seq. [f] Anon. Salern. cap. cxxxiv. [g] Summont. tom. i. p. 428. [h] Camill. Peregrin. in Stem. Princ. Salern.

tained the kingdom peaceably, as he had entered into a previous compact with another ambitious great-grandson of Charles the Great, namely, Vido, or Guido, duke of Spoleto, who, in his choice of the kingdoms of the late emperor, thought proper to prefer France. The French, however, having conferred their kingdom on Otho, count of Paris and Orleans, Guido returned disappointed to Italy, and immediately formed pretensions to his native kingdom; in which he was so fortunate as to be countenanced by pope Stephen, who had advised him to his French expedition. A civil war ensuing, Guido defeated his competitor, and, after much bloodshed, having intirely reduced all those of the opposite party, he was crowned emperor by pope Formosus, in the first year of his pontificate.

At the commencement of this destructive civil war, which raged four years in the northern parts of Italy, Leo, emperor of Constantinople, made great preparations in order to punish the revolt of Aio, prince of Benevento. This prince, however, died before the arrival of the Greek army, and left his principality to his son Orso, then a boy of ten years of age. Gaideris, the exiled prince, who still resided at Oria, urged the emperor to seize that opportunity of making a conquest of Bene-
A. D. 891. vento. Accordingly, in the following year, Leo sent over into Italy a powerful army, under the command of
*The Greeks conquer Benevento.* Simbaticius, protospatharius, who, investing Benevento, made himself master of it, after a siege of three months; and soon after reducing all the cities of the principality, subjected it to the Greek emperor, after it had been governed by the Lombards about three hundred and twenty years [1]. Simbaticius remained in Benevento about two years, and afterwards delivered up his government to George the patrician, who treated the Beneventans with great mildness and humanity, in hopes of reconciling them to their new master. In the mean time Guaimarius, prince of Salerno, governing his subjects in a tyrannical manner, many of them fled to Benevento, where they entered into a conspiracy against their prince, and offered to deliver up Salerno to the patrician. George accordingly assembled an army, under pretence of attacking the Saracens, and marched to the very walls of Salerno; but though the gates were opened by the conspirators, he was

[1] Camill. Peregrin. Hist. Princ. Longob. Anon. Salern. cap. 142.

dissuaded

diſſuaded from marching into the city by the biſhop of Benevento, who pretended to propheſy, that, if they entered Salerno, they would all be ſlain. The Beneventans likewiſe refuſed to join in the enterprize; and, in the mean while, a panic ſeizing his army, they fled back with great precipitation. This miſconduct of the patrician intirely alienated the Beneventans from the Greeks. They therefore privately deſired Guaimarius, prince of Salerno, to invite Guido, marquis of Spoleto, whoſe ſiſter he had married, to come into their neighbourhood with an army. Guido, whoſe elder brother Lambert was then emperor and king of Italy, quickly arrived with a body of troops, and was joyfully received by the inhabitants, who had been for ſome time greatly oppreſſed by the Greek governor, Theodore Turmaca, the ſucceſſor of the patrician George, lately deceaſed of a palſy [k].

Guido allowed Turmaca to depart upon paying five thouſand crowns. After he had held the principality near two years, he reſolved to return to Spoleto, and to put Guaimarius, his brother-in-law, in poſſeſſion of Benevento. Guaimarius accordingly proceeded with a numerous retinue to Avellino, within fourteen miles of Benevento, where he was ſurpriſed by the gaſtald Adelpherius, who immediately put out his eyes. Guido nevertheleſs left Benevento, which, after his departure, was governed a few months by Peter the biſhop, who, finding great difficulty in repulſing the Greeks, invited the mother of the emperor Lambert to come to the city. She ſoon after arrived at Benevento, and reſtored the principality to her brother Radelchis, who had been expelled about fourteen years before by Aio [l]. As this prince was of a ſoft and indolent diſpoſition, and had no talents for government, he ſuffered himſelf wholly to be directed by the councils of one Virialdus, who excited him to harraſs his ſubjects, and to baniſh ſeveral of the Beneventan lords. Theſe exiles, with many others who voluntarily baniſhed themſelves, retired to Capua, where they were honourably entertained by Atenulphus. In reſentment of the ſeverity of Radelchis, they formed a deſign of expelling him again, and conferring the principality on their protector Atenulphus, who willingly hearkened to their propoſal, and, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, immediately ſent an embaſſy to Guaimarius, prince of Salerno, begging his

A. D. 898.

*Radelchis is reſtored to the principality of Benevento.*

[k] Fragment. Hiſt. Longob. apud Pellegrin. Anon. Salern. apud Pellegrin.

[l] Idem ibid.

daughter

daughter for his ſon Landulph, and offering to be ſubject to him, as his predeceſſors had been to the Salernitan princes. Guaimarius, at the inſtigation of his wife Jota, and the Capuan exiles Lando and Landulph, rejected the propoſed alliance in a diſdainful manner. Then Atenulphus was obliged to have recourſe to the friendſhip of Athanaſius, the biſhop, and the duke of Naples, who without any difficulty, conſented to a firm alliance with him, and to give his only daughter Gemma to Landulph, the young count of Capua[m].

A. D. 900.

*Atenulphus count of Capua obtains poſſeſſion of that principality.*

Atenulphus, ſtrengthened by this alliance, haſtened the execution of the deſign formed by the exiles, and proceeding with them towards Benevento, ſurpriſed the city during the night, and ſeized Radelchis. Atenulphus was inſtantly proclaimed prince by the nobles and people, whoſe affection he afterwards ſtudied to ſecure by liberal gifts and a mild adminiſtration. This great revolution was very unacceptable to many Beneventans, who could not forbear repining at finding themſelves ſubjected to the dominion of a ſtranger, who was not deſcended of the race of their ancient dukes and princes. During theſe tranſactions at Benevento, Guaimarius, or Waimar, who had rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects by his cruelty, was depoſed by his ſon Guaimarius II. whom he had a few years before aſſociated with himſelf in the government. Atenulphus, in the mean while, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the principality to his family, aſſociated his ſon Landulph with himſelf as prince, and, appointing Peter the biſhop as governor of Benevento, returned to Capua, where he fixed his reſidence, to the irrecoverable loſs of the city of Benevento, which from that time began to decline. After his return to Capua, the Beneventans, prompted by their biſhop Peter, formed the deſign of a revolt; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered to Atenulphus, he marched back to Benevento, ſeized the chief rebels, and expelled the biſhop, who retired full of ſhame to Salerno, where he was kindly received by Guaimarius II. at that time greatly jealous of the power of the prince of Benevento. Atenulphus, having eſtabliſhed his authority in Benevento, was afterwards engaged for ſeveral years in oppoſing the incurſions of the Saracens, who had fortified themſelves ſtrongly on the Garigliano. He was aſſiſted by the Amalfitans, and by Gregory, duke of Naples, who had ſucceeded Athanaſius; but finding their joint forces unable

[m] Anon. Salern. ut ſupra.

to

to suppress the infidels, he applied for assistance to the emperor Leo, and sent his son Landulph to Constantinople. Leo, desirous of recovering the authority of his predecessors in Italy, received Landulph with great kindness, created him a patrician, and ordered a powerful army to be transported into Italy. During the absence of Landulph, Atenulphus associated his other son, of his own name, in the principality, and died in a few months after, having governed the Beneventans ten years and six months, and Capua twenty-three years and an half [n]. A. D. 910. *His death.*

Landulph, hearing of the death of his father, who was greatly regretted, immediately left Constantinople, and returned to Capua, where he was received with great affection by his brother; and together with him assumed the government, both of them agreeing not to separate the principality from the county, as had been proposed by their father. Mean while the Greek army arrived in Italy, under the command of Nicholas Picigli, a patrician, who brought with him the dignity of patriciate from the emperor Constantine VIII. for Gregory, duke of Naples, and John, duke of Gaeta, in order to detach them entirely from the Saracens. Nicholas having drawn considerable reinforcements from Puglia and Calabria, which were then almost entirely under the dominion of the Greeks, and being joined by auxiliary troops from Naples, Gaeta, and Salerno, besides those of the Beneventans and Capuans, marched to the Garigliano, and invested the fort of the Saracens. Pope John X. likewise joined in this alliance, and also the Spoletans, and inhabitants of Camerino, who together with Alberic, marquis of Tuscany, assisted at the siege. The Saracens, after an obstinate defence of three months, despairing of relief, set fire to several parts of the town, and sallied out to the neighbouring woods and mountains; but being pursued and surrounded by the Italians and Greeks, were almost entirely cut off [o]. A. D. 915. *His two sons govern conjointly.* *The Saracens are entirely defeated at Garigliano.*

Though by this victory Italy was entirely freed from the Saracens, yet, soon after, another body of Moors arriving from Africa, and joining those who had saved themselves from Garigliano, ravaged Puglia and the territories of Benevento. The tranquility of the provinces was likewise disturbed by the Greeks, who governing the Apulians and Calabrians with great severity, provoked them

[n] Murator. tom. ii. p. 278. [o] Luitprand. Hist. ap. Murator. tom. ii. p. 441. Sigon. in Regn. Ital. an. 915. Series Abbat. Casin. apud Murator. tom. v. p. 210.

to

to revolt. They accordingly put themſelves under the protection of Landulph, prince of Benevento, who willingly eſpouſed their cauſe; and, in hopes, of recovering Bari, and many cities of Puglia, immediately began hoſtilities againſt the Greeks. The event of the war at firſt, however, was contrary to his expectation; for the Apulians and Calabrians were quickly reduced by the Greeks, whoſe reſentment was ſo great againſt them and Landulph, that they invited the Saracens again from Africa, and hired them as auxiliaries. Though the Greeks, in the beginning of the war, made conſiderable progreſs, yet, in the third campaign, Landulph gained a complete victory over them at Aſcoli, when the Greek general was ſlain. The war, however, ſeems ſtill to have continued, for we read the following ſtory in Luitprand, which is placed by Sigonius four years after the conqueſt of Apulia. The Greeks continuing their hoſtilities with great vivacity, Landulph called in Theobald, marquis of Spoleto and Camerino, to his aſſiſtance. Theobald having gained ſome advantages over the Greeks, ordered the priſoners he had taken to be caſtrated, and ſent them back in that condition to the Greek general, with orders to tell him, that as he knew his emperor was a great lover of eunuchs, he had ſent him theſe few, but he hoped to be able to ſupply him with a much greater number in a ſhort time. A certain woman, whoſe huſband had been taken priſoner, hearing of the intention of the marquis, came to his camp, and being admitted to his preſence, accuſed him of baſe cowardice, for making war upon helpleſs women, by depriving their huſbands of what gives them health, pleaſure, and children. She obſerved, that if he had a mind to puniſh them, they had eyes, noſes and hands, which were their own: but what he had hitherto deprived them of was the property of their wives, and ought not to be injured. This woman's ingenuous declaration had ſuch an effect upon Theobald, that her huſband and all ſhe had loſt were immediately reſtored to her [p]. Two years after this tranſaction, it appears that the Beneventan princes had returned to their obedience to the Greeks. This peace, however, continued but a few years; for Lupus, protaſpata, mentions a battle fought betwixt the Lombards and the Greeks at Matera, in which the Greek general was killed. This action happened about three years before the death of Landulph, who died in the for-

*A war betwixt Landulph and the Greeks.*

[p] Sigon. in Regn. Ital. Luitprand. lib. iv. cap. 4.

ty-

ty-third year of his reign, after he had again been obliged to submit to the Greeks, as appears from the words of a charter produced by Baronius and Peregrinus [q]. About ten years before the death of Landulph, died Guaimarius II. prince of Salerno, leaving his principality to his infant son Gisulphus, whom a little before he had associated with himself in the government. Guaimarius had married Gaitelgrima, the daughter of Atenulphus II. prince of Benevento; who being expelled in the twenty-second year of his reign, by his brother Landulph, retired to Salerno [r]. Notwithstanding his banishment, his name was still retained in the public writs: Landulph, in the mean time, associating in the government his two sons, Atenulphus III. and Landulph II. which last succeeded him at his death. As there is no mention of Atenulphus III. after the death of his father, it is probable that he did not survive him [s]. A. D. 945. *Landulph submits, and dies.*

Landulph II. held the principality eighteen years, having in the beginning of his reign associated in the government his son Pandulph, surnamed Iron-head, and afterwards, about two years before his death, conferred the title of prince upon his other son, Landulph III. During his reign the Greeks besieged and took Ascoli, and the Hunns, or Hungarians, who for several years before had infested Italy, marched as far as Capua and Lucera, but were entirely defeated by the inhabitants [t]. A. D. 943. *Landulph II. succeeds to the principality;*

Upon the death of Landulph II. his two sons, Pandulph Iron-head, and Landulph III. made a division of his territories, Landulph having the principality of Benevento, and fixing his residence in the ancient capital, while Pandulph resided at Capua, and governed that county. In the second year of their reign, Otho the Great, king of Germany, upon the invitation of the pope and the Italians, arrived with a powerful army in Italy against Berengarius III. and, marching to Rome, received the imperial crown from the pope. Otho, in imitation of Charlemagne, immediately applied his thoughts to the establishing his authority in Italy; and the following year, in the month of August, he proceeded to Capua, to receive the homage of the Lombard princes [u]. Their power and influence, since the times of Arichis and Grimoald, were greatly decayed; they could not, therefore, imitate those princes, and op- A. D. 961. *which is again separated from Capua.*

[q] Baron. Annal. ann. 941. [r] Anon. Salern. [s] Pellegrin. in Stem. Gener. Atenulph. apud Murat. tom ii. Protospat. ut supra. [t] Lup. [u] Baron. ad ann. 963.

pose

poſe the arms of the new conqueror. Pandulph and his brother being ſenſible of their own weakneſs, ſtrove to procure the favour of Otho by their obſequiouſneſs and reſpect. Being informed of his march towards Capua, they went out to meet him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his empreſs Adelaide to the city, with great demonſtrations of joy. They acknowleged him as their ſovereign, declared themſelves his vaſſals and feudatories, and ſubjected their ſtates to him in the ſame manner as their predeceſſors had acknowleged the ancient
A. D. 963. Lombard kings. Pandulphus particularly having acquired his favour, obtained from him an imperial decree,
*Capua is erected into a principality by Otho;* erecting the country of Capua into a principality, and ordaining that he ſhould for the future have the title of prince of Capua [w]. Otho during his reſidence at Capua ſent an embaſſy to Giſulphus, the brother of his empreſs, inviting him to come and ſee his ſiſter. The Salernitan prince was very apprehenſive of ſome ſiniſter deſign; but after having in a ſolemn manner implored the protection of the Virgin Mary, and having obtained the bleſſing of his biſhop, he ſet out with his attendants for Capua, and was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the princes Pandulph and Landulph, who preſented him to the emperor. Otho ſtepped down from his throne to receive him, and his ſiſter Adelaide ran to him, and falling on his neck, kiſſed him ſeveral times, reproaching him in a tender manner for not coming to ſee her without being invited. Giſulphus, after having received ſome valuable preſents from the emperor and empreſs, returned with great joy to Salerno [x].

*who propoſes to reduce Puglia and Calabria.* Otho in the mean time reſolved to recover Puglia and Calabria from the Greeks; but was at that time recalled from Campania by a rebellion of the pope and the Romans. He was employed ſome time in reducing the rebels; and having re-eſtabliſhed his authority at Rome, went back to Germany. The Italians during his abſence revolted, and the Romans expelled pope John XIII. becauſe he refuſed to join in their rebellion. Theſe commotions obliged the emperor, about two years after, to return to Italy, where he puniſhed the chiefs of the rebellion with great ſeverity; and ſending for his young ſon Otho, then about thirteen years of age, cauſed him to be crowned emperor by the pope. Soon after he again proceeded to Capua, where he received an embaſſy from the

[w] Pietro Giannone ut ſupra. [x] Anon. Salern. ut ſupra.

Greek

Greek emperor Nicephorus, who being apprehenſive of his power, profeſſed a deſire of living in friendſhip with him. Otho propoſed an alliance betwixt his young ſon and Theophania, the daughter of the late emperor Romanus, whoſe wife had poiſoned him, that ſhe might marry Nicephorus. He required likewiſe the provinces of Puglia and Calabria as a dowry with the young princeſs; and to negociate the affair, he ſent Luitprand, biſhop of Cremona, as his ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, being firmly reſolved to commence hoſtilities if Nicephorus refuſed to agree to his propoſal [y]. Luitprand wrote a curious account of his embaſſy, which is ſtill extant [z]. He ſays, he was received at Conſtantinople with the greateſt inhumanity, and almoſt ſtarved; that Nicephorus in his diſcourſe treated Otho and the Germans with great contempt and ridicule, and refuſed to conſent to the match, unleſs Otho would reſtore to him Rome and Ravenna, and all that part of Italy betwixt thoſe cities and Sicily; though the match ſhould not take place, he required Otho to leave Rome free, and to renounce all pretenſions to the ſovereignty over the Beneventan and Capuan princes, who were his ſubjects. Otho in the mean time had returned to Rome, together with the pope, who, while he was at Capua with the emperor, erected that ſee into a metropolitan, and created John, the brother of Pandulph, the firſt archbiſhop [a].

A. D. 968.

*He ſends an embaſſy to Conſtantinople.*

Before the return of Luitprand from Conſtantinople, Otho, when at Rome, received an embaſſy from Nicephorus, who deſired him to ſend ſome of his chief men to Apulia, to receive Theophania. The emperor accordingly ſent ſome of his nobles, with a large eſcort to receive the princeſs; but inſtead of finding Theophania, they were unexpectedly attacked by the Greeks, and almoſt all killed or taken priſoners. This perfidious action immediately determined the emperor to declare war. He accordingly, in the month of March, laid ſiege to Bari; but the Greeks defended themſelves with ſuch reſolution, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent with various ſucceſs; for though the emperor ravaged ſome of the Greek territories, yet Pandulph, prince of Capua, who inveſted Bovino, was defeated in a ſally, and taken priſoner by the Greeks,

*Beſieges Bari, but without effect.*

y Baron. ad ann. 968. Rer. Germ. Script. apud Meibom. tom. i. p. 666. z Murator. tom. ii. p 479. a Leo Oſtienſ. lib. ii. cap. 9.

who

who immediately ſent him to Conſtantinople. A little before this campaign, Landulph, prince of Benevento, dying, Pandulph had ſucceeded him in that principality, to the prejudice of the ſon of the deceaſed, and had aſſociated his own ſon Landulph IV. in the government. After his defeat before Bovino, the Greeks elated with their ſucceſs, invaded the territories of Benevento, took Avellino, and advancing towards Capua, plundered all the country through which they marched, and at laſt inveſted the city. They were joined on their march by Marinus, then duke of Naples, with a great body of Neapolitans, who neglecting the ſiege, employed themſelves wholly in ravaging the country. Eugenius, the Greek commander, finding that he made no progreſs, and being informed that Otho was aſſembling a powerful army for the relief of the city, raiſed the ſiege, which had continued about ſix weeks, and retired with his troops, ordering the greateſt part of them to march through the duchy of Benevento, while he with the reſt went to Salerno, where he met with an honourable reception from the prince Giſulphus, who was ſecretly in the intereſt of Nicephorus [b].

*The Greeks beſiege Capua.*

Otho in the mean time arrived with his army at Capua, and being joined with the Capuans, advanced into the duchy of Naples, ravaging the country, and at laſt ſitting down before the city: but, finding himſelf incapable of reducing the place, he decamped, and marched to Avellino, which he burnt, becauſe the inhabitants had voluntarily ſubmitted to the Greeks. He afterwards repaired to Benevento, which that ſame year had been erected into an archbiſhoprick. Deſigning an expedition into Apulia, he and his nobles heard maſs, which was celebrated by the new archbiſhop Landulph, after which they received the euchariſt under both kinds, according to the practice then in uſe [c]. The archbiſhop then giving his benediction to the whole army, they immediately marched into Puglia, where they defeated the Greeks; and towards the end of the campaign returned to Avellino. Next year Otho again marched into the Neapolitan territories, from whence he carried off a great number of cattle, and then proceeded into Puglia, ravaging the country, and burning the ſuburbs of Bovino, which city his troops again inveſted. On his march thither, he was met by Alvara, the wife of prince Pandulphus, with her ſon, who requeſted him in the moſt earneſt manner to procure the liberty of

A. D. 970.

*Their territories are ravaged by Otho.*

[b] Anon. Salern. [c] Idem ibid.

her

her husband, who was treated with great inhumanity by Nicephorus. The Beneventan prince soon after recovered his liberty, by a revolution which happened at Constantinople. Theophania, who had poisoned her first husband Romanus, this year murdered Nicephorus, and promoted her confidant, John Zimisceus, to the empire; who, to quiet the murmurs of the people, resolved to make peace with Otho, and immediately set Pandulph at liberty. Resolving to use him as a mediator, he soon after sent him to Bari, and desired him to inform Otho that he would agree to the marriage betwixt his step-daughter Theophania and his son Otho II. Pandulph, upon his return to Italy, was received with great affection by the emperor, who restored him to his former dignity, and by his persuasions consented to evacuate Puglia, and to agree to a peace with Zimisceus, who accordingly two years after sent Theophania to Italy. She was received with great magnificence at Rome, where, in the month of April, she was married to Otho II by the pope, who afterwards crowned her empress. Otho, a few months after, returned to Germany, where he died in the course of the following year.

A. D. 972.

*Peace concluded with the Greeks.*

About the time that Otho left Italy, Gisulphus, prince of Salerno, was basely surprised by his uncle Landulph, the son of the banished prince of Capua, Atenulphus II. Gisulphus, by the persuasions of his mother Gaitelgrima, who was sister to Landulph, had lavished a great many favours upon him, and had created him count of Consia, from whence, however, he was soon expelled on account of his cruelty, and obliged to retire to Naples with his four sons, Guaimarius, Indolf, Landulph, and Landenulph. By the interest of his sister he was soon after recalled to Salerno, restored to the county of Consia, and promoted to such a degree of favour, that, according to the contemporary historian, he was next in authority to the prince [d]. His promotion served only to discover his ingratitude and ambition; for soon after, by the assistance of his sons, he surprised Gisulphus and his princess in their palace, and publishing to the people that they were murdered, prevailed upon them to acknowlege himself as their prince. He was assisted in establishing his authority by Marinus, duke of Naples, and Manso, duke of Amalfi; to which last city he had privately removed Gisulphus and his princess. But a difference happening

*Gisulphus, prince of Salerno, is deposed by his uncle.*

[d] Anon. Salern.

betwixt him and his son Indolf, who expected to have been associated into the principality, the enraged son began to concert means of restoring his lawful prince, and persuaded the Salernitan nobles to secure the castles, and to apply to Pandulph Iron-head, prince of Capua, for his assistance. Pandulph hearkened to their request with great joy, and assembling some troops, quickly reduced all the cities and towns in the principality of Salerno, except the capital, which was strongly garrisoned by the Amalfitans. After a considerable time spent in the siege, he at length made himself master of Salerno, and having expelled the usurper, restored Gisulphus, who had been near two years a prisoner. Gisulphus having no children, soon after his restoration, from gratitude to his restorer, adopted his son Pandulph, and made him copartner in the government. With him he reigned four years, and at his death he left Pandulphus, the father, as his successor, who united all the three divisions of the ancient principality of Benevento; being called prince of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. Pandulphus enjoyed the principality of Salerno about three years, and at his death very imprudently made a division of his territories. He left his son Pandulphus prince of Salerno, and another son, Landulph IV. prince of Capua and Benevento. Besides, he gave separate fiefs to his other sons, Laidulph, Gisulph, Landenulph, and Atenulph: but no mention is made how he disposed of the duchy of Spoleto, and marquisate of Camerino, which he was likewise in possession of for twelve years [e] (H).

A. D. 974

*Gisulphus restored by Pandulph, prince of Capua;*

A. D. 978.

*who succeeds him in the principality of Salerno.*

[e] Petrus Damien. lib. vii. ep. xii. Pellegrin. par. vii. Anon. Salern.

(H) The learned and accurate Giannone relates, that, from the great number of fiefs and counties which began now to be turned into hereditary lordships, and were possessed by nobles who lived absolute and independent in fortified castles, surnames began about this time to be restored in these provinces, for the better distinguishing those princes who had the same name, and were descended from the same family. The surnames were generally taken from places where they or their forefathers had fixed their residence. They were also taken from magistracy and offices, such as Mastrogiudice, Doci, Conti, Cavaleanti, Filastoppa, &c. Sometimes, though rarely, from the names of their forefathers, as the family of Atenulpho and some others; but afterwards from an infinite number of occasions and accidents (1).

(1) Pietro Giannone Hist. di Naple. lib. viii. c. 8. sect. ii.

A few

A few weeks after his death Otho II. arrived with an army at Benevento, with intention of expelling the Greeks and Saracens entirely from Puglia and Calabria. His army was reinforced by Romans, Neapolitans, and Beneventans; and he was likewise joined by prince Landulph IV. and his brother count Atenulph; though it appears that Landulph was, about this time, dispossessed of Benevento by his cousin Pandulph; who, upon his father's death, had been deprived of his inheritance by Pandulph Iron-head. Otho made great progress at first in Puglia and Calabria, and advanced with his army as far as Tarento; but the following year, on the 15th of July, he was entirely defeated, in a general engagement, by the Greeks and Saracens of Basentello, a small town on the coast of Calabria. His defeat was owing to his Italian auxiliaries, who being disgusted with his cruelty, deserted in the beginning of the action, by which means his army was almost entirely cut to pieces, and he himself, with great difficulty, escaped in disguise. The prince Landulph, with his brother Atenulph, and many other persons of distinction, were slain in the battle; and though the Greeks did not pursue their victory as might have been expected, yet they recovered all Calabria and Puglia, over which they placed a new governor, under the title of Catapan. The author of the Chorographical Description of Italy thinks that at this time they conquered the greater part of ancient Lucania, which they annexed to their other Italian provinces, under the name of Basilicata, in honour of the reigning emperor Basilius II. [f].

A. D. 981.

*Benevento and Capua are again divided.*

Otho having saved himself, with the remains of his army at Capua, conferred that principality on Aloara and her son Landenulph, the brother of the deceased Landulph, who governed it ten years; but Aloara dying, Landenulph, about four months after, was cruelly murdered by his own subjects. The emperor, who, according to some authors, was wounded with a poisoned arrow during the battle, soon after caused his son Otho III. then about ten years of age, to be declared king of Italy and Germany; and having recruited his army, in the follow-

f Sigon. in Regn. Ital. ad annum. 892. Tabul. Chorograph. apud Murator. tom. x. col. cclxxxv, cclxxxvi. Leo Ostiense lib. ii. cap. 9.

ing year he marched to Benevento; which city he allowed his soldiers to pillage, in resentment of the treacherous
A. D. 983. behaviour of the Beneventans at Basentello. We do not find, however, that he attacked the Greeks, but returning to Rome, died in that city in the beginning of December [z].

*Otho dies.*

The death of Otho occasioned great disturbances in Italy. About four months after his decease, Peter, bishop of Pavia, his chancellor, was elected pope by the name of John XIV. and did his utmost to secure the Romans to the interest of the young Otho. Boniface, in the mean time, who had been expelled as an intruder into the Roman see by the former pope Benedict, hearing of his death, and of the death of Otho, returned from Constantinople to Rome, where, by bribing the Romans with those treasures which he had formerly taken from the Vatican, he raised a strong party, who imprisoned John, and declared him pope. John, after four months imprisonment, died of hunger. Boniface, however, did not long enjoy the papal dignity, but died suddenly, in about four months after his restoration. The Romans then chose John XV. but he was soon after expelled by Crescentius Numentanus, who seized the castle of St. Angelo, and assumed the government of Rome, under the title of consul. John retiring into Tuscany, and pressing young Otho to come into Italy, the Romans, who began to be apprehensive of the emperor's resentment, immediately invited the pope back to the city, and upon his return received him with the greatest respect; Crescentius, however, still retaining the government of the city, and keeping possession of the castle of St. Angelo.

*Is succeeded by Otho III.*

*Revolutions in Salerno,*

During these proceedings several revolutions had happened in the principality of Salerno. Before the death of the late emperor, Pandulph had been expelled from Salerno, by Manso duke of Amalfi, who associated his son John with him in the principality, which he held for two years, till the emperor's death. After the death of Otho the Salernitans expelled Manso and his son, and chose one John, called di Lamberto, to distinguish him from the emperor John. He associated his son Guido in the government; and upon his death, which happened about five years after, he conferred the title of prince upon his

[z] Leo Ostiens. cap. 9 & 10. Petr. Damian. lib. vii. epist. 12.

other

other son Guaimarius, with whom he reigned six years [h]. Landenulph, prince of Capua, as we mentioned above, was murdered by his subjects, and his brother Laidulph, who was concerned in the murder, was chosen as his successor. *and in Capua.*

While Laidulph held this principality, and Guimarius, or Guaimarius III. reigned in Salerno, and Pandulph II. with his son Landulph V. governed Benevento, Otho III. in the twelfth year of his reign, arrived with an army in Italy, to establish his authority in that kingdom, and particularly to reduce Crescentius, who still kept possession of the castle of St. Angelo and governed with despotic authority in Rome. John XV. dying about the time the emperor arrived at Ravenna, he ordered the Romans to elect his nephew Bruno, who took the name of Gregory V. and proceeding to Rome, received the imperial crown from his hands; after which ceremony he returned to Germany. Before he quitted Italy, Crescentius, whom he had pardoned at the intercession of the new pope, again assumed his former authority, expelled Gregory, and substituted the bishop of Placentia as pope, who took the name of John XVI. Gregory retired to Germany, and intreated Otho to return to Italy with a powerful army to reduce the Romans. The emperor accordingly repassed the Alps next year, in the month of April; and having obliged the Romans to deliver their city, seized the anti-pope, whose eyes he ordered to be put out, and his ears and hands to be cut off. He likewise, after a vigorous siege, reduced the castle of St. Angelo, and put Crescentius to death. About two years after, he again returned to Italy, and his nephew Gregory being dead, he nominated to the pontificate the famous Gerbert, archbishop of Ravenna, who had come into Italy with him about three years before, and now assumed the name of Silvester II. Soon after, being informed that Laidulph, prince of Capua, had been concerned in the murder of his brother, he expelled him from that principality, and bestowed his government upon Ademarius, a Capuan, who had been educated from his infancy with himself, and enjoyed a great share of his favour [i]. A. D. 906. *Otho marches into Rome.* A. D. 669. *Confers the principality of Capua on Ademarius.*

The Saracens in the mean time still continued to make irruptions into these provinces. About three years before, they took and plundered Matera, after a siege of four

h Peregrin. in Stem. Princ. Salern. Princ. Cap. Leo Ost. lib. ii. cap. 15. Sigon. in Regn. Ital. lib. vii.

i Peregrin. in Stem.

months; and this year, immediately after the departure of the emperor for Germany, they invaded Campania, and made themſelves maſters of Capua. Otho returned to Italy in the following year with a powerful army, recovered Capua, and all the other places of Campania, from the infidels. After having viſited Monte Caſſino and Monte Gargano on a religious account, he marched with his army to Benevento; from whence, in reſentment for the treacherous behaviour of the Beneventans to his father, he carried off the body of S. Paulinus. He ſurvived this expedition only a few months; and dying in the end of the following January without any iſſue, gave a new opportunity to the Italians of claiming the empire and kingdom of Italy. The Italian nobles accordingly aſſembled at Pavia, and conferred the kingdom of Italy on Ardoin, the ſon of Dodo, marquis of Ivrea: but the archbiſhop of Milan, and the Italian clergy, thinking themſelves injured, becauſe they were not called to the election, aſſembled at Lodi, where they depoſed Ardoin, and declared Henry, duke of Bavaria, king of Italy, who had already ſucceeded Otho in the kingdom of Germany. This imprudent and impolitic conduct of the clergy occaſioned a civil war betwixt the two competitors and their adherents, which continued about ten years. At length pope Benedict VIII. being expelled by a faction at Rome, retired to Germany; and having perſuaded Henry to enter Italy with a powerful army, to eſtabliſh his own authority, and to reſtore him to his ſee, the year after conferred upon him the imperial crown.

*Defeats the Saracens.*

A.D. 1002.

*His death.*

*The Greeks ſtrengthen themſelves in Italy.*

During theſe tranſactions, the Greeks, who, after the defeat of Otho II. at Baſentello, had enlarged their dominions in Italy, were endeavouring to eſtabliſh their authority upon ſolid foundations. Beſides appointing a new magiſtrate, with unlimited power, called Catapan, who fixed his reſidence at Bari, they put ſtrong garriſons into the cities of Puglia and Calabria, and founded ſeveral new cities, ſuch as Draconaria, Cividade, Firenzuola, and Troja; the laſt of which only remains at this day. They had extended their bounds about this time ſo far, that they were in poſſeſſion of more than two-thirds of the preſent kingdom of Naples. The three dukedoms of Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta, indeed, were governed in the form of commonwealths, and frequently elected their magiſtrates, and even their dukes, out of their own body: the Greek emperors, however, ſtill preſerved in theſe duchies the ſhadow of ſupreme dominion, and particularly were wont

wont to confirm the dukes of Amalfi; which city, about this period, by its extensive commerce, had raised itself to a great degree of grandeur and opulence. Though the Greeks had so far extended their territories in Italy, yet, being unacquainted with the nature of fiefs, they did not erect any dukedoms, counties, or baronies, in Puglia and Calabria; these dignities, however, were soon after introduced by new conquerors.

## SECT. II

### *Transactions of the first Norman Conquerors, till the Death of Roger, first King of Sicily.*

*The first arrival of the Normans in Italy.*

THE Normans, who had invaded France during the reigns of several princes, at last, about the beginning of the former century, concluded a peace with Charles the Simple, and, having embraced Christianity, became very zealous in their new religion. They placed great devotion in visiting sacred places, particularly Rome, and the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; and, not discouraged by the length and danger of the journey, they joined in bands, and forced their way through all obstacles, frequently routing great bodies of Greeks and Saracens, who endeavoured to oppose them. About the time of the death of the emperor Otho III. forty of these Normans, as Leo Ostiensis writes [k], or, according to other authors, one hundred, returning from Jerusalem by sea, landed at Salerno in the habit of pilgrims, where they were honourably received by Guaimarius. During their residence at Salerno, a great body of Saracens landed, and invested the city. Guaimarius, not being in a condition to repulse the invaders by force, was preparing to pay them a large sum of money which they demanded, when the Normans proposed to attack them, and, having got horses and arms from the prince, engaged them with such fury and bravery, that they entirely defeated them, and obliged them to fly to their ships. This complete victory filled Guaimarius with admiration of the strangers, whom he intreated to remain in his country, offering them lands, and the most honourable employments; but not being able to prevail with them to stay in Italy, or even to accept of his presents, at their departure he sent some am-

[k] Leo Ost. lib. ii. cap. 37.

baſſadors with them to Normandy, with veſſels loaded with exquiſite fruits, rich furniture for horſes, and precious garments of gold and ſilk, to allure the Normans to come into Italy; and it appeared, a few years afterwards, that he was not diſappointed in his expectations.

A.D 1005. The Saracens in the mean time continued their incurſions in different parts of Italy with various ſucceſs, as the Greeks were continually ſending reinforcements to Puglia. About three years after the departure of the Normans, they beſieged Bari, and reduced the city to great extremity; but the beſieged being at laſt relieved by a Venetian fleet, Gregory, the firſt captain whom we find mentioned, obliged the infidels to raiſe the ſiege and retire[l]. Gregory was ſucceeded by Xipheus, who died the year after, and had for ſucceſſor Curcua, in the ſecond year of whoſe government the Saracens broke the peace which they had concluded with his predeceſſors, and ſeized Coſenza. As Curcua governed in a very arbitrary and oppreſſive manner, he raiſed a general diſaffection among the Apulians againſt the Greeks, ſo that about the time that the Saracens ſeized Coſenza, the inhabitants of Bari openly revolted, and put themſelves under the conduct of Mello, who was deſcended of an ancient Lombard family, and had great power and authority in their city[m]. Mello, with his kinſman Datus, had excited them to throw off the Greek yoke, and defended them againſt the attempts of Curcua; but he dying in the following year, and Baſilius Bajanus arriving as his ſucceſſor with a ſtrong reinforcement of Macedonians, the Bariſians thought of a ſubmiſſion, and, to procure their peace with the Greeks, promiſed to deliver up Mello and Datus. The two chiefs, being informed of their deſign, fled from Bari to Aſcoli, from whence Mello went to Benevento, afterwards to Salerno, and at laſt to Capua; while Datus retired with his wife and children to Monte Caſſino, from whence he was invited by pope Benedict, and made governor of Garigliano. The catapan Bajanus in the mean time entered Bari, and ſeizing the wife and ſon of Mello, ſent them priſoners to Conſtantinople.

*The Saracens beſiege Bari.*

A.D.1009.

*Bari revolts from the Greeks.*

A.D.1015. Mello was received at Capua with great kindneſs by Pandulph II. who had then aſſociated his ſon and grandſon with himſelf in the government. About a year after his arrival at Capua, a company of Norman adventurers ar-

*The Normans arrive a ſecond time in Italy.*

[l] Sigon. in Regn. Ital. tom. iii.

[m] Lup. Protoſpat. ap. Murator.

rived

rived at Rome, and offered their service to the pope, who, struck with their military appearance, proposed to them to give their assistance to the Lombard princes against the Greeks, who had lately greatly encroached on the Roman empire [n]. The chief of these Normans was Osmond Drengot, who, having slain another lord in a duel, was obliged to leave his own country, to shun the resentment of his prince, duke Robert. The reputation his countrymen had acquired a few years before at Salerno, and the kind invitation of Guaimarius, persuaded him to come to Italy. He was attended by four of his brothers, with their sons, nephews, and many other friends, who was resolved to share his fortune. Mello, who was waiting for an opportunity of delivering his country, immediately engaged the Normans to assist him, and, having drawn together a considerable army from Benevento and Salerno, marched against the Greeks, whom he entirely defeated. In this engagement the Normans distinguished themselves by their bravery; and the news of their success arriving in Normandy, an innumerable company, with their wives and children, left their native country, and crossing the Alps, after a long and hazardous march, joined their countrymen in Apulia. After the arrival of this reinforcement Mello again engaged Bajanus, and gained another victory, though with considerable loss. The Greeks were a third time defeated, and lost a great many of their towns; but Bajanus, the year after, venturing another battle at the city of Capua, gained a complete victory over Mello and the Normans, and recovered all his lost territory [o].

A.D. 1019.

*Are defeated.*

This defeat obliged Mello and Rodolphus, the Norman chief, to apply to the emperor Henry for assistance, who received them very graciously, promised to send an army into Italy, and gave several rich presents to Rodolphus. During their absence some Normans entered into the service of Atenulph, abbot of Monte Cassino; and, settling in the neighbourhood of St. Germano, defended the territories belonging to the monastery from the incursions of the counts of Aquino. Others of them had retired to Datus at Garigliano, and engaged to defend that citadel. Bajanus, in the mean time, having no enemy to contend with, and receiving large sums of money from Constantinople, prevailed on several cities to submit to the Greek emperor. He brought over the abbot Atenulph to his interest,

[n] Glaber. lib. iii. cap. 1. Protospat. ann. 1019.

[o] Sigon. ut supra. Lup. Pro-

by

by making a donation of a forfeited estate to the abbey of Cassino; and prevailed on Pandulph, prince of Capua, to submit to Basilius, and to grant him a free passage through his territories against Garigliano [p]. He accordingly surprised Garigliano, took Datus and the Normans prisoners, after they had defended themselves two days, and pardoning the Normans at the desire of Atenulphus, put Datus to death as a traitor (L).

A.D. 1022. *The emperor marches into Apulia.*

This surprising progress of Bajanus at length aroused the emperor, especially as he was earnestly pressed to march into Italy by Mello, who had gone a second time into Germany, and by the pope, who had likewise passed the Alps. Mello died while the emperor was preparing for the expedition; but soon after Henry marched with a powerful army into Italy. He divided his troops into three bodies, giving the command of one division to Poppo, patriarch of Aquileia; of another to Belgrimus, archbishop of Cologne; and marched with the third in person through Lombardy [q]. He wanted to seize the abbot of Cassino; but Atenulphus, being informed of his design, embarked at Otranto, with intention of sailing to Constantinople, but was shipwrecked during the voyage. Capua being surrounded by the division of the archbishop of Cologne, Pandulph surrendered to the prelate, on condition of being carried to Henry, before whom he promised to prove his innocence. The emperor was then besieging Troja, which had been rebuilt by Bajanus a few years before. The city surrendering a few days after, Pandulphus was tried by all the barons, and unanimously condemned to die; but the emperor, prevailed upon by the intreaties of the archbishop, changed his sentence into perpetual banishment into Germany. He conferred the principality of Capua on Pandulph, count of Tiano, and gave the title of count to Stephen, Mello, and Peter, the nephews of the famous Mello. As his army suffered greatly by the excessive heats of Apulia, he marched back to Rome, after he had taken Troja, and several other cities, from the Greeks, and, according to

[p] Leo Ost. lib. ii. cap. 37, 38, 39. [q] Idem ibid.

(L) Bajanus, by his great success, having almost entirely re-established the affairs of the Greeks in Italy, made a separate province of the western part of Apulia, by the name of Catapanata, which is at this day called Capitanata (1).

(1) Romuald. Salern. Chron. ad ann. 1013.

some

some authors, gained a complete victory over them in the neighbourhood of Salerno, on which account he dedicated a church to the holy Virgin [r]. At his departure he left several of his officers to assist the counts of Tiana in recovering Bari, and recommended the Normans to them and to the princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. He quitted Italy the following year; and dying the year after in Germany, was succeeded by Conrad the Salic, duke of Franconia, of the illustrious house of Saxony. A.D. 1024.

Glaber informs us, that about the same time, the famous Rodolphus, with a great many Normans, left Italy, and returned to their native country, where they were joyfully received by duke Richard their prince [s]. Many of them, however, still remained in Campania, where they were treated with great contempt, and even inhumanity, by the inhabitants, who, forgetting their obligations to them, suffered them to wander in the woods, without allowing them any place for shelter. The Lombard princes likewise, paying no regard to the emperor's recommendation, denied them their wonted pay and subsistence.

*Conrad succeeds to the empire.*

The Normans at last resolved to do themselves justice by arms; and chusing one Turstin for their leader, who had distinguished himself in the late war, soon subdued the inhabitants: he dying soon after by the bite of a serpent [t], the Normans unanimously chose as his successor Rainulphus, another distinguished officer, who quickly made himself considerable by taking part in the civil disputes which happened in these provinces upon the succession of the emperor Conrad. The Normans were particularly oppressed by Pandulph, the new prince of Capua, who was likewise detested by his own subjects on account of his avarice. Guaimarius III. prince of Salerno, who had married the sister of the banished prince, and had gained the favour of the new emperor, being likewise offended with him, prevailed on Conrad to set his brother-in-law, Pandulph IV. at liberty, and to order him to be restored to his principality. Pandulph accordingly, soon after arriving in Italy, was immediately joined by the Normans under Rainulphus; and, receiving troops from his brother-in-law Guaimarius and the catapan Bajanus, invested Capua, which he made himself master of, after a siege of eighteen months. The other Pandulph, count

A.D. 1026.

*Restores Pandulphus to his principality.*

[r] Vide Sigon. in Regn. Ital. [s] Glaber. lib. iii. cap. 1.
[t] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 58. Gul. Apul. ap. Murator. tom. v. p. 255. Willel. Gemeticensis, lib. vii. cap. 43.

of

of Tiano, found means, however, to obtain the protection of Bajanus, who sent him and his son John to Naples, where he was kindly received by the duke Sergius. Pandulphus IV. having recovered his principality, about twelve months after declared war against Sergius, on account of the protection he afforded to the count of Tiano,

A.D.1027. and, marching suddenly against Naples with an army, obliged the city to surrender, an aim which none of the Lombard princes his predecessors had been able to effect. Pandulph of Tiano made his escape to Rome, where he soon after died. Sergius fled before the taking of the city; and being informed that Rainulphus, the Norman, was greatly dissatisfied with the Capuan prince, who, since his restoration, had neglected to perform his engagements to him, he applied to him for assistance to recover his dukedom. Rainulphus was then build-

A.D.1030. ing the city of Aversa, about ten miles distant from Naples, and, embracing the offers made to him by Sergius, immediately commenced hostilities against Pandulphus, who was at length obliged to quit Naples, after he had been about three years in possession of the city. Sergius being sensible that he owed his restoration to Rainulphus, entered into a strict alliance with him, and married one of his relations; and, to shew his gratitude to his benefactor, he created Rainulphus a count, and erected the territory of Aversa into a county. Rainulphus, in order to people his new city, sent ambassadors to the duke of Normandy, giving him an account of his success, and inviting his countrymen to come and partake of his good fortune. In consequence of this invitation, great numbers of Normans, a few years after, came into Italy, among whom were William, Drogo, and Umbert, three sons of Tancred, duke of Hauteville, from whose posterity those princes were descended who first conquered Sicily from the Saracens, and formed the kingdom of Naples (M). These three sons of Tancred, upon

*Makes himself master of Naples.*

*The Normans build Aversa.*

(M) Tancred was descended from Rollo, the famous Norman pirate, who ravaged the coasts of France in the time of the emperor Lewis II. but afterwards embracing Christianity, took the name of Robert, and married Gisla, the sister of Charles the Simple. Tancred married two wives, Moriella and Fredesiana, by whom he had twelve sons and three daughters. By his first wife he had William, surnamed Bracchio di Ferre, or *Iron Arms*, Drogo, Humphrey, Geoffry, and Serlo. By his second, Robert Guiscard, Malger,

upon their arrival in Italy, fixed themselves at Salerno, and offered their service to Guaimarius IV. who, about four years before, had succeeded his father in the principality. They were received by him with great regard, and employed in all his affairs.

Pandulphus, prince of Capua, in the mean time, after he had been obliged to restore Naples to Sergius, had turned his arms against the monastery of Cassino. He imprisoned the abbot Theobald, and obliged the monks to chuse another of his own nomination; and, besides robbing the treasury, he seized several possessions belonging to the monastery. The monks made great complaints against him to the emperor, who being likewise informed that the Italians were forming the design of a general revolt, entered Italy with a powerful army, and, having quieted the disturbances in Lombardy, proceeded to Rome. From thence he sent some of his officers to Capua, ordering Pandulph to restore all that he had taken from the monastery of Cassino; but no regard being had to his officers, he proceeded with his army to Cassino, and from thence to Capua. Pandulphus, afraid of the emperor's resentment, had left the city, and fled to the castle of St. Agatha, which was very strongly fortified. However, resolving if possible to make the emperor his friend, he offered for his pardon three hundred pounds of gold, one half to be immediately paid, and his son and nephew to be given as hostages for the security of the payment of the rest. This offer was accepted by the emperor; but Pandulphus soon after repenting of what he had done, refused to fulfil his engagements, in hopes that, after the departure of the emperor, he would easily recover the possession of Capua. Conrad, by the advice of his barons and the noblemen of Capua, deprived him of his principality, which he conferred on Guaimarius IV prince of Salerno, who, being in great favour with him, prevailed upon him to give the investiture of the county of Aversa to Rainulphus the Norman. The emperor, at the same time, restored Atenulphus, bishop of Capua, who had been imprisoned by Pandulphus; and, having returned

A.D. 1038.

*Conrad marches to Capua, and confers that principality on the prince of Salerno.*

ger, William, Alfred, Umbert, Tancred, and Roger. Ten of these sons came as adventurers into Italy, and one of the daughters married a count of Aversa (2).

(2) Malatur. lib. i. cap. 1, 2, 4. 9, 10. 19. & 38. & lib. iii. cap. 35. Leo Ostienf. lib. ii. cap. 67.

to

to Germany with his army, died in the course of the following year [u]. After his departure Pandulphus left one of his sons in the castle of St. Agatha, and went to Constantinople to desire the assistance of the Greek emperor to recover Capua; but Guaimarius had such influence at that court, that Pandulphus was immediately ordered into banishment, where he continued two years, till the emperor's death; and though the succeeding emperor restored him to his liberty, he would not grant him any assistance.

Guaimarius, in the mean time, by means of the Normans, made himself master of Sorrento, which he gave to his brother Guido, reserving only the title to himself. By their assistance likewise he conquered Amalfi, which he annexed to his principality; and soon after he assumed the title of duke of Puglia and Calabria; so that no prince in those provinces equalled him in power and grandeur. However, the great authority and influence which he saw the sons of Tancred had acquired, beginning to give him some uneasiness, he seized the first opportunity of dismissing them from his service. About the time that Conrad marched into Italy, the Greek emperor Michael Paphlagon, to secure the esteem of his fickle subjects, resolved to recover Sicily from the Saracens; and, for that purpose, sent the catapan Michael Maniacus with an army into that island. This commander, hearing of the great reputation of the Normans, before he transported his troops from Calabria, sent to Guaimarius, intreating him to grant him some of those warriors. His request was most willingly hearkened to by the prince of Salerno, who, to encourage the Normans to engage in the expedition, promised them some additional rewards, besides the emperor's pay. William, Drogo, and Umbert, accordingly marched from Salerno with three hundred of their countrymen; and passing over into Sicily, distinguished themselves greatly in the conquest of that island. Maniacus acknowleged, that the recovery of Messina was chiefly owing to their bravery. William, with his Normans, gained a signal victory over the Saracens before Syracuse, and killed the governor of the city with a blow of his lance. Maniacus made himself master of Syracuse, and entirely reduced almost the whole island; but being accused of treason, was conducted prisoner to Constantinople [w]. Some

A.D. 1040.

*The Normans assist the Greeks in Sicily.*

[u] Leo Ost. lib. ii. cap. 65.

[w] Curopalat. Hist.

authors

authors assert, that he was murdered at Syracuse [x]; and others, that he still continued in the command [y]. His successor, according to Cedrenus and William of Puglia, was Doceanus, a man of no abilities, who quickly lost the whole island, except Messina, and treated his Norman auxiliaries with the most insolent contempt. He would not allow them any share in the booty, and even ordered one Ardoin, a noble Lombard, and associate and interpreter of the Normans, to be scourged, because he refused to part with the horse of a Saracen whom he had slain in single combat.

The consequences of this tyrannical behaviour were very fatal to the Greeks; for Ardoin and the Normans took a most severe revenge. At that time they dissembled their resentment; but Ardoin soon after obtaining leave to return to Italy, under pretence of going to Rome on account of a vow, he and all the Normans embarked at night, and crossed the Pharo to Reggio. Ardoin, instead of going to Rome, went immediately to Aversa, and persuaded count Rainulphus to join with him in the design which he had formed of attacking the Greek provinces in Italy, which he hoped would be an easy conquest, as the inhabitants submitted with great reluctance to the Greeks, and the provinces were at that time almost entirely defenceless. Rainulphus, approving of his scheme, raised three hundred soldiers, whom he sent under twelve officers to join the other Normans under the sons of Tancred; and made an agreement with Ardoin, that the conquests should be equally divided among the chief leaders. The two parties, being joined, immediately invested Melphio, one of the strongest cities in Puglia, which being reduced, they increased its fortifications so as to render it impregnable. They soon after made themselves masters of Venosa, Ascoli, and Lavello. Doceanus, alarmed at the conquests of the Normans, immediately left Sicily, and marched with his army into Puglia, where he attacked the invaders near the river Oliviento; but, after a fierce engagement, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. The Greeks, a few weeks after, were defeated a second time at Cannæ; and in a third engagement, which happened near the river Ofanto, the army of Doceanus was entirely routed, and he himself was obliged to fly to Bari [z]. The Normans, after these vic-

A.D. 1041.

*They return to Italy and attack Puglia.*

*They defeat the Greeks.*

[x] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 68. [y] Malater. lib. i. [z] Gul. Apul. Leo Ostiens. ut supra. Malater. lib. i. cap. 9. Lup. Protospat. Chron. ad an. 1041. & not. 87.

tories,

tories, chose Atenulphus, the brother of Pandulph III. prince of Benevento, for their leader, that they might secure the affection of the inhabitants. The court of Constantinople, in the mean time, was in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the death of the emperor Michael IV. and the ingratitude of his successor and nephew Michael Calaphates, who expelled the empress Zoe, the wife of his uncle, who had adopted him for her son. Zoe, however, a few months after, was restored to her former dignity by the people, and married Constantinus Monomachus, who became her partner in the empire, while Calaphates had his eyes put out, as a punishment for his ingratitude. During these domestic disturbances, Doceanus received orders to return to his command in Sicily; and sent another army to Puglia, under the command of Exauguſtus, or, according to Cedrenus, of Bojoannes, son of the late catapan Bajanus. This commander had no better success than his predecessor; for engaging the Normans, near Monte Pilosо, his army was entirely routed, and he himself was taken prisoner. Atenulphus, however, without consulting the Normans, soon after set him at liberty, on receiving a considerable sum of money; which action so offended the adventurers, that they deprived him of the chief command, and conferred that dignity on Argyrus, the son of the late Mello, who had escaped from Constantinople, and according to Lupus, protospata, now assumed the title of prince and duke of Italy [a]. The same author relates, that, before this engagement, Maniacus had returned to Italy; and, to strike terror into the revolted cities, executed a great many persons of all ages and sexes with great inhumanity [b]. As the emperor Constantinus succeeded to the throne soon after his arrival in Italy, he openly rebelled against him, and prevailed upon his own army to proclaim him emperor, beginning hostilities immediately against the Greek cities. Argyrus, at the same time, took Giovennazzo, and besieged Trani, and soon after besieged Maniacus in Tarento, where he had fixed his chief residence. Maniacus, afraid of falling into the hands of the Normans, left Tarento, and repaired to Otranto; from whence he crossed the Adriatic, and engaged Stephanus Sebastophorus in Bulgaria, where he was entirely defeated; and, being taken prisoner, had his head struck off [c].

[a] Lup. Protospat. ad an. 1042. [b] Gul. Apul. lib. i. ad fin. [c] Cedren. p. 624, 625. Zonaras.

The

The Normans, in the mean time, being sensible of their own strength, resolved to render themselves more independent: reflecting that they owed a great deal of the reputation they had acquired to the valour of William Bracchio di ferro, they assembled the following year at Matera, and unanimously elected him their commander in chief, honouring him likewise with the title of count. They then agreed to make an equal partition of their conquests, and for that purpose appointed a diet to be held in Melphis, to which they invited Guaimarius and Rainulphus. By the division which was made, the city of Siponto and Monte Gargano, with all the villages and places belonging to them, were given to Rainulphus, count of Aversa; the city of Ascoli was conferred on William, the count; Drogo, Arnolinus, Hugh, Peter, Walter, Rodolphus, Tristian, Erveus, Asclittinus, Rainfrid, and Ardoin, all had their distinct shares; but the city of Melfis was left common to all, and reserved as a place for assembling to consult about the most important affairs of their nation. Though Argyrus was neglected in this division, yet, by having expelled the rebel Maniacus from Italy, he found means of acquiring the favour of the emperor Constantine, who, as a check upon the power of the Normans, conferred upon him the dignity of patrician; and likewise gave him the city of Bari and its territory, with the title of prince and duke of Apulia.

*Conquer great part of Apulia.*

A.D 1043.

*Argyrus is created duke of Bari by the Greek emperor.*

The Normans having now acquired great power, began to behave with insolence to their neighbours. During the war in Apulia, those of Aversa had usurped several territories belonging to the abbey of Cassino, which the abbot finding it impossible to recover, contented himself with receiving from them the oath of fidelity as vassals. They, however, did not cease their usurpation; but took possession of several other territories belonging to that monastery, and built a fort in the neighbourhood, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the abbot, whom Rainulphus endeavoured to seize by a stratagem; but was himself taken prisoner with his men. Upon his return to Aversa, he was resolved to revenge the affront by declaring war against the abbot, but was prevented by the authority of Guaimarius, who about the same time assisted count William in an expedition against the Greeks in Calabria [d]. Rainulphus did not long survive the peace; but dying, about a year afterwards, without any sons, was succeeded in the

*Drogo succeeds his brother as count of Apulia.*

[d] Lup. Protospat. ut supra. Leo. Ost. lib. ii. cap. 71, & 72.

county by Aſclittinus de Quadrellis, who had married his ſiſter. The death of Rainulphus was preceded by that of William Bracchio di Ferro, who was ſucceeded in the county of Apulia by his brother Drogo, or Drago. In the beginning of his government, all the reſt of his brothers, except two, left their native country, and came into Italy, with many other Norman gentlemen, in the habit of pilgrims, that they might not be oppoſed by the Italians, who began to be very jealous of the power of theſe ſtrangers. Drogo joyfully received theſe new adventurers, cauſed his brother Umfred to be created a count, and conferred the government of the caſtle of St. Mark, on the frontiers of Calabria, on his brother William, ſurnamed Guiſcard.

A.D. 1046. Mean while the confuſions in Rome, where three popes had divided the pontificate, brought the emperor Henry II. with an army, into Italy. Before his arrival, Gratian, a Roman prieſt, had prevailed on the three popes to reſign, in conſideration of receiving a yearly penſion from the revenues of St. Peter. By that expedient he procured the pontifical dignity for himſelf, and took the name of Gregory VI. The emperor, however, diſapproving of his intruſion, called a council at Sutri, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where Gregory was depoſed, or prevailed upon to reſign. Henry received the imperial crown from the ſucceeding pope Clement II. and after this ceremony diſmiſſed part of his army with the empreſs, proceeding with the remaining part to Monte Caſſino, accompanied with the pope. Having made rich preſents to the monaſtery, he marched to Capua, where he prevailed on Guaimarius to reſign that principality, which he again conferred on Pandulphus, in conſideration of a large ſum of money [c]. He was there viſited by Drogo count of Apulia, and Rainulphus II. count of Averſa, who a little before had ſucceeded Aſclittinus. Theſe princes were very deſirous of ſecuring the favour of the emperor, who willingly received them as his vaſſals; and having been preſented by them with ſome fine horſes, and a large ſum of money, gave them the inveſtiture of all thoſe territories they were then in poſſeſſion of. Afterwards proceeding to Benevento, Pandulph III. who, with his ſon Landulph, then governed that principality, ſhut the gates againſt him, being apprehenſive that he would imitate the examples of the emperor Otho II. and III. who had allowed their army to plunder the inhabi-

*The emperor Henry comes to Italy.*

A.D. 1047.

*Confirms the Normans in their conqueſts.*

[c] Leo Oſt. lib. ii. cap. 80.

tants.

tants. Henry, in resentment of this affront, which he was not then in a condition to revenge, prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the city, and gave all the territory of that principality to the Normans. He then returned with his army to Germany, taking pope Clement along with him, who died that same year, in the month of October, of poison, which he is said to have received, while he was in Italy, from the antipope Benedict [f], who again seized upon the Roman see. The emperor, in the mean time, at the desire of the Romans, sent Poppo, bishop of Brescia, or Brixen, to Rome, as successor to Clement II. who was accordingly crowned the following year, in the month of July, when the antipope Benedict was again prevailed upon to resign. He took the name of Damasus II. but dying twenty-three days after his elevation, the emperor sent Bruno, bishop of Toul, his own relation, to be his successor, who was persuaded by Hildebrand, afterwards the famous Gregory VII. not to accept of the pontifical dignity upon the nomination of a layman. He therefore laid aside his pontifical robes; and, assuming the dress of a pilgrim, proceeded with Hildebrand to Rome, where he was unanimously elected by the people, and took the name of Leo IX.

The Greek emperor, in the mean time, hearing that Henry granted the investiture of Apulia to the Normans, and that there were no hopes of expelling them by force, sent Argyrus with large sums of money from Constantinople, which was to be distributed among them, if they would engage in his service in a war which he was resolved to declare against the Persians. The Normans perceiving the snare, and answering, that they were determined not to leave Italy, unless expelled by force, Argyrus, by means of the same money, bribed the Apulians to assassinate count Drogo. The chief of the conspirators was one Viso, who, when the count was going in the morning to the church at his castle of Montoglio, stabbed him, while his associates attacked and killed a great many of his guard, and made themselves masters of the fort. Many more Normans were, about the same time, massacred in the other cities of Apulia; so that a greater number of them perished by this conspiracy, than had been killed in the late wars. Umfred, who had been declared count before the death of his brother, immediately assembled his countrymen, and retook the castle of Montoglio, and likewise defeated Argyrus, who, with some troops, en-

*The inhabitants of Auplia massacre the Normans*

[f] Romuald. Chron. ad. an. 1047.

deavoured to take the advantage of the confusion occasioned by the massacre. Argyrus, besides bribing the Apulians, had recourse likewise to Leo IX. intreating his holiness to deliver Italy from the cruel Norman tyrants; and the inhabitants, who were now treated with great severity by the Normans, privately solicited his holiness to march with an army into their country against their oppressors.

A.D.1053. *Leo IX marches against the Normans.*

Leo willingly hearkened to their complaints, as the Normans, besides continuing their hostilities against the Greeks, had of late made several incursions into the territories of the church. His holiness being then in Germany, made an exchange with the emperor of several patrimonies belonging to the holy see in that country, for other places in Italy subject to the emperor [g]. The bishoprick of Bamberg particularly was, at this time, exchanged for the city of Benevento [h]; and the emperor, at the desire of Leo, granted him a powerful army to recover the territories of the church, which had been seized by the Normans. However, after the army had advanced into Italy, Henry, at the persuasion of Geberard, bishop of Eichstet, countermanded a great part of it. Many German volunteers, and people of desperate fortunes, nevertheless continued with the pope, who, by his military preparations, greatly astonished all Italy. As he had a great reputation for sanctity, and was at the head of a body of Germans, and had a correspondence with Argyrus and the Greeks in Apulia, the Normans began to be very apprehensive, and sent a submissive embassy to him, offering to hold all their conquests as vassals of the Roman see. Leo neglecting their offer, and refusing to grant them peace, unless they first restored all their conquests, the Normans unanimously agreed rather to part with their lives than the territory they had acquired. Attacking the pope's army, they gained a complete, though bloody, victory; and a few days after besieging the city of Civitate, where Leo had fled, obliged him to absolve them from the sentence of excommunication, and to surrender himself their prisoner [i].

*He is defeated and taken prisoner.*

The Normans received Leo with the greatest reverence; and having set him, and all the other prisoners, at liberty, conducted him to the city of Benevento, where he arrived about the end of June. He was so pleased with the veneration shewn to him by the Normans, that in a letter, which

g Hermon. Chron. h Leo Ost. lib. ii. cap. 46. & 85.
i Malater. lib. i. cap. 14. Vide Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1053.

he

he soon after wrote to the Greek emperor, he declared he would have been sorry to have obtained a victory; and, according to Malaterra, he granted them, as an hereditary fief of the holy see, all the conquests they had already made, or should make for the future, in Calabria and Sicily. The learned Giannone asserts, that this concession of the pope was nothing else but a testimony of his friendship for the Normans, who wanted him only to bless their arms, as a pretence to vindicate their acquisitions, and justify all their future undertakings; for they restored nothing to his holiness of what he pretended to in Benevento, but gave that city to the prince Pandulph with his son Landulph, who had been expelled upon the approach of the German army, and served them as auxiliaries[l]. Pandulph, about four years after, forsook the world, and turned monk; but Landulph held the principality till his death, which happened about twenty-four years after[m]. The pope, however, seems not to have acted with good faith towards the Normans; for it appears, from his letter to the Greek emperor, that he had not laid aside his design of extirpating them from Italy, which he said, he hoped quickly to accomplish, by the assistance which he should receive from him and from his cousin Henry[n]. Death prevented the execution of this design; for he sickened soon after at Benevento; and, proceeding to Rome, died on the 19th of April. Count Umfred, in the mean time, entirely reduced all the cities of Apulia, and afterwards punished the authors of his brother's murder with great severity. The death of Leo freeing him from a watchful and zealous enemy, he proposed to enlarge his dominions by the conquest of Calabria, where, by the valour of his brother Robert Guiscard, he quickly made a considerable progress. The Normans about the same time, granted their assistance to Gisulphus II. in recovering the city of Salerno, which had been surprised by some Amalfitans and Salernitans, who, the year before the expedition of Leo IX. had murdered his father Guaimarius IV. After the war had continued about two years in Calabria, count Umfred died; leaving only two young sons, Bacelardus and Harmannus, whom he committed to the care of his brother Robert, who immediately upon his desire, assumed the government of Apulia.

*Gives the investiture of Apulia to the Normans.*

A.D. 1054.

*Dies at Rome.*

A.D. 1056.

*Count Umfred dies, and is succeeded by Robert Guiscard.*

[l] Giannone ut supra. ex Chron. S. Sophiæ.

[m] Peregr. in Stem. Princ. Benevent.

[n] Epist. Leon. ap. Baron. ad ann. 1054.

The short reigns of the two successors of Leo IX. contributed greatly to the establishment of the power of the Normans in Calabria. Geberard, bishop of Eichstet, who, after a vacancy of near twelve months, succeeded Leo, and took the name of Victor II. regretted his former opposition to the expedition of his predecessor; but was prevented by death from forming any design against the Normans. After he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity two years, he was succeeded by Frederic, abbot of Monte Cassino, and brother of Godfrey, the husband of Beatrice, countess of Tuscany, betwixt whose family and that of the emperor there was a kind of hereditary animosity. The new pope, who took the name of Stephen X. soon after his elevation resolved upon an expedition against the Normans; and as the emperor Henry had died the year before, and left his dominions to his infant son Henry IV. he proposed to confer the imperial dignity on his own brother Godfrey, duke of Tuscany, and afterwards, in conjunction with him, to march into Puglia: but, before he could bring his schemes to maturity, he died suddenly at Florence, in the eighth month of his pontificate [o]. After his death a schism ensued at Rome, which continued for ten months, when Benedict the schismatical pope resigned, and Nicholas II. who had been legally elected, obtained peaceable possession of the chair. About the same time great revolutions happened in the court of Constantinople: Michael Stratioticus had renounced the empire, and assumed the habit of a monk, while several competitors endeavoured by force to procure the succession, which was at last secured by Isaac Comnenus [p].

A.D. 1059. During these confusions at Rome and Constantinople, Robert Guiscard made great progress in Calabria. After having made himself master of almost all the cities and places of strength in that province, he at last reduced Reggio, after which conquest he caused himself to be proclaimed duke of Apulia and Calabria [q]. The year before he had divorced his first wife Alberada, who was too nearly related to him, and had married Sikelgaita, one of the sisters of Gisulphus II. prince of Salerno [r]. About the same time he gave assistance to his brother Geoffrey, count of Capitanata, and granted a share of his conquests to his youngest brother Roger, who had been very active in rob-

*He assumes the title of duke of Apulia and Calabria.*

[o] Leo. Ost. lib. ii. cap. 99 & 100. Baron. Annal. [p] Curopalat. Hist. [q] Leo. Ost. lib. iii. cap. 16. Sigon. ut supra. [r] Malater. lib. i. cap. 30, 31. Peregrin. in Stem.

bing

bing and plundering the inhabitants of Calabria. While the ſons of Tancred were thus extending their dominion, the Norman counts of Averſa were likewiſe enlarging their territory. Richard I. the ſon of Aſclittinus, invaded the principality of Capua; and beſieging the city, obliged the inhabitants to ſurrender, and Landulphus V. to quit the government. After having cauſed himſelf to be crowned prince of Capua, he reduced all Campania; and returning to the city, obliged the inhabitants to deliver up to him the gates and towers, which at firſt he had left in their poſſeſſion. Thus ended the dominion of the Lombards in Capua, which had continued in an uninterrupted ſeries of one hundred and ſixty years, from Atenulphus to this Landulphus V. whoſe children the abbot Deſiderius mentions he ſaw going about as vagabonds, begging bread to ſupport their miſerable lives [r].

Nicholas II. finding the power of the Normans continually increaſing, immediately after his acceſſion denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt them, under pretence that they had ſeized ſome territories belonging to the holy ſee. Notwithſtanding this ſentence, Robert Guiſcard abſolutely refuſed to part with the diſputed territory; however, as he was by many of the Apulians looked upon as an uſurper, and his nephew Bucilardus had prevailed upon ſome cities to revolt in his favour, he thought it moſt prudent to procure, if poſſible, the friendſhip of the pope. He accordingly ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to him, intreating him to come into Apulia, and promiſing to give him ſatisfaction if he would reſtore him to the communion of the church. Nicholas willingly agreed to this propoſal, conſcious, by the misfortune of his predeceſſor Leo, that the Normans could not be eaſily extirpated out of Italy. After Whitſuntide he proceeded to Melphis, where he held a council for reforming ſeveral eccleſiaſtical abuſes, and had a conference with the Norman princes. Both parties being ſenſible that they needed each other's aſſiſtance, they ſoon came to an agreement. Robert reſtoring what he had taken from the church, and conſenting to hold all his conqueſts as a fief of the holy ſee, Nicholas abſolved the Normans from the ſentence of excommunication, and ſolemnly gave the inveſtiture of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, to duke Robert, and the principality of Capua to Richard, count of Averſa, both princes taking the oath of fidelity to the pope, and promiſing

*and receives the inveſtiture of the dutchies from the pope.*

[r] Deſid. Dial. lib. iii.

mising to pay a yearly acknowlegement of twelve pence of Pavia, for every yoke of oxen in their dominions. This agreement was probably made without much difficulty, as both parties had nothing in view but to rob their neighbours of their rights, and to make their advantage by the bargain. The pope in particular made use of his new friends to quell the insolence of the counts of Tusculum, now Frescati. Upon his return to Rome, he took with him a great number of Normans, who, at his desire, ravaged the territories belonging to the Tusculan family, on the south side of the Tyber; and afterwards passing that river, destroyed all the castles of count Gerard, as far as Sutri. Nicholas survived this transaction about two years, and died at Rome, in the third year of his pontificate.

*The Normans assist the pope against the counts of Tusculum.*

Robert, in the mean time, continued the war against those cities which still held for the Greeks, while his brother, count Roger, passed over with an army into Sicily against the Saracens. The duke made himself master of Brindisi, Tarento, and Matera, and a few years after besieged Bari, both by sea and land. This city was superior to all the rest in Puglia in wealth and greatness, and had been strongly fortified by the Greeks, who had sent thither a numerous garrison, under the command of the catapan Stephen Pateranus, or Sebastophorus. Robert, however, persevering in the siege, at last made himself master of the place, which had been defended by the inhabitants and garrison for more than three years [s]. After the reduction of this city Robert sailed with a fleet of fifty-eight ships for Sicily, in order to assist his brother Roger in the conquest of that island. In the mean time great confusions had happened at Rome, where Alexander II. had been elected pope, without the consent of the emperor, who, to support his prerogative, had nominated one Cadolus to the pontificate. This antipope was condemned in two or three councils, while Alexander was supported by Godfrey, marquis of Tuscany. This nobleman protected him against the other faction, and marched with an army as far as Aquino against Richard, count of Aversa, who endeavouring to take advantage of the disturbances in Rome, hoped by force to cause himself to be elected a patrician: Godfrey had several skirmishes with the Normans; but at last having received a large sum of money from Richard,

[s] Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 16. Malater. lib. ii. cap. 43. Beatil. Hist. di Bari, lib. ii. Gul. Apul. tom. iii.

he

he retired with his army [t]. Alexander II. at last obtaining the quiet possession of the Roman see, by the death of his competitor, confirmed the investiture of Puglia and Calabria to duke Robert, and sent a consecrated standard to count Roger, to testify his approbation of his Sicilian expedition. Roger, before the arrival of his brother Guiscard, had almost entirely conquered the island of Sicily; and being joined by his forces, at last made himself master of Palermo, after a siege of five months. Robert gave the investiture of the whole island to Roger, with the title of count, reserving only to himself the half of Palermo, Messina, and the valley of Demona. Returning to Apulia he stopped at Melphis, where he was received with acclamations by the greatest part of the barons of Apulia and Calabria. The count of Trani, however, still refusing to acknowlege him as his sovereign, Robert besieged and took that city, with several other towns depending upon it, and soon after surprised his son; but as the young prince then consented to take the oath of fealty to him, he generously restored all that he had taken from him, except Trani.

A.D. 1071

*Sicily conquered by the Normans.*

Pope Alexander II in the mean time died at Rome, and was succeeded by the famous Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII. whose turbulent and ambitious spirit first gave rise to those imperial and papal factions, which disturbed the peace of Italy for several hundred years after. In the beginning of his pontificate, a difference happened betwixt duke Robert and his brother-in-law Gisulphus, prince of Salerno, which afforded a new opportunity to the Normans of extending their conquests. The Amalfitans being treated with great rigour and severity by prince Gisulphus, in resentment for their disloyalty to his father, had recourse to the intercession of Guiscard, who accordingly sent an embassy to his brother-in-law in their behalf. Gisulphus treated his ambassadors with great coldness, and remonstrated to them, that the duke had seized Areco and Sancta Euphemia, with some other places belonging to his principality, which he insisted should be immediately restored. Robert proposed to accommodate the difference amicably; but Gisulphus obstinately refused to treat, probably trusting to the assistance of Richard, prince of Capua, who was then at variance with Robert, and had espoused his interest. Robert, finding that a rupture was unavoidable,

[t] Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 23.

privately

A.D.1074. privately adjusted his difference with the prince of Capua, who even agreed to assist him against Gisulphus; and having made a treaty with the Amalfitans, and put a garrison into their city, he prepared to attack Salerno. Gisulphus, notwithstanding the intreaties of the pope and Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, still obstinately refused to hearken to an accommodation, though Robert had already advanced with his troops to the neighbourhood of Salerno. Robert at last commenced the siege, and by the assistance of his brother, count Roger, in a few months made himself master of Salerno and San Severino, his two nephews, Bucelardus and Hermannus, who had espoused the cause of Gisulphus, being obliged to fly to Constantinople, and Gisulphus being compelled to put himself under the protection of the pope, who granted him a small territory in Campania di Roma. Robert resolving to pursue his enemy, marched with his army into Campania, and even seized some places belonging to the pope in the March of Ancona [u]. Gregory, provoked by these hostilities, immediately excommunicated him and prince Richard, with all their adherents, and ordered a numerous army, which he had assembled for the assistance of the Greek emperor, to march against the Normans. Robert and Richard, finding themselves attacked both by spiritual and temporal arms, thought proper to retire with their troops from the church territories. Robert marched with his army and besieged Benevento, while Richard invested the city of Naples. Robert, however, finding his attempt fruitless, soon after retired. Richard continued before Naples, with great obstinacy, about two years, when having obtained absolution from the pope, he died during the siege, leaving his principality to his son Jordanus, whom, during his life-time, he had associated with himself in the government.

*Robert Guiscard conquers Salerno.*

*He is excommunicated by the pope.*

A.D.1078.

*Richard, prince of Capua, is succeeded by his son Jordanus.*

The new prince immediately drew upon himself the resentment of pope Gregory, by plundering a bishop who was going to Rome, and by robbing the monastery of Cassino of a considerable sum of money: but from Leo Ostiensis it appears, that he afterwards gave several precious gifts to the monastery, to which he likewise afforded his protection. The year before the death of Richard, the succession of the princes of Benevento failed in Landulphus VI. who died without leaving issue, and the title of that principality became extinct. Gregory VII. imme-

[u] Paul. Diac. lib. iii. cap. 45.

diately

diately laid claim to the city, in conſequence of the exchange formerly made betwixt Leo IX. and the emperor Henry; but Guiſcard, without regarding his pretenſions, renewed the ſiege, though he thereby drew upon himſelf a repetition of the ſentence of excommunication [w]. The pope, however, having made Jordanus, prince of Capua, his friend, prevailed upon him to raiſe the ſiege of Naples, while Guiſcard was abſent in Calabria, to withdraw his auxiliary troops from before Benevento, and to level the works, and deſtroy the machines, made for carrying on the attacks. Guiſcard, provoked by this behaviour of Jordanus, returned with an army from Calabria, reduced a great many cities of the duchy of Benevento, and marched to the river Sarno, with intention of attacking the Capuan prince. The abbot Deſiderius, however, A D. 1080. prevented an engagement, and not only reconciled the two princes, but alſo accommodated all differences betwixt duke Robert and the pope, who had a conference near the Garigliano; when the duke, being abſolved by Gregory, took the oath of fidelity to him, and received from him the inveſtiture of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Gregory alſo gave him permiſſion to hold Salerno, Amalfi, and part of the March of Ancona, which he ſaid he had unjuſtly ſeized; but the duke conſented to reſign all his pretenſions to the city of Benevento, which was then united to the dominions of the Roman ſee. The uncommon condeſcenſion of the pope, in allowing the duke to retain Salerno, and part of the church territories, was probably owing to the difficulties in which he found himſelf involved, by his diſpute with the emperor, about the right of inveſtitures. Henry having been excommunicated and depoſed by him, in return aſſembled a council at Brixen, or Breſcia, in which Gregory was depoſed, and the archbiſhop of Ravenna elected, by the name of Clement III. As a powerful party in Italy, both of eccleſiaſtics and barons, favoured the emperor's cauſe, Gregory found the neceſſity of having a formidable protector; therefore being reconciled to the Normans without much difficulty, he immediately publiſhed a letter, declaring his intention of marching againſt the antipope at Ravenna, with the princes Robert and Jordanus.

*Gregory is reconciled to the Norman princes, and gives them inveſtiture.*

This expedition, however, never took place, and perhaps was never intended, as Robert Guiſcard at the ſame time had another in view, in which he was more per-

[w] Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1078. Leo Oſt.

ſonally

sonally concerned. Some years before he had given one of his daughters, named Helena, in marriage to Constantine, the son of the Greek emperor Michael Ducas, who was afterwards dethroned by Nicephorus Botoniates, and, together with his wife, son, and daughter-in-law, thrust into a monastery. This year Michael, or, according to the Greek writers, an impostor who called himself Michael, arrived in Italy, and begged the assistance of the pope and of duke Robert. Gregory received him in an honourable manner, and wrote to the archbishops and bishops in Puglia and Calabria, desiring them to encourage the people to assist him in recovering his throne, and to give absolution of sins to all those who would engage in that expedition. Robert likewise espoused his cause with great eagerness, and declared, that he would conduct him to Constantinople at the head of an army.

A.D. 1081. Having prepared every thing for the expedition, he was informed that the usurper Nicephorus was expelled by Alexius Comnenus, who had been declared emperor by the army, and had taken Helena from the monastery, and treated her with great honour. Robert, nevertheless, continued his design of invading Greece. In the following year, having declared Roger his eldest son, by his second wife Sikelgaita, heir of his dominions, and committed the government to his care, he embarked with his troops for the Greek territories, being accompanied by Sikelgaita, and his son Boemundus, whom he had by his first wife. The various incidents of this war are related by Malaterra, William of Apulia, and the famous princess Anna Comnena, the daughter of the Greek emperor [x]: but here we shall only observe, that though Alexius was assisted by a Venetian fleet, Robert made himself master of the island of Corfu, reduced Durazzo, conquered a great part of Romania, and by the success of his arms, and approach to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, struck an universal terror among the Greeks.

*Robert Guiscard invades Greece.*

In the mean time the emperor Henry, having defeated and killed his rival Rodolphus, marched with a powerful army into Italy against the pope. That he might deprive him of the assistance of the duke of Apulia, he proposed a marriage betwixt his son and the duke's daughter, and to grant him the march of Ancona. The treaty, however, was rejected by Robert, who still continued faithful to Gregory. Henry was more successful with Jordanus,

[x] Malater. lib. iii. Anna Comn. lib. iv. Gul. Apul. lib. iv.

prince

prince of Capua, who eſpouſed his cauſe, and granted him ſuccours both in men and money. He beſieged Rome the three following ſummers, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of the city, except the caſtle of St. Angelo, whither the pope retired, and preſſed duke Robert to return to his aſſiſtance. Robert's preſence in Italy was required on another account; for the inhabitants of Apulia, encouraged by the emperor's arrival at Rome, rebelled againſt duke Roger, in hopes of driving out their tyrannical maſters by the aſſiſtance of the imperial army. The duke therefore left the command of his army to his ſon Boemund, and the count of Brienne, and landing at Otranto with a ſmall body of his men, on board two ſhips, immediately attacked and diſperſed ſome of the rebels. He reduced Troja and Aſcoli, and entirely deſtroyed the city of Cannæ; by which means having quieted the commotions in Apulia, he marched againſt Jordanus, and beſieged Averſa. The city, however, making a vigorous defence, and the pope being reduced to great difficulties, he raiſed the ſiege, and proceeded to Rome. Before his arrival, Henry had quitted the city with his army; but the Romans, who were brought over to his intereſt, ſtill beſieged the pope in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Guiſcard ſurpriſed the city, and after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the ſtreets with the imperial party, got poſſeſſion of the Capitol, ſet the pope at liberty, and conducted him in triumph to the Lateran palace. Soon after, under pretence that the Romans were forming a conſpiracy againſt him, he ſet fire to the city, put a great many of the inhabitants to death, and obliged thoſe who were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the pope to give hoſtages for their good behaviour. Gregory, however, finding the imperial faction too powerful in Rome, thought proper to quit the city; and at the departure of Guiſcard, went with him to Salerno, where he continued till his death, which happened the year after.

*The emperor makes himſelf maſter of Rome.*

A.D. 1083.

AD. 1084.

*Robert Guiſcard delivers the pope.*

Guiſcard, in the mean time, made great preparations to return to Greece to ſecond his ſon Boemund, who, during his abſence, had gained a remarkable victory over Alexius. He embarked a large body of troops, and being accompanied with his ſon Roger, put to ſea in the end of autumn. Alexius being aſſiſted by the Venetians, endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, but was entirely defeated, with the loſs of a great many gallies. After Guiſcard landed, he was prevented that winter from undertaking any enterprize, by a contagious diſtemper which ſeized

*He returns to Greece.*

ſeized his army and carried off upwards of ten thouſand men. Boemund was likewiſe ſeized with the diſtemper, and obliged to return to his native air in Italy; though ſome authors allege, that his illneſs was the effect of poiſon, adminiſtered to him by his ſtep-mother Sikelgaita, who was afraid leſt, after his father's death, he ſhould ſeize on Apulia and Calabria, to the prejudice of her ſon Roger[y]. After the departure of Boemund, Guiſcard ordered his ſon Roger to beſiege Cephalonia, which had revolted; but while he was intent on this expedition he was ſeized with a violent fever, and obliged to retire to Caſopolis, a ſmall caſtle in the iſland of Corfu, where he died in the month of July, in the ſixtieth year of his age.

A.D.1085. The news of his death ſtruck his army with conſternation, and retreating immediately in a great panic, they em-

*His death.* barked with great precipitation for Italy; thoſe that could not be taken on board ſurrendering themſelves priſoners to the Greeks[z]. Sikelgaita carried her huſband's corpſe with her to Italy; but the ſhip in which it was carried being wrecked, with many others, on the coaſts, the heart and bowels were obliged to be left at Otranto, but the body being a ſecond time embalmed, was interred at Venoſa.

*His ſon Roger takes poſſeſſion of Apulia and Calabria.* Such was the end of this ambitious conquerer, whoſe ſucceſsful prudence and valour raiſed him from a private gentleman to ſuch power and greatneſs as to become formidable to both the eaſtern and weſtern emperor (P). Some authors allege, that duke Robert made a partition of his dominions by a will, leaving Sicily to his brother Roger, his conqueſts in the Eaſt to Boemund, and all that he poſſeſſed in Italy to his ſecond ſon. But he either did not make a will, or his ſons were not contented with it; for immediately after his death, Boemund and Roger both pretended to the ſucceſſion, and each of them raiſed conſiderable factions. Roger, by the addreſs of his mother, ſecured the intereſt of his uncle count of Sicily, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the Italian dominions, ob-

[y] Oder. Vital. lib. vii.

[z] Gul. Apul. lib. ult.

(P) Robert left two ſons, and ſeveral daughters, by his two wives. He governed Apulia thirty years, and Salerno ten, in which city he fixed the ſeat of his government, as it was then become very famous by its extenſive traffic, great wealth, and numerous ſchools for the ſtudy of philoſophy and phyſic.

taining

taining likewise from the count several places in Calabria, which had been subject to him during the life of Robert. Boemund, before his father's death, had returned to Greece, where being informed that his brother Roger had usurped the whole dominions in Italy, he returned with his army, and landing at Otranto, immediately began hostilities. The war continued for near three years, during which time Boemund conquered several cities; but at length an accomodation was effected betwixt the two brothers by Urban II. who, upon the death of Victor III. the successor of Gregory, had been elected pope. By this agreement Boemund was left in possession of the places he had conquered, and had besides Maida and Cosenza, which last city was afterwards exchanged for Bari. In the course of the following year Roger and Boemund again waited upon the pope at Melphis, where, in the month of September, he celebrated a council, and confirmed the agreement formerly made betwixt them [a].

A.D. 1090. *Richard II. is expelled from Capua.*

At this period, Jordanus, prince of Capua, died, and was succeeded by his son Richard II. then a boy, who being soon after expelled from Capua by the Lombards of Campania, retired to Aversa [b]. In the mean time the city of Cosenza revolting from Roger, he had recourse to his uncle the count, by whose assistance having reduced the rebels, he resigned to him the half of Palermo, which had been reserved by his father; so that each of them having quitted the territories which they held in each other's dominions, the two states began to be governed by their separate laws and customs. After this revolt was quelled, duke Roger married Adala, the daughter of Robert Frisius, marquis of Flanders, and niece of Philip, king of France, by whom he had two sons, William and Lewis. While they were both infants, he was seized with a fever at Melphis, which reduced him to such extremity that he was given over by his physicians, and a rumour prevailed that he was dead. Boemund, who was then in Calabria, immediately assembled some troops, and marching into the dominions of his brother, obliged several cities to take the oath of allegiance to him; pretending, however, that he intended to assume the government only during the minority of his nephews. The duke was greatly alarmed at this method of proceeding, and sent to his uncle for assistance, who soon obliged Boe-

[a] Peregrin. ad Lup. Protospat. an. 1089. Romuald. Salern. ap. Baron. [b] Peregrin. in Stem. Prin. Norm.

mund

mund to retire. The brother being now sensible of his
A.D.1094. rashness, and hearing that the duke was recovered, contrary to expectation, came to Melphis, to congratulate
*Duke Roger reduces Rossana.* him; and having excused his own conduct, and restored all that he had seized, offered him his assistance to reduce some cities that had revolted. Among these were Rossana and Amalfi. William de Grantarul, who had married the duke's niece, had seized Rossana; but being quickly reduced by the duke's forces, in conjunction with those of Boemund and count Roger, he was obliged to fly with his wife to Constantinople. The count, however, soon after, on account of his affinity, was reconciled to him, and restored him all his territories, except the castle of St. Maur[c].

In the mean time he marched against the Amalfitans, who had destroyed the forts built in their city by Robert Guiscard, and expelled all those who favoured the Normans. The city was populous, and strongly fortified; and the inhabitants were fond of liberty, which they had long enjoyed. The duke, therefore, sensible that it would be difficult to reduce them, invested the city with a powerful army, both by sea and land. Besides his own forces, his brother Boemund joined him with a large body of troops from Calabria, and his uncle Roger transported from Sicily an army of twenty thousand Saracens, with an infinite number of other nations[d].

The city was at last reduced to the greatest extremity, when a very singular accident contributed to its preservation. Urban II. by his pathetic discourses in the council of Clermont in France, had raised a romantic and enthusiastic spirit over all Europe, of undertaking an expedition into the Holy Land for the recovery of Jerusalem. During the siege, great numbers of the crusards wandering in Apulia without a leader, Boemund, who remembered his former expeditions with his father in Romania, which he was still ambitious of conquering, immediately assumed the cross, and, with great appearance of devotion and zeal, exhorted others to follow his example. He was so successful, as to prevail on the best part of the allied army that was before the city to assume the cross, and to make a vow not to attack any Christians till after their return from the Holy Land. The duke being thus deprived of

[c] Malater. lib. iv. cap. 22. [d] Lup. Protospat. anno 1096.

the

the flower of his troops, was obliged, to his great mortification, to abandon his enterprize [e].

A.D. 1097. Boemund soon after passed over into Greece, at the head of a formidable army, and was accompanied by his cousin, the famous Tancred, who distinguished himself greatly in that sacred expedition [f]. Before his departure he resigned all his dominions in Italy to his brother Roger, who, in the following year, assisted Richard II. in recovering the principality of Capua. Richard owed his restoration chiefly to the power of the count of Sicily, whose protection and assistance he purchased by submitting to become his vassal, and promising him the city of Naples, though it does not appear what right he had to dispose of that city, which was not at this time in his possession, but was still governed by its own dukes in the form of a republic. Roger, in the spring, transported a very formidable army from Sicily, with which he ravaged Campania and invested Capua, which, after a siege of forty days, was obliged to surrender, and submit to Richard upon his own terms. After the reduction of the city the duke and count returned to Salerno, where they were visited by pope Urban, who, in consideration of the many services rendered by the count to the apostolic see, granted a bull, appointing him, and the son that should succeed him, his legates in Sicily; from whence the princes, who have since succeeded to that island, have claimed the right of being sovereigns both in spirituals and temporals; and though the church of Rome has made great opposition to their claim, they have, nevertheless, still retained this eminent prerogative [g].

*Boemund engages in the crusade.*

A.D. 1112. In the mean time, Boemund having taken Antioch, usurped the title of prince of that city, which dignity he likewise transmitted to his posterity. About six years after he arrived in Italy, and had a conference at Rome with pope Pascal II. the successor of Urban, after which he proceeded to France to marry Constantia, the daughter of king Philip [h]. Before his arrival in Italy his uncle, the great count Roger, died, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried in the city of Melito, in Calabria. He left two young sons by his last wife, and two daughters, who were married to two Lombard counts. Simon, his

*Roger, count of Sicily, is succeeded by his son Roger II.*

[e] Malater. lib. iv. cap. 24. [f] Vide Baron. ad ann. 1097. Giannone Hist. di Napol. lib. x. cap. 8. [g] Dupin. Defense de la Monarchie de Sicile, edit. Amsterdam, ann. 1716. [h] Willel. Tyr. de Bel. Sacr.

eldeſt ſon, ſurvived only a few months, and it ſeems uncertain whether he was ever in poſſeſſion of the county of Sicily [1]; ſo that Roger II. afterwards king, may juſtly be reckoned his immediate ſucceſſor. A few years after his ſucceſſion, Robert, brother of the prince of Capua, endeavoured to ſeize that principality. Prince Richard, however, held it till his death, which happened two years after, when it was ſeized by Robert, who kept it twelve months, under the title of procurator, after which time he aſſumed the title of prince, the Capuans acknowleging him their ſovereign, as his brother had left no iſſue.

Soon after this event Henry V. who had rebelled againſt his father, and ſtripped him by force of his imperial ornaments, entered Italy at the head of a formidable army, to receive the imperial crown, and finally determine the diſpute concerning inveſtitures. As he had inſiſted upon retaining that right as peremptorily as his late father had ever done, the pope began to be greatly apprehenſive of his deſigns, and immediately, upon the news of his march, came to Capua, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of prince Robert and duke Roger, in defence of the apoſtolic ſee. Having obtained their promiſe of aſſiſtance he returned to Rome, and took an oath from the Romans to the ſame purpoſe. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, in the month of February of the following year, he was ſeized in St. Peter's church by the emperor, kept cloſe priſoner, and treated with great indignity for two months, till he conſented to confirm his claim of inveſtitures by a bull. Robert, prince of Capua, upon the news of the pope's confinement, immediately ſent ſome troops toward Rome to his aſſiſtance; but the emperor, by that time, had left the city with his priſoner, and marched to the ſouth ſide of the Tyber, ſo that the Normans were obliged to return to Capua, having found all the nobles about Ferentino greatly in the emperor's intereſt. The pope was deprived of any aſſiſtance from Apulia by the death of duke Roger, who, about the ſame time that he was ſeized at Rome, died at Salerno. This accident ſtruck the Normans with great conſternation, as the Lombard ſubjects ſeemed inclined to revolt; and they were conſcious they had incurred the reſentment of the emperor, who was at this time very formidable, had the pope in his power, and

[1] Append. ad Hiſt. Malat. apud Murat. tom. v. Romuald. Salern. Chron. Alex. Felicin. Abbat. Hiſt. Roger. Reg. lib. i. cap. 2, 3.

was

was ravaging the Roman territories in their neighbourhood. The Normans in Apulia and Calabria therefore, instead of marching to the relief of the pope, secured the fortified places in those provinces for their own defence; and prince Robert, who was more exposed to the emperor's resentment, sent ambassadors to him with offers of submission [k].

Henry having received the imperial crown, and obtained the bull concerning investitures from the pope, left Italy, without concerning himself with the affairs of the Normans, and had no sooner passed the Alps than the bull granted by Paschal was annulled by several cardinals, who of themselves had assembled at Rome. Duke Roger was succeeded by his only son William, who received the investiture of Apulia and Calabria from pope Paschal at Cepperano [l]. Paschal, about four years after, was succeeded in the pontificate by Gelasius II. born at Gaeta. The emperor was then in Italy, and the new pope refusing to confirm the grant of investitures made by Paschal, Henry marched directly to Rome. The pope, being apprehensive of the same treatment his predecessor had received, retired to his native city, where he was consecrated, and granted the investiture to duke William, and Robert, prince of Capua, who promised to assist him against the schismatics. Henry, in the mean time, appointed an anti-pope, who took the name of Gregory VIII. but being soon after informed that the Normans were conducting Gelasius to Rome, he left the city, and returned to Germany. Though Gelasius soon after entered Rome with a considerable body of Normans, yet the imperial and anti-papal party being more powerful than he expected, he was obliged a second time to quit the city, and retired to France, where he died in the beginning of the following year, in the monastery of Cluny. The cardinals who had attended him immediately elected Guido, archbishop of Vienne, who took the name of Calixtus II. At first there were some hopes of an accommodation betwixt him and the emperor with regard to investitures, but the proposed conferences never taking effect, Calixtus returned the following year to Rome, where he was received with great respect. From thence he proceeded to Benevento, to solicit the assistance of duke William and the prince of Capua, against the anti-pope, who was protected by the imperial garrison at Su-

A.D. 1111.

*William succeeds to the dukedom of Apulia.*

[k] P. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 41, 42. [l] Idem, lib. iv. cap. 49.

tri. Calixtus granted the investiture to duke William; but before his arrival Robert, prince of Capua, died, and left his dominions to his son Richard III. who surviving
A.D.1120. him only two days, was succeeded by his uncle Jordanus II. who, according to the Norman custom, was anointed with the holy oil on the 5th of July [m]. The pope, however, obtained a body of Normans, by whose assistance he next year reduced Sutri, and seized the anti-pope, whom he imprisoned for life. He survived this transaction about three years, and was succeeded by Honorius II. At this period the emperor Henry V. dying, Lotharius, duke of Saxony, and Conrad, duke of Suabia, both pretended to be legally elected his successor, and had recourse to arms to support their respective claims.

*Jordanus succeeds to the principality of Capua.*

During this civil war in Germany, William, duke of Apulia, died at Salerno, in the seventeenth year of his reign, without issue [n]. Some time before his death he left his dominions, by will, to his uncle Roger, count of Sicily, who immediately, without consulting the pope, arrived at Salerno, and, confirming to the Salernitans their ancient privileges, was consecrated prince by Al-
A.D.1127. phanus, bishop of Caput Aquense. From thence he went to Reggio, where he was proclaimed duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, after having made a progress through the provinces, returned to Sicily [o]. Pope Honorius II. alleged, that Roger, by taking possession of Apulia and Calabria had violated the rights of the church, which pretended to the supreme dominion of these duchies. He therefore refused to grant him the investiture, though he desired it in the most respectful manner, and offered, in return, the cities of Troja and Montefusco. Roger sent several embassies to him at Benevento; however, he would not hearken to his proposals, but, returning to Capua, held a convention composed of the prince of Capua and several barons of Apulia, whom he prevailed upon to enter into an association against Roger, in defence of the church. Roger, who had assumed the title of duke, still continued to solicit an accommodation; but Honorius remained inflexible, declaring, he would rather die than agree to his proposals, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against him and all his adherents.

*Roger takes possession of Puglia.*

*The pope opposes his claim.*

[m] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. Chron. Cavens. [n] Rom. Salern. Falcon. Benevent. ad ann. 1127. P. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 66. [o] Romuald. Salern. Alex. Telesin. Abbat. Hist. apud Murator. lib. v. p. 616, 617.

The

The duke at last resolved to defend his right by arms, and, upon his return to Sicily, assembled a formidable army, which, the following spring, he transported into Italy, and quickly made himself master of Tarento, Otranto, Brindisi, Oria, and several other places. Honorius, in the mean time, marched against him with the rebellious barons and their troops. Upon the approach of the papal army, Roger very prudently kept himself in his fortified camp, pretending that he declined an engagement from respect to the pope, but in hopes that his enemies, for want of unanimity and subsistence, would soon be obliged to disperse. The event justified his conduct; for many in the pope's camp were soon obliged to sell their cloaths to purchase subsistence, a circumstance which occasioning a great desertion, the pope without the knowlege of the barons, sent to Roger, offering him the investiture of his nephew's dominions, if he would swear allegiance to the holy see. This negociation being discovered, the Apulian barons, in great indignation, immediately abandoned the pope, who returned to Benevento; and being followed by Roger, granted him the investiture of Apulia and Calabria, in the neighbourhood of that city. Upon the news of this accommodation with the pope, many cities immediately submitted to Roger. Brindisi, however, revolted; and Troja, which had been most active in the rebellion, instead of acknowleging the duke, sent and begged the protection of Robert II. prince of Capua, who, about two years before, had succeeded his father Jordanus. Robert refusing their request, they submitted to Rainulph, count of Avellino; but Roger, by threatening to invade his country, drew him from the city, which he afterwards invested, and, obliging it to surrender, struck such a terror into the malecontents, that they all submitted [p].

A.D. 1128.

*At last grants him the investiture.*

As he had now united a great many states in his own person, upon his return to Sicily he was earnestly pressed by many of his friends to assume the title of king. He very willingly attended to this proposal; and returning to Salerno, assembled the barons of Puglia in that city, who unanimously urging him to the same purpose, he published a proclamation, ordering all his nobles and barons to appear at Palermo at Christmas. As the authority of the popes was at that time so great, that princes did not think

[p] Telesin. Abbat. Hist. ut supra. Falcon. Benevent. Chron. Romuald. Chron.

they could aſſume the royal, or any other title without their conſent, Roger, therefore, judged it neceſſary to have the approbation of the apoſtolic ſee. It happened very fortunately for him that a great ſchiſm had ariſen in the Roman church. Innocent II. and Anaclet II. in the beginning of the year, had been both elected on the ſame day by oppoſite factions. Innocent was firſt choſen by the minority in a ſecret manner, but was obliged to quit Rome, and to retire to France, where he ſoon prevailed on the emperor and the king of France to acknowlege him. Anaclet was ſupported at Rome by powerful relations, and a great many cardinals. Roger, from what motive is uncertain, thought proper to declare for Anaclet, who
A.D.1130. was generally acknowleged in Italy. The antipope, in return for the protection of ſo powerful a prince, made no difficulty of granting him the royal title. He accordingly had a conference with Roger, in the month of September, at Avellino, where he ſettled the time and place of the coronation; and, returning to Benevento, cauſed the bull to be drawn up for that purpoſe, ſpecifying the rights and privileges of the kingdom. He then ſent cardinal Comes to Palermo, who, with great pomp and ceremony, crowned the king on the 25th of December [q] (Q).

*Roger aſſumes the title of king.*

A few months after this ceremony, the new king inveſted the city of Amalfi both by ſea and land, and at length obliged it to ſurrender. At his return to Salerno, Sergius, duke of Naples, according to the abbot of Teleſe, came and ſubmitted voluntarily to his dominion.

[q] Vide auct. ſup. citat. P. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 97.

(Q) Roger at this time not only obtained the inveſtiture of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, but likewiſe of the principality of Capua, and the dukedom of Naples, though prince Robert was preſent at his coronation, and helped to place the crown upon his head, and the dukedom of Naples was then governed by its own duke, and depended on the eaſtern empire. He did not, however, obtain the inveſtiture of the principality of Salerno, which ſtate, for ſome time paſt, was claimed by the popes themſelves, probably by ſome pretended gift of Giſulphus II. who was expelled by Robert Guiſcard, and took refuge with Gregory the Seventh. The inveſtiture was given to Roger, his children, and their heirs, jure perpetuo; and the quit-rent agreed upon was ſix hundred ſcyfati yearly (1).

(1) Bulla Anaclet. ap. Baron.

This

This ſubmiſſion, however, if there was really any ſuch, took no effect; for Sergius, in the following year, aſſociated himſelf with many powerful barons, who revolted againſt the king. As Roger began to govern in a very arbitrary manner, and to diſcover every day more ambitious views, many of the Apulians fled to the emperor, begging his protection, while others formed an aſſociation for their own defence. The Beneventans, finding that the king had corrupted their governor, cardinal Creſcentius, and intended to make himſelf maſter of their city, expelled the cardinal, renounced their obedience to Anaclet, and acknowleged Innocent, who ſent one cardinal Gerard as their governor. The count of Avellino likewiſe, though married to a ſiſter of the king, being ſtripped by him of part of his territories, immediately prevailed on Robert, prince of Capua, Tancred, count of Converſano, Grimoald, prince of Bari, with many other barons, to have recourſe to arms. Theſe malecontents, being aſſiſted by the Neapolitans and Beneventans, attacked the king near the river Sarno where he was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to Salerno, from whence, in the beginning of December, he returned to Sicily[r].

A.D.1132.

*A dangerous rebellion in Apulia.*

Before his departure, the emperor Lotharius had arrived in Italy. In the following ſpring he marched towards Rome, to re-eſtabliſh Innocent, from whom he received the imperial crown in the Lateran church, as the church of St. Peter was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Anaclet. The emperor's arrival gave great ſpirits to the Apulian rebels, many of whom reſorted to him at Rome, particularly Robert, prince of Capua, and count Rainulphus of Avellino. They were, however, diſappointed in their hope of aſſiſtance; for Lotharius had with him only about two thouſand men, and the oppoſite faction being in poſſeſſion of all the places of ſtrength in Rome, he was quickly obliged to leave the city, and return to Germany. Roger, in the mean time, having returned to Apulia with a formidable army, chiefly compoſed of Saracens, reduced a great many of the revolted cities, and puniſhed the rebels with great ſeverity. The prince of Capua, who, with the count, had left Rome in order to oppoſe him, finding him too powerful, went to Piſa to aſk the aſſiſtance of that republic. Being ſeconded by the pope, who had conferred ſeveral privileges on the Piſans, he prevailed upon them to promiſe to ſend, in conjunction with the Genoeſe and

A.D.1133.

*The emperor re eſtabliſhes Innocent at Rome.*

[r] Vide Baron. Annal. ad. an. 1132. Teleſin. Abbat. lib. ii.

the Venetians, a fleet of an hundred sail against Roger, in the following spring. During his absence, the king had reduced almost all Apulia, and taken several of the chiefs of the rebels, some of whom he executed, and sent others into Sicily. About the end of October he arrived at Salerno, with a great number of captives of all ages, and an immense quantity of booty in gold, silver, and valuable effects, which loaded twenty-three ships: having ordered his army, during the winter, to ravage the territories of Benevento and Capua, he set sail for Sicily, but lost, in his passage, almost all his ships by a violent storm[s].

A.D 1134. In the following March the prince of Capua returned to Campania with a thousand Pisans and a few ships; and, having collected three thousand pounds of silver from the churches of Capua and Naples, sent the treasure to Pisa, to forward the arrival of the rest of the fleet. Roger about the same time arrived with sixty gallies at Salerno; and, having landed his army, sent the fleet to attack the coasts of Naples. Though it was not very successful against the Neapolitans, yet, having assembled his army at Avellino, he unexpectedly laid siege to Nocera, and, having gained a party among the inhabitants, soon made himself master of the place, the rebel army in vain endeavouring to pass the Sarno to draw him to an engagement. After the reduction of Nocera, he invaded the territories of Rainulphus, who, finding himself deserted by his barons, was forced to submit. He was pardoned, and received with great kindness by Roger, who restored to him his wife and son, and part of his territories. This reconciliation betwixt the king and his brother-in-law struck a terror into the other rebels. Great part of their army dispersed, and Robert, prince of Capua, returned immediately to Pisa, where he found Innocent, who had been obliged to leave Rome by the party of Anaclet, and earnestly requested the emperor to return with an army to Italy, to oppose the Sicilian tyrant. Roger, in the mean time, reduced all Campania, and made himself master of Capua, where he received the submission of the duke of Naples. He afterwards took possession of Aversa; and, having obliged the Beneventans to surrender at discretion, returned in a triumphant manner to Salerno, from whence, in the end of the year, he passed over to Sicily. Anaclet, in the mean time, arriving at Benevento, appointed new

*The rebels are assisted by the Pisans.*

[s] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. Telesin. Abbas, ut supra.

officers

officers in the city, and puniſhed the authors of the revolt [t].

Roger, upon his return to Sicily, fell dangerouſly ill; and, after he recovered, loſt his queen Alberia, by whoſe death he was ſo greatly afflicted, that for ſeveral weeks he did not appear in public. This reſerve occaſioned a report of his death, which gave freſh ſpirits to the male-contents on the continent, eſpecially as Robert, prince of Capua, in the ſpring, arrived at Naples with eight thouſand Piſans, and a formidable fleet. Count Rainulphus, prince Robert, and the duke of Naples, accordingly entered into a new aſſociation againſt the king; and Robert immediately marched with a numerous army towards Capua, to recover that city; but the place being ſecured by the prudence of the king's chancellor, Warinus, he was obliged to retire. Roger, at length, arriving about the beginning of June at Salerno, quickly aſſembled a formidable army, with which he reduced Averſa. As the city had been forward in this laſt revolt, he pillaged, and ſet it on fire; and, marching to Naples, beſieged it for nine days, burning the ſuburbs, and ravaging all the neighbouring territory. While he retired with his troops on account of the heat, the Piſan fleet ſurpriſed and took Amalfi, which they entirely ſtripped of all its wealth: but, before they could reimbark, Roger arriving with part of his army, obliged them to abandon almoſt all their plunder, and killed and took about fifteen hundred of their men. A.D.1135.

*The Apulians revolt a ſecond time.*

After the departure of the Piſans, the king again inveſted Naples, where the rebels had fixed their head-quarters: but, finding he was not able to make an impreſſion on the city, he cut down all their vines, and, retiring, encamped in the neighbourhood of Benevento, where, in the preſence of his army, he gave the inveſtiture of the principality of Capua to his third ſon Anfuſus, though ſtill to be dependent upon himſelf or his eldeſt ſon Roger, whom he had declared his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. He made a progreſs through ſeveral cities that he had lately reduced; and, having appointed governors for the places of ſtrength in Terra di Labor, returned, in the beginning of winter, to Sicily. Robert, late prince of Capua, in the mean time had left Naples, and returned to Piſa, and was ſoon after followed by Sergius, the duke, who was apprehenſive the city would be

*Roger gives the inveſtiture of Capua to his ſon Anfuſus.*

[t] Vide auct. ſup. citat.

beſieged

beſieged in the next campaign, as the officers of Roger then kept it blocked up, and prevented any proviſions coming into it by land. Pope Innocent, who ſtill continued at Piſa, preſſed prince Robert to go into Germany to beg the aſſiſtance of the emperor, and ſent with him cardinal Gerard, late governor of Benevento.

Lotharius, who had been long intreated by many other exiles of Apulia to advance againſt Roger, promiſed to Robert to march with an army in the following year to Italy. The emperor accordingly, in the beginning of autumn, arrived with a powerful army in Italy; but, being detained by the affairs of Lombardy, could not proceed to Apulia till the year after, the city of Naples in the mean time ſuffering the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. In the following March, Lotharius had a conference with the pope at Viterbo, and granted him three thouſand men, commanded by his ſon-in-law, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria. Innocent, with this force, and a great number of malecontents who joined him, immediately recovered all Campania, reſtored prince Robert to the principality of Capua, reduced the monaſtery of Caſſino, and obliged the city of Benevento to ſurrender. Lotharius, in the mean time, had marched towards the Adriatic, and made himſelf maſter of Sipanto, Monte Gargano, and Bari. He was there joined by the pope, with the other diviſion of his army, and advanced in conjunction with his holineſs to Melphis, which quickly ſurrendered. Mean while the Piſans had arrived with a fleet of a hundred armed ſhips at Naples, and, having relieved that city, obliged the Amalfitans to ſubmit to the emperor, and took and plundered Scala and Ravella (R). All

A.D. 1137.

*Prince Robert recovers Capua.*

(R) Falcone of Benevento relates, that the Amalfitans ſurrendered upon a capitulation; but, according to Sigonius, the Piſans took the city by ſurprize, and plundered it, and, what is remarkable, of all the booty, deſired only, as their own ſhare, the Pandects of Juſtinian, which had been brought by an Amalfitan merchant from the Eaſt (1). Angelus Politianus believes this copy to be that which had been compiled by order of the emperor (2). However that be, it is certain that all other copies are taken from it, as being the moſt ancient. The Piſans, having obtained their requeſt from the emperor, carried the volumes to Piſa, and for near three centuries they were known by the name of

(1) Sigon. in Regn. Ital. lib. xi. p. 272. Capecelatr. Hiſt. lib. i. p. 35. (2) Polit. lib. x. ep. 14.

the

All the cities of Apulia having now ſubmitted to the emperor, about the middle of July he inveſted the city of Salerno both by ſea and land, which, after ſome oppoſition, ſurrendered upon terms, part of the garriſon retiring into the citadel. The Piſans, being greatly offended that they were not conſulted at the capitulation, with great difficulty were prevailed upon to continue with their fleet, which diſſenſion prevented the emperor from reducing the citadel. A greater diſſenſion, however, immediately followed, betwixt the emperor and the pope, about the right of inveſtiture. Lotharius, having propoſed, after his return with his army towards Benevento, to create a new duke of Apulia, was oppoſed with great vehemence by the pope, who alleged, that it was his prerogative to grant the inveſtiture of that duchy. The diſpute continued for near thirty days with great animoſity; at length, leſt the common enemy ſhould take advantage of their diſſenſion, it was reſolved that the deciſion of their claims ſhould be deferred, and that both of them ſhould give the inveſtiture together. Accordingly Ranulphus, count of Avellino, was created duke of Calabria and Apulia, and, in the preſence of the army, received the ſtandard from the hands of the emperor and the pope, the upper part of which, however, was held by his holineſs [u].

*The emperor conquers Apulia.*

*Gives the inveſtiture of it to Rainulphus;*

Lotharius, having thus diſpoſed of Apulia, returned with the pope to Rome, and from thence proceeded to Lombardy, where he was detained till the month of December in ſettling the diſputes betwixt ſome cities and nobles, and a few weeks after died in his paſſage over the Alps. Roger, who had been waiting for his departure, was no ſooner informed that he had returned to Lom-

[u] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. ad. an. 1137. Petr. Diag. lib. iv. cap. 105, 106. Romuald. Salern. Chron.

the Pandectæ Piſanæ. But, about the year 1416, Piſa being taken by the Florentines, they were tranſported from thence to Florence, where they are now preſerved in the library of the Medici, and known by the name of the Pandectæ Florentinæ. Some authors allege, that Lotharius ordained by an edict, that the Pandects ſhould be publicly read and explained at Bologna, and pleaded in the tribunals; but Corringius and Lindenbrogius fully refute their opinion (3).

(3) Conring. de Orig. Jur. Germ. Lindenbrog. in Prolegom. in Cod. LL. antiq.

bardy,

bardy, than he arrived with an army at Salerno, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. Having immediately reduced Nocera, and the territory belonging to Rainulphus, he marched to Capua, which he took and plundered, not ſparing even the churches and nunneries. Upon the news of this ſucceſs, the Beneventans, and Sergius, duke of Naples, came and voluntarily ſubmitted to him; but Rainulphus, reſolving to hazard all to retain his new dignity, marched againſt him with a ſmall army, which he had raiſed from Bari, Trani, Troja, and Melphis. St. Bernard, abbot of Claravalle, then in high reputation, at the pope's requeſt endeavoured to effect an accommodation; but his mediation being rejected, both parties came to an engagement on the 2d of October, when Roger was entirely defeated, with the loſs of all his baggage, and a great number of his men[w]. The king, however, did not appear diſcouraged by this great defeat; but, retiring to Salerno, made preparations for recruiting his army, that he might be again in a condition to take the field.

*who defeats Roger.*

In order to amuſe his enemies, he ſeemed to hearken to the ſolicitations of St. Bernard, and agreed to a conference of three cardinals of either party, to examine into the merits of the election of Innocent and Anaclet. After the deputies had ſpent ſeveral days in diſputing at Salerno, Roger propoſed that their arguments ſhould be committed to writing, and that one cardinal of each party ſhould go with him to Sicily, to lay them before the Sicilian biſhops. This propoſal was accordingly agreed to; but Anaclet dying in the beginning of January, all farther thoughts of a negociation were laid aſide. Roger by that time had re-eſtabliſhed his affairs, while his competitor had ſpent the whole winter in ſome enterprizes of ſmall importance. To keep up the faction againſt Innocent, Roger perſuaded the ſchiſmatics at Rome to elect a ſucceſſor to Anaclet, and ſoon after landed with his army in Italy. Rainulphus in vain endeavoured to draw him to another engagement, for he cautiouſly ſhunned him during the whole campaign, by encamping on the mountains. Though he was continually followed by him, he was nevertheleſs ſo ſucceſsful as to reduce ſeveral towns, ſome of which he plundered and burnt, and, having obliged many of the rebels to ſubmit, he returned in the beginning of winter to Sicily.

[w] Falcon. Benevent. Chron.

Innocent,

Innocent, who had prevailed on the new antipope Victor to submit, and had thereby put an end to the schism, endeavoured in the beginning of the campaign to march with an army to the assistance of Rainulphus; but after he had arrived at Albano, being disabled by sickness, he returned to Rome, where, in a general council held in the month of April, in the Lateran church, he denounced a sentence of excommunication against Roger, who, though he is said to have acknowleged him as pope after the resignation of Victor, still continued the war against him as a temporal prince [x]. Innocent probably soon repented of this measure; for Rainulphus, on whom he chiefly depended as the instrument of his resentment against the king, died a few days after at Troja. Roger is said to have expressed immoderate joy at his death; and, immediately after, landing at Salerno, assembled a numerous army. Part of this he put under the command of his eldest son duke Roger, who quickly reduced all the cities of Puglia except Bari, which at that time consisted of fifty thousand inhabitants, and had a garrison of four hundred horse. The king, during the absence of his son, reduced all the provinces of Capitanata, and other cities. He was, however, obliged to raise the siege of Ariano, which was garrisoned with two hundred knights, and about twenty thousand foot. Soon after, while he was encamped before Troja, he was informed that the pope had arrived with a powerful army as far as St. Germano, to the assistance of the rebels. Roger immediately sent ambassadors to him, offering to treat of peace; and marching with his army towards St. Germano, conferences were held for several days by the deputies of both sides. The negociation, however, broke off, because Roger absolutely refused to part with the principality of Capua; and the king, withdrawing his army, besieged some castles belonging to the rebels in that neighbourhood. The pope likewise began hostilities against the king, who, taking the advantage of the security of his enemy, surprised him on his march, and made him prisoner. Though he treated him with the greatest respect, yet he absolutely refused to grant him his liberty, unless he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication, and conclude a peace. Innocent without much difficulty consented to his request. On the 25th of June he absolved him and all his adherents, and granted him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, of the duchy of Puglia, and the principality of Ca-

A.D. 1139.

*Rainulphus dies at Troja.*

*Innocent is taken prisoner by Roger, and confirms to him the title of king.*

[x] Falcon. Benevent. Chron.

pua,

pua, on condition of his ſwearing allegiance to the holy Roman ſee, and paying a yearly quit-rent of ſix hundred ſcyfati.

After this reconciliation, Roger accompanied the pope to Benevento, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the Neapolitans, who choſe his eldeſt ſon for their duke; and having reſtored Benevento to the pope, he marched to Troja, which ſurrendering upon his approach, he proceeded to Bari. After a ſiege of two months, he obliged this city to ſubmit. Having ordered prince Jaquintus, with ten other chiefs, to be hanged, and the eyes of many others to be put out, he returned about the end of October with his army to Salerno, where having confiſcated the eſtates of the chief rebels, whom he baniſhed from his dominions, he ſet ſail a few days after for Palermo [y]. Early in the following ſpring, he ſent prince Anfuſus with an army to reduce the province in the neighbourhood of Peſcara on the coaſt of the Adriatic; and duke Roger ſoon after marching thither with a ſtrong reinforcement, many cities ſurrendered. As the pope made great complaint of theſe hoſtilities, Roger, who ſoon after arrived from Sicily, recalled his two ſons, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, earneſtly deſiring a conference with Innocent; who excuſed himſelf, by urging the neceſſity of his affairs. The king then went to Peſcara; and having viſited the places conquered by his ſons, he returned to Ariano, where he aſſembled for the firſt time the eſtates of his kingdom, namely, the barons and prelates; and among other things ordained, that none of his ſubjects ſhould receive any Roman money, but ſhould trade with what he then coined, more than one half of which conſiſted of braſs. This edict occaſioned univerſal murmuring over all his ſtates in Italy; but they had ſuffered ſo much by their late revolt, and his authority was now ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that any oppoſition would only have involved them in greater miſery. From Ariano Roger proceeded to Naples, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and having confirmed to the inhabitants their ancient immunities, in the beginning of October he ſailed from Salerno to Sicily, leaving duke Roger in Apulia, and prince Anfuſus at Capua [z] (T).

[y] Falcon. ut ſupra. [z] Idem. ibid.

(T) It is a diſpute betwixt the Sicilian and Neapolitan writers, whether the provinces of Italy were at this time formed into a kingdom by themſelves, independent on the kingdom of Sicily.

About

About three years after Roger was threatened with a war by Celestine II. the successor of Innocent, who refused to ratify the peace concluded betwixt his predecessor and the king. The shortness of his pontificate, which continued only six months, prevented an open rupture: but his successor, Lucius II. being of the same sentiments, Roger, who was desirous of continuing in good correspondence with the holy see, had a conference with him at the monastery of Monte Cassino. The pope, by the advice of the cardinals, refusing to grant his request, and parting in an abrupt manner, the king immediately entered the state of the church with an army, and took Terracina, and many other places in the Campania di Roma. Roger, by this expedient, prevailed on the pope to agree to an accommodation; which was accordingly effected. The king granted to Lucius a large sum of money, and restored all the conquests he had made from the dominions of the church: on the other hand, he received from the pope a grant of the ring, the sandals, the sceptre, the mitre, and the dalmatic, and a bull, declaring that no person should be sent into his dominions as a legate without his desire, from whence the kings of Sicily value themselves, upon being both lords in spirituals and temporals in their dominions. In the mean time prince Anfusus dying, Roger created his fourth son William, prince of Capua and duke of Naples; and soon after held a general convention of his states at Capua, where several new laws were made, and many law-suits compounded. Roger, having now established peace in Italy upon a solid foundation, turned his thoughts to a foreign expedition, and next year invaded Africa with a powerful fleet. He quickly made himself master of Tripoli, Stace, and Cassia, and so harrassed the king of Tunis in other parts of his dominions, that he consented to become his tributary [b].

A.D. 1143.

*The successors of Innocent refuse to acknowlege Roger as king.*

A.D. 1148.

About the same time he likewise carried his victorious arms into Greece, to punish the perfidy of the Greek emperor Emanuel, who, in the beginning of his reign, had sent ambassadors to Sicily, with the proposal of an alliance by marriage, which proposal was embraced by Roger, and ambassadors were sent by him to Constantinople for that purpose. The emperor having changed his mind, after having amused the Sicilian ambassadors for some time, put them in prison; which indignity exasperating the king, he fitted out a formidable fleet, the command of

*He ravages the coasts of Greece.*

[b] Anon. Cassin. ann. 1145.

which

which he gave to George of Antioch, his high admiral. This commander, after having taken the city of Mutine, attacked the island of Corfu, and, sailing to the Morea, ravaged all coasts of that isthmus. He committed hostilities in all the places of the Negropont and Bœotia, from whence, besides the rich booty, he carried off with him the chief workmen of the silk manufactures, and brought them to Sicily and Apulia, where, before this time, the art was unknown. In the following year he again entered the Archipelago, and advanced in a triumphant manner as far as Constantinople, burning and plundering the suburbs of that capital, and, in a bravado, shooting golden arrows into the emperor's palace. Upon his return he fell in with some Grecian ships, which he attacked and made himself master of, thereby setting at liberty Lewis VII. king of France, whom they had taken prisoner in his voyage from the Holy Land. Roger received Lewis, upon his landing in Italy, with the greatest honours; and, about the same time, granted assistance to pope Eugenius against the Romans, who, for some years, had renounced the papal authority, and endeavoured to restore the form of the ancient republic. As his eldest son Roger had died the year before, he, about this time, created his only surviving son William duke of Apulia, and two years afterwards he associated him in the kingdom, causing him to be crowned and anointed in Palermo by the archbishop of that city. Having thus nominated a successor, he laid aside all thoughts of war, and, residing at Palermo, spent the two remaining years of his life in erecting monuments of his munificence and piety, and endeavouring to convert the Jews and Saracens in his dominions to the Christian religion. He died of a fever in the end of February, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was large and corpulent, had the face of a lion, and a very rough voice. He was wise, discreet, and provident, and depended more on prudent council than strength. In amassing money he was very diligent, but in conferring benefits he was very sparing. He was a great terror to the Greeks and Saracens, and was more dreaded than beloved by his own subjects. He was a great admirer of learned and brave men, of whatever nation, many of whom, upon his invitation, entered into his service, and were raised by him to the first honours of his kingdom [f].

A.D.1152. *Roger associates his son William in the government.*

A.D.1154. *His death.*

[f] Romuald. Salern. Chron.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

### *Hiſtory of Sicily, till Frederic aſcends the Imperial Throne.*

WILLIAM, upon the death of his father, aſſumed the whole adminiſtration of the government; and on the following Eaſter repeated the ceremony of his coronation, in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly of the prelates and barons of his kingdom. He quickly alienated the affections of his nobles, by baniſhing and impriſoning many of thoſe who had been eſteemed by his father, and by conferring the whole direction and management of his affairs upon Majone di Bari, a man of an obſcure birth and deteſtable character, whom he had promoted to the dignity of high admiral. The ambition of this officer, ſoon diſturbed the peace of the kingdom, and occaſioned a civil war, which was alſo in ſome meaſure owing to a rupture between pope Adrian and the king. Adrian, who had ſucceeded to the pontificate, ſent cardinal Henry to the king at Salerno, with an apoſtolic letter; but having addreſſed his letter only to William, lord of Sicily, the king ordered the cardinal immediately to leave his kingdom without an audience, and commanded the high-chancellor and governor of Apulia, to march with an army into the pope's territories. The chancellor accordingly ravaged the territory of Benevento; but not being able to make himſelf maſter of the city, he proceeded to Campania di Roma, where he took and burnt divers places, and in his return demoliſhed the walls of Aquino, and Pontecorvo, belonging to the monks of Caſſino.

*William ſucceeds to the kingdom of Sicily.*

A.D. 1115.

*A rupture betwixt him and pope Adrian.*

The pope, in reſentment for theſe hoſtilities, thundered a ſentence of excommunication againſt William, and excited the diſcontented nobles in Apulia openly to revolt. Though he was diſappointed of aſſiſtance from the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, who this year had entered Italy, and recovered the imperial crown, yet his intrigues in Apulia were very ſucceſsful; for many of the moſt powerful barons, being entirely diſaffected to the prince on account of the power and inſolence of Majone, ſwore allegiance to the pope as their ſovereign, who, about the end of September, had arrived at St. Germano with a

*A great rebellion in Apulia.*

conſiderable army. Robert, formerly prince of Capua, with the other exiles, taking advantage of theſe confuſions, recovered their eſtates. Robert, by the pope's aſſiſtance, conquered all the principality of Capua, as far as Naples and Salerno; and Robert, count of Loritello, upon a rumour that William was poiſoned by Majone, pretended to the kingdom, and ſeized Bari and all the coaſt of the Adriatic [a]. Mean while the Greek emperor, who had entered into a league with Frederic Barbaroſſa againſt William, ſeized Brindiſi, and ſent a fleet to Ancona with a large ſum of money for the pope, offering to expel the king entirely from Sicily, on condition of being put in poſſeſſion of three maritime cities in Puglia. During theſe diſturbances on the continent, William was ſhut up in his palace, and ſaw none of his ſubjects but Majone, and the archbiſhop of Palermo, who was privy to the deſigns of the admiral. The Sicilians, on this account, believing the king dead, took arms in ſeveral parts of the iſland. Though William ſent an ambaſſador to them, they refuſed to deſiſt from their enterprize, but declared that they had only taken arms againſt the admiral and archbiſhop, who they aſſured him conſpired againſt his life. Their anſwer being reported to the king, he at laſt waked from his ſecurity, eſpecially as he was in hazard of his life by a violent ſedition of the inhabitants of Palermo. Though he did not believe the admiral guilty, yet he left his palace, and marched againſt the Sicilian rebels at Butera, who were obliged to capitulate, and were pardoned on condition that they baniſhed themſelves from his dominions.

A.D.1156. *William recovers Apulia.*

Having thus quieted Sicily, he tranſported his army to Brindiſi, and immediately ſent an embaſſy to the pope, to treat of an accommodation. Adrian ſeemed inclined to hearken to his propoſals, but, by means of ſome cardinals attached to the party of the emperor Frederic, the conferences were broke off, and nothing was concluded. The king, being diſappointed in his hopes of an accommodation, attacked Brindiſi with great vigour, which at length, in the month of May, he made himſelf maſter of, taking a great many Greeks and rebellious barons priſoners. Having enriched himſelf by the booty, he marched to Bari, which, after allowing the inhabitants to retire with their effects, he entirely deſtroyed, becauſe they

[a] Hug. Falcand. Hiſt. Sicul. Romuald. Chron. Otho Friſing. lib. ii. Chron. Anon. Caſſin.

had demolished the castle. Thus this once flourishing city was reduced to a few villages, in which condition it continued for a long time [b]. The king then went to Benevento, whither the greatest part of the rebels had repaired for the defence of the pope, who, soon finding himself closely pressed by the besiegers, thought proper to agree to a peace [c]. By this treaty, the king was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and obtained the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, of the duchy of Apulia, and of the principality of Capua, with all their dependencies. The pope likewise granted him Naples, Salerno, Amalfi, and Albo la Marcha, on condition of paying for this last territory five hundred scyfati yearly, besides the six hundred for Apulia. All the clergy on the continent, subject to the king, were allowed to appeal to the see of Rome, which might also send legates thither, who nevertheless should not be allowed to pillage the churches. Visitations and consecrations, and translations from one church to another, were also admitted; and in Sicily the church of Rome was allowed the same privileges as in the other part of the king's dominions, excepting as to appeals, and the right of sending legates [d]. After the ratification of this peace, the king appointed Simon, the admiral's brother-in-law, governor of Apulia, and returned to Palermo with a great many prisoners, among whom was Robert, prince of Capua, who had been betrayed by his vassal Richard, count of Fondi. Robert, upon his arrival at Palermo, had his eyes put out, and soon after died in that city, being the last of the descendents of the counts of Aversa, who held the principality of Capua, which was then united to the kingdom of Apulia [e]. William, having now no enemy but the Greek emperor, fitted out a powerful fleet, the command of which the high-admiral gave to his brother Stephen, who, engaging the Greeks on the coast of the Peloponnese, gained a most complete victory, and afterwards plundered several maritime cities belonging to the enemy. Emanuel, intimidated by these losses, at last agreed to a peace, which was concluded for thirty years; and, the Greek prisoners being restored, he consented to acknowlege William as a king [f].

*Besieges the pope in Benevento,*

*and obtains from him the investiture of his states.*

A.D. 1157.

*The Greek emperor gives him the title of king.*

[b] Anon. Cassin. ad an. 1156. Falcand. ut supra. Capecelatr. Hist. lib. ii. Inveges Hist. Palerm. lib. iii. [c] Gul. Tyr. lib. viii. [d] Baron. ad an. 1156. [e] Peregrin. in Stem. Falcand. ut supra. Romuald. Chron. [f] Jo. Cinnam. de Reb. Gest. Jo. & Emman. Comn. lib. iv. Rom. Salern.

Majone in the mean time continued to govern with his uſual inſolence; and, having formed a deſign upon the crown, endeavoured to repreſent the king as a lunatic. He firſt adviſed him to publiſh cruel and tyrannical orders, and then by his own authority ſtopped the execution of them. He conferred the higheſt employments upon his own relations, flattered the clergy with hopes of preferment, was bountiful to the indigent, and very kind to the foreign adventurers who ſerved in the troops; ſo that his authority was already much more regarded than that of the king [g]. He allowed the Sicilian ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa to be taken by the Moors, by wilfully neglecting to aſſiſt the garriſon; at the ſame time publiſhing, that the enemy had made themſelves maſters of the city by the king's connivance. His perfidy, however, which had long been the ſubject of popular diſcontent, was plainly diſcovered upon the arrival of the African garriſon in Sicily. Other reports that prevailed at laſt excited the people to revolt. It was univerſally believed that Majone offered his aſſiſtance to Alexander, the ſucceſſor of Adrian IV. againſt the antipope Victor, and endeavoured to corrupt him by a large ſum of money, that he might transfer the crown from William to him, after the example of pope Zachary, who had conferred the crown of France on Pepin. As it was alſo known that he had corrupted the queen, and reported that he had already provided the enſigns of royalty, the city of Melfi, and many others of Apulia, entered into an aſſociation not to receive any orders or officers that ſhould come from court, till he ſhould be either put to death, or baniſhed. A large body of armed men marched through all Apulia, obliging almoſt all the cities to enter into this aſſociation.

A D. 1160.

*Majone openly aſpires to the crown.*

Majone endeavoured to pacify them by ſoothing promiſes; but his firſt ambaſſador, the biſhop of Mazzara, encouraged them in their deſign, by giving them a fuller account of his villainy; and his ſecond negotiator, Matthew Bonello, a young nobleman, whom the admiral deſigned for his ſon-in-law, was perſuaded by the chiefs of the aſſociation to undertake his murder, in hopes of marrying the widow of the count of Moliſe, a natural daughter of the late king, which match the admiral had hitherto oppoſed. Bonello, upon his return to Sicily, was encouraged in his deſign by the archbiſhop of Palermo, then

[g] Falcand. ut ſupra.

lying

lying on his death-bed, poiſoned by the admiral, in conſequence of a diſpute betwixt them about the government of the king's children after their father ſhould be murdered. Having aſſembled ſome armed men, he attacked the admiral at night, upon his return from the archbiſhop's palace, and ſlew him with his own hand, then fled with his followers, and fortified himſelf in one of his caſtles. The king at firſt expreſſed great reſentment for the murder of his favourite; but finding, among Majone's treaſure, the ſceptre, the crown, and the other enſigns of royalty, he was at laſt convinced of his treaſon, puniſhed ſeveral of his accomplices and recalled Bonello to court, who was welcomed at Palermo by the acclamations of the people.

*Is murdered by Bonello;*

The king, however, a few months after, by the perſuaſion of ſeveral eunuchs and creatures of the late admiral, began to conceive a diſguſt againſt Bonello, who, he was made believe, had deſigns upon the crown. Bonello obſerving Majone's friends again reſtored to confidence, complained of the king's ingratitude and fickleneſs to many of the Sicilian barons, and entered into a conſpiracy with them to ſeize, and either put him to death, or impriſon him for life, and proclaim his eldeſt ſon Roger king, though he was then but a boy about nine years of age. The barons, hearing that a ſoldier had diſcovered their conſpiracy haſtened the execution of their deſign during the abſence of Bonello; having made themſelves maſters of the palace, ſeized William without oppoſition, and proclaimed young Roger king. The Palermitans in general at firſt approved of the king's impriſonment; but, not ſeeing their favourite Bonello appear, they ſoon began to murmur againſt the conſpirators, and on the third day attacked the palace with ſuch fury, that the barons were obliged to ſet the king at liberty, and fly to the caſtle of Bonello. During the tumult, prince Roger, happening to look out at a window of the palace, was ſhot with an arrow, and died ſoon after, though his death was ſaid to be owing to his being kicked on the breaſt by his own father. William, having granted ſome immunities to the inhabitants of Palermo, as a reward for their fidelity, marched againſt the conſpirators, many of whom, at the interceſſion of Bonello, who profeſſed ignorance of the plot, were pardoned, and others of them allowed to go into voluntary baniſhment. A new inſurrection ſoon after breaking out in Sicily, William was perſuaded to impriſon Bonello, and then marched againſt the rebels

A.D.1161.

*who forms an aſſociation to dethrone the king.*

*Bonello is imprisoned, and dies.*

at Butera. As Bonello had his eyes put out, and the sinews of his ancles cut, he did not long survive his imprisonment. The king in the mean time, after having spent the whole summer before Butera, was content to get possession of the town, by allowing the rebels to depart the kingdom, as he himself was desirous of transporting his army into Apulia against the rebellious barons of that duchy, who, since the admiral's death, still continued in arms, although he had sent the historian Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, to them, with an offer of pardon [h]. Having taken and entirely destroyed Butera, William returned with his army to Palermo; but in the following spring, transporting his troops to Calabria, he took by storm the strong city of Taverna, and soon after made himself master of Tarento; which success struck such a terror into the rebels, that they immediately evacuated all their conquests, and retired towards the church territories. William, after having executed a great many prisoners at Tarento, pursued the rebel army as far as S. Germano, obliging all the towns that favoured them to purchase their pardon, by paying large contributions. He then marched to Salerno; but being offended with the inhabitants, would not enter the city. He exacted a large contribution from them, and then sailed for Palermo.

A.D. 1162.

*William reduces all Apulia.*

*Resigns all the care of the government.*

As he was very fond of a lazy voluptuous life, upon his return to Sicily he ordered his domestics not to acquaint him with any bad news, and resigned all care of the administration of the government to Henry, bishop of Syracuse, an Englishman, Matthew of Salerno, a notary, and Peter, a eunuch and Saracen. These two last miserably oppressed the Sicilians by vexatious suits, and raised immense fortunes, by prosecuting a great many under pretence of the late rebellions [i]. William, towards the end of his reign, desired to imitate his father's magnificence, and began a fine palace at Palermo, which, however, he did not live to see completed, being cut off by a dysentery in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. A few months before his death, pope Alexander arriving from France at Messina, the king ordered five of his gallies to conduct him and his retinue to Rome; and when he was on his death-bed, he sent him a present of forty thousand pounds sterling, to

A.D. 1166.

*Dies at Palermo.*

[h] Romuald. Salern. an. 1161. [i] Falcand. Hist. Sicul.

assist

aſſiſt him in oppoſing the faction of the antipope [k]. At the ſame time, he appointed his eldeſt ſon William heir of his kingdom, declared his queen regent during his minority, and ſettled the principality of Capua on his youngeſt ſon Henry (A). On account of his indolence, avarice, and cruelty, he got the ſurname of Wicked from his ſubjects, his whole reign having been one continued courſe of tyranny and oppreſſion. He was of a noble and graceful aſpect, tall and corpulent, and very kind to his favourites. He was naturally inſolent, and very fond of vain applauſe. However, he ſhewed great reverence for the clergy, was very devout, and regularly attended divine ſervice [l].

The queen concealed the death of her huſband a few days, being apprehenſive of a popular commotion in Palermo: but many of the Sicilian barons, whom ſhe had ſent for, arriving at the palace, ſhe then publiſhed his death, which was ſolemnly lamented by the citizens for three days, during which time the women, noble matrons, and Saracens, went clad in ſack-cloth, howling through the ſtreets, to the tolling of the bells. This public mourning being concluded, William, then about twelve years of age, was conducted through the city on horſeback, and ſolemnly crowned in the cathedral church, by Romuald, archbiſhop of Salerno. The queen, to reconcile the people to her adminiſtration, immediately ordered all priſoners to be ſet at liberty, recalled the exiles, whom ſhe reſtored to their former eſtates, made ſeveral donations of lands to the churches, counts, barons, and knights, and entirely remitted the impoſition, which, under the title of redemption, had been laid upon the cities of Apulia by the late king. Though by theſe means the king's dominions, during the firſt years of his reign, remained in a ſtate of tranquillity, yet great factions and quarrels diſturbed the court, which were chiefly occaſioned by the intrigues of cardinal John, of Naples, the pope's legate in Apulia, who viſited Sicily ſo often, that

*William II. ſucceeds to the throne.*

[k] Baron. ad an. 1166. [l] Romuald. Salern.

(A) He married Margaret, daughter of Garcia king of Navarre, by whom he had four ſons, Roger, William, Robert, and Henry; two of whom, namely, Roger and Robert, died before himſelf (1).

(1) Peregrin. in Stem.

one of the courtiers said to him by way of reproof, that he imagined it was only twenty miles betwixt Palermo and Rome [m].

A.D. 1167. William, in the second year of his reign, hearing that the pope was besieged by the emperor Frederic in Rome, sent two gallies thither with a large sum of money to his assistance. Alexander received the money with great thankfulness, but desiring still to continue in Rome, sent back the gallies. A few years after the king received an embassy from the emperor Emanuel, to treat of a marriage betwixt him and his daughter Zura Maria. The alliance was accordingly concluded and ratified, both by the emperor and the king; and the time being fixed for conducting the young princess by sea to Apulia, king William went to Tarento with his brother prince Henry. The emperor, however, slighting his oath and promise, neglected to send the bride; so that the king, after continuing some time at Tarento, sent his brother, who was taken ill, to Sicily, and went himself to Capua, and not long after sailed to Palermo. Before his arrival in Sicily, his brother prince Henry died, in the thirteenth year of his age, and was interred in the sepulchre of his grandfather Roger, from whence the body was transported some time after to the church of Monreale, built and endowed by William, near Palermo [n] (B).

*He assists the pope against the emperor.*

The king, about the same time, fitted out a formidable fleet, and sent it, under the command of Walter di Moac, to Alexandria, to assist the Christians against the sultan of Egypt [o]. Soon after this event, the emperor Frederic, who was still engaged in a ruinous war in Lombardy, and refused to acknowlege pope Alexan-

[m] Falcand. ut supra.
[n] Giannone Hist. di Napol.
[o] Capecelat. lib. iii.

(B) In this Henry ended the Norman princes of Capua, which principality was possessed by them a hundred and fourteen years, reckoning from Richard, count of Aversa, in the year 1058. Though the kings of Naples kept up the name of this principality for three hundred years after, yet the dynasty, or government, was entirely abolished; for they who afterwards possessed Capua, were not to be compared to the Norman princes, either in dignity or dominion (1).

(1) Peregrin. ut supra.

der,

der, offered his daughter in marriage to William, and proposed to conclude a perpetual peace and alliance with him, in hopes by his assistance to humble the pope, and oblige the associated cities to submit to his despotic government. William, from his regard to the pope, and the good of the church, rejected this alliance; and soon after, by the advice of Alexander, sent an embassy to Henry II. of England, to demand his daughter Jane. A.D.1176. Henry, by the advice of his barons in parliament, consented to the match, and the princess being conducted by many English noblemen to the city of St. Giles, in France, from thence sailed to Palermo, where the marriage being solemnized, she was crowned queen of Sicily [p]

*He marries the daughter of the king of England.*

The emperor Frederic in the mean time being highly offended that the king had rejected his offered alliance, ordered his chancellor, Christian, archbishop of Mentz, to march with the army he commanded in the neighbourhood of Ancona and invade the kingdom of Naples. The chancellor's attempts, however, to invade the king's territories, were ineffectual; for being opposed by the Apulians, under the command of Tancred, count of Lecce, Roger, count of Andria, and many other barons, he was obliged to retire, after he had advanced as far as the village of Celle. Frederic, being entirely defeated by the confederate army of the Lombards at Lignano, began seriously to think of an accommodation with the pope, who agreeing to a congress at Bologna, desired king William to send his deputies thither, as he was resolved not to agree to a peace unless the king of Sicily should be included. The king accordingly appointed the historian Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, and Roger, count of Andria, as his ambassadors, who, together with the pope and his retinue, embarked on board eleven gallies at Vesti, and arrived, about the 18th of March, at Venice, whither the congress was transferred, at the desire of the emperor. The negotiations continued for several months; at length, in the month of August, Frederic concluded a perpetual A.D.1177. peace with the church, a truce for six years with the associated cities of Lombardy, and a peace for fifteen years with king William, who solemnly ratified the treaty in the beginning of the following year [q].

*Concludes a peace with the emperor.*

[p] Romuald. Salern. Hoveden's Annals of England. [q] Romuald. Salern. Chron.

The

The remaining transactions of William's reign are buried in great obscurity. About three years after this event, we find, by the Chronicon of Monte Cassino, that he concluded a peace for ten years with the king of Morocco[r]; and about four years after that, he sent count Tancred with a great fleet and army to invade Greece, in resentment for the barbarities which the usurper Andronicus had committed against the Latins at Constantinople. The Sicilians took and pilled Durazzo, Salonichi, and many other places, where they exercised great cruelty against the Greeks; and, in contempt of their religion, plundered and polluted their churches. The Constantinopolitans, enraged at their losses and disgrace, turned their resentment against Andronicus, whom they put to a most cruel death: Isaacius Angelus seizing the empire, a powerful army immediately assembled under him, defeated the Sicilians, and retaliated the injuries they had suffered at their hands[s].

A.D.1185. *Gives his aunt Constantia in marriage to Henry, king of the Romans.*

The king about the same time received an embassy from the emperor Frederic, who demanded his aunt Constantia for his eldest son, Henry king of the Romans. As William, though married, had yet no issue, and Constantia was the presumptive heir of the crown, the match was opposed by many people in Sicily; but the king being at last persuaded by the archbishop of Palermo, gave his consent; and having obliged all the counts of the kingdom to swear, that, if he should die without heirs, they would continue faithful subjects to her and her husband, he sent her, accompanied with a great train of counts and barons, to Rieti. The emperor's ambassadors conducting her from thence to Milan, the marriage, which afterwards proved very fatal to Sicily, was celebrated in the gardens of St. Ambrose, with great splendor and magnificence. William survived this marriage not quite four years, but died without issue, at Palermo, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign[t]. As he had a great regard for the laws and justice, and governed with great moderation, he was surnamed William the Good. Richard of S. Germano, begins his chronicle with his eulogium. According to him, William was endowed with all royal virtues, was the delight of his people, and the protector of strangers, the poor, and oppressed. During his reign, all his dominions enjoyed peace and security, the tra-

A.D.1189. *His death.*

[r] Chron. Cassin. an. 1181. [s] Nicet. Hist. Chron. Cassin. an. 1185. [t] Richard. Chron. apud Murator. tom. vii. Pellegrin. in Stem. Chron. Cassin.

veller

veller was not afraid of robbers, nor the ſea-faring man of pirates.

The death of king William was followed by a moſt calamitous civil war. Many of the chief nobles who were allied to the blood royal aſpired to the crown: but the two principal factions were thoſe of the chancellor and the archbiſhop of Palermo. The archbiſhop and his party declared for Conſtantia, whoſe marriage with Henry he had promoted from his reſentment to the chancellor, who had been the occaſion of exempting the new church of Monreale from his juriſdiction. The chancellor, knowing the averſion of the Sicilians to the dominion of the Germans, and the great popularity of Tancred count of Lecce, baſtard ſon of duke Roger, king Roger's eldeſt ſon, declared him king; and ſending for him to Palermo, crowned him with his own hands, in the month of January, A.D. 1190. having obtained the approbation of Clement III. who thinking it for the intereſt of the holy ſee, that Sicily ſhould not be united to the empire, very readily granted the inveſtiture of the kingdom to the count [u]. Tancred was almoſt univerſally acknowledged in Sicily, and reduced five chiefs of the Saracens, who, during the interregnum, had raiſed an inſurrection in Palermo, from whence, however, they had been expelled by the Chriſtians. Mean while Roger, count of Andria, who during the reign of the late king had been high juſticiary and governor of Apulia, refuſed to acknowlege Tancred as king, and writing to Henry to come into Italy, aſſembled an army in order to ſupport the pretenſions of Conſtantia. Henry ſent the marſhal of the empire, with a conſiderable body of forces, to Italy; but before their arrival, Tancred, by means of Richard, count of Cerra, whoſe ſiſter he had married, reduced all Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, and obliged the abbot of Monte Caſſino to take an oath of allegiance. Richard, having received large ſums of money from Tancred, and having got poſſeſſion of the magazines in Apulia, raiſed a large army, and made an attempt upon Capua and Averſa: but the German army joining the count of Andria, he was obliged to retire, and ſtand on the defenſive. He was, in his turn, beſieged in the city of Ariano; but the exceſſive heats, and ſcarcity of proviſions, occaſioning a great ſickneſs among the Germans, the marſhal, to prevent the total ruin of his army, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Germany. Roger, count of Andria, ſtill con-

*Tancred count of Lecce is declared king.*

*Henry ſends an army to Apulia to ſupport his claim to the crown.*

[u] Gul. Nubrigenſ. Chron. Caſſin. Richard. Chron.

tinued

tinued the war; and having fortified the caſtle of St. Agatha, retired to Aſcoli, in hopes of a new reinforcement from Henry. He was, however, ſoon after murdered by Richard, who had prevailed upon him to come out of the city to a conference. After his death, Richard again marched againſt Capua, which imprudently ſurrendered, when Henry, who, by the death of his father in Aſia, was now emperor, had entered Italy with a powerful army.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, Tancred received with great hoſpitality the kings of England and France, who had arrived with two formidable fleets at Meſſina, in their way to the Holy Land. Tancred, at the interceſſion of Richard of England, was reconciled to his ſiſter, the widow of the late king William, and afterwards concluded a treaty for a marriage betwixt the king of England's nephew and one of his daughters, giving Richard at that time twenty thouſand ounces of gold as his daughter's portion; which money the Engliſh king promiſed to reſtore, if the marriage ſhould never take effect [x]. A few months after this tranſaction, Tancred paſſed over into Apulia, and having called a parliament of his barons at Thermula, went from thence to Abruzzo. Having defeated count Rainald, and reduced that province, he marched from thence to Brindiſi, where he celebrated a marriage betwixt his eldeſt ſon Roger and Irene, ſometimes called Urania, daughter of the emperor of Conſtantinople. After the celebration of the marriage, he cauſed his ſon Roger to be crowned king of Sicily, and then returned in a triumphant manner to Palermo.

A. D. 1191.

*Tancred reduces Apulia;*

*which afterwards ſubmits to the emperor.*

The emperor Henry in the mean time arriving at Rome, received the imperial Crown from Celeſtine III. in the month of April, and then marched with his army towards Apulia. Having taken the ſtrong caſtle of Acre by ſtorm, he ſtruck ſuch a terror into the whole province, that, as he advanced, all the cities ſubmitted to him till he arrived at Naples, whither Richard, count of Cerra, had retired with his army. As the city was ſtrongly fortified, and open to the ſea, it baffled all the emperor's attempts; who being ſeized with an epidemical ſickneſs, which had carried off great part of his army, was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, which had continued near four months. At his departure, he left the empreſs Conſtantia in Salerno, and placing garriſons in Capua, Acre, and Sorella, and taking

[x] Roger Annal. Angl. an. 1190.

the

the abbot Caſſino, and ſeveral citizens of S. Germanno, as hoſtages, he returned to Germany. Henry was no ſooner gone than the count of Cerra again took the field, reduced Capua, Atino, Averſa, Teano, and St. Germano. But he could not prevail with the dean of Monte Caſſino to declare for Tancred, though he was excommunicated by the pope, and the monaſtery laid under an interdict. The dean, inſtead of acknowleging Tancred, exerted himſelf with great ſpirit in behalf of the emperor. Having concerted meaſures with Diepold, the governor of the caſtle of Arce, in January he retook the city of S. Germano, and all the other places belonging to his monaſtery. He likewiſe attacked many other cities, with various ſucceſs; while the officers of Tancred, in their turn, invaded thoſe places that held for the emperor. Tancred, in the mean time, at the intreaty of the pope, ſent back the empreſs Conſtantia to her huſband; and as count Berthold had arrived in Apulia, with a ſtrong reinforcement of Germans and Florentines, to ſupport the imperial party, in the following year he himſelf went over to ſtop their progreſs. He quickly aſſembled a powerful army, but was diſſuaded by his officers from venturing an engagement with Berthold; who, though inferior to him in number, advanced towards him in hopes of a general battle. Berthold was obliged to retire to the county of Moliſe, for want of proviſion, where he was killed by a ſtone thrown from a caſtle. Tancred, in the mean time, took the caſtles of St. Agatha, Caſerta, and Forſa, and ſoon after went over to Sicily, where he died in the end of this year, or, according to ſome authors, in the beginning of the following. His death is attributed to grief for the loſs of his eldeſt ſon Roger, whom he ſurvived only a few weeks, leaving the kingdom to his youngeſt ſon William, then a minor [y].

A.D.1193. *Tancred dies.*

The emperor Henry hearing of the death of Tancred and Roger, made great preparations for an expedition to Sicily. About the month of June he arrived with a numerous army at Genoa, and having prevailed upon the Genoeſe and Piſans, by large promiſes, to fit out a fleet of upwards of a hundred ſail, he proceeded to Campania, where he arrived about the end of Auguſt, and was received by the abbot of St. Germano, and many Apulian barons. The Genoeſe and Piſan fleets, in the mean time, took poſſeſſion of Gaeta and Naples, upon capitu-

A.D.1194. *The emperor returns to Apulia.*

[y] Chron. Caſſin. Richard. Chron. Sigon. in Regn. Ital. Chron. Poſſæ Novæ.

lation.

lation. He himself, after visiting Monte Cassino, and reducing almost all the cities of Apulia, proceeded to Salerno, which he took by storm. In resentment for the captivity of the empress, he allowed his army to pillage the city, ordered the walls to be destroyed, executed a great many of the inhabitants, and banished others. Having left this noble city almost wholly desolate, he marched through Calabria, and passing the Faro, landed at Messina. The submission of the Apulians, and the formidable appearance of his fleet, struck a terror into the Sicilians, so that, without any difficulty, Henry made himself master of the whole island. As the queen Sibilla had retired with her children into an impregnable castle, the emperor, not willing to lose time in a siege that perhaps would prove fruitless, prevailed upon her to submit voluntarily, by promising, with the most solemn oaths, the county of Lecce for herself, and the principality of Tarento for her son

Henry having thus entirely reduced the kingdoms of Apulia and Sicily, and got his competitor into his power, in order to establish his authority, had recourse to perfidy and cruelty. Having convened, on Christmas-day, a general assembly in the royal palace at Palermo, he pretended to have discovered a conspiracy formed against him by Sibilla and the friends of the late king Tancred. On this pretence he immediately imprisoned the queen, her son, and two daughters, the archbishop of Salerno, the bishops of Trani and Ostuni, with many other prelates and barons. He caused many of them to be hanged, some to be burned, and the eyes of others to be put out. The unfortunate William was castrated, and his brother and two sisters were carried prisoners to Germany, with many of the nobles of the kingdom, whose estates Henry conferred upon those of his own party. Having stript the royal palace of its treasure and rich furniture, he set out on his return to Germany, leaving the exhausted and ruined kingdom to the administration of Constantia, who had come that year into Italy; and in her journey through the March of Ancona was delivered of a son, named Frederic Roger[y].

In order to establish his authority in Italy, without any regard to the pope he created his brother Philip, who had married Irene, the widow of the late king Roger,

[y] Chron. Cavens. apud Murator. tom. vii. Arnold. Lubec. Chron. lib. iv. cap. 20.

duke

duke of Tuſcany, and of the eſtates of Mathilda. He conferred the title of duke of Ravenna and marquis of Ancona on Marcoaldus, one of his generals; created Conrad, ſurnamed Muſca in Cervello, duke of Spoleto, and left Diepold governor of Apulia. He, however, neglected to fulfil his engagements to the Genoeſe, and, in the beginning of the following year, left Italy [z]. Upon his arrival in Germany he ſent the biſhop of Worms, as his lieutenant, to Italy, who ordered the walls of Naples and Capua to be entirely deſtroyed [a]. A.D.1196. *He returns to Germany.*

As the emperor found himſelf univerſally condemned for his behaviour to Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, whom he had unjuſtly detained in his return from the Holy Land, and as a great ſpirit appeared at this time in Germany of undertaking a new cruſade, he likewiſe aſſumed the croſs, in hopes, thereby of recovering his reputation. However, according to Arnold of Lubec, he had another deſign in view, and intended, by means of the cruſards, to extirpate the Normans entirely from Apulia and Sicily. Accordingly, one diviſion of the cruſards departing for the Holy Land by the way of Hungary, and another taking ſhipping at Hamburg and Frieſland, Henry, in the beginning of November, marched into Italy, at the head of a third army, conſiſting of about ſixty thouſand men. Upon his arrival at Capua he called a general aſſembly of the barons, and condemned Richard, count of Cerra, who ſome time before had been made priſoner by Diepold. Richard, after having been tied to a horſe's tail and dragged through the ſtreets of Capua, was hung up by the feet, and at laſt put to death by means of a heavy ſtone hung to his neck by the emperor's buffoon [b]. Henry then created Diepold count of Cerra, ſent his brother Otho to beſiege Roca Secca, where ſome Norman barons had fortified themſelves, and having laid a tax upon all the kingdom, in the beginning of January tranſported his army into Sicily. A.D.1197. *He paſſes again into Sicily.*

He immediately ſent an ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, requiring the emperor Alexius Angelus to reſtore all the coaſts of Greece, from Epidaurus to Salonichi, which had been conquered by king William, or to pay for thoſe territories a tribute of ſixteen talents of pure gold [c]. In the mean time he exerciſed all manner of cruelties againſt

[z] Sigon. de Regn. Ital. Meibom. Rer. Germ. Script. tom. iii. p. 139. [a] Richard. Chron. [b] Idem ibid. Chron. Foſſæ Nov. [c] Vide Baron. & Nicet. Hiſt.

the

the Sicilian nobles. He ordered crowns to be nailed on the heads of thoſe nobles who had conferred the crown upon Tancred, not ſparing even their children, who were put to death by various tortures: upon a ſuſpicion of treaſon he caſtrated the high-admiral Margaritone, and cauſed his eyes to be put out, though he had formerly for his ſervices created him duke of Durazzo, and prince of Tarento. Conſtantia, ſhocked at the barbarity exerciſed by her huſband againſt her countrymen, was prevailed upon to enter into a conſpiracy againſt him. While he was beſieging a caſtle ſhe went to Palermo, ſeized the treaſure, and openly declared againſt the emperor; a ſtep which encouraging the Sicilians, they ſurpriſed a great many Germans, and put them to death. The emperor immediately fled to a ſtrong caſtle, but being ſurrounded by the Sicilians, he ſubmitted to the terms of a capitulation preſcribed by the empreſs, and recovered his liberty, on condition of immediately ſending off his army to the Holy Land. The army accordingly embarked, and ſailed from Sicily on the 1ſt of September, under the command of Conrad, biſhop of Hildeſheim, chancellor of the empire. Henry, who remained behind, fell ſick, and died on the 28th of the ſame month, according to ſome authors of poiſon, which was given him by the empreſs [d], though ſome attribute his death to his exceſſive exerciſe of hunting [e].

*He is beſieged by Conſtantia.*

*His death.*

As Henry died excommunicated, on account of the money he had extorted from the king of England, Conſtantia ſent the archbiſhop of Meſſina to Rome, to beg of the pope liberty to bury his body in holy ground; and at the ſame time, demanded from Celeſtine the uſual inveſtiture for her infant ſon Frederic. The pope, upon receiving a thouſand marks of ſilver for himſelf, and as much for the cardinals, granted the inveſtiture to Frederic, after Conſtantia had ſworn that he was her lawful ſon by her late huſband Henry; but he refuſed to allow the emperor's corpſe to be interred in holy ground till all matters ſhould be accommodated with the king of England. The difference being at laſt adjuſted with king Richard, the corpſe was buried; and, a few weeks after, Celeſtine was ſucceeded in the pontifical chair by Innocent III.

Mean while Conſtantia ordered Marcoaldus, and all the Germans, to quit her dominions. Marcoaldus having

[d] Roger. Hoveden. Annal. Angl. Richard. Chron. [e] Sigon. ut ſupra.

left

left Castellano, proceeded from thence to the March of Ancona, where he was excommunicated by pope Innocent, who resolved to begin his pontificate with the recovery of the territories of Mathilda, which had been usurped by the three late emperors, and given as fiefs to their friends. Philip, the late emperor's brother, who possessed great part of Tuscany, and Conrad, who had been created duke of Spoleto, were likewise excommunicated. These two immediately resigned all the territories claimed by the church; Conrad from a principle of religion, but Philip from policy, that he might procure the favour of the pope in his contest for the imperial crown against Otho of Brunswick. Marcoaldus, however, finding that the inhabitants of Romaniola and the March of Ancona had an aversion to the Roman government, despised the fulmination; and assembling an army, resolved to maintain the possession of his territories by force. A.D. 1198.

*Constantia orders the Germans to quit her dominions.*

Constantia, in the mean time, sent for her infant son Frederic from Ancona to Sicily, and earnestly solicited the pope to grant him the investiture. Innocent, who was wholly bent on enlarging the papal authority, both in spirituals and temporals, absolutely refused to grant her demand, unless the four articles formerly stipulated with king William I. concerning the right of elections, legations, appeals, and councils, should be annulled. Constantia, being persuaded to agree to his demands, at length obtained the investiture; but dying a few weeks after, most imprudently by her last will left the care and guardianship of her son and kingdom to Innocent, which deed gave an opportunity to the popes of encroaching upon the prerogatives of the kingdom, and was the foundation of their pretended claim of being administrators during the minority of the kings, although they were not appointed guardians by the preceding prince [f].

*Her death.*

Innocent gladly accepted of the guardianship, and immediately began to exercise it, by sending a cardinal legate to Sicily, to assume the reins of government, and to administer the oath of fidelity to the prelates and barons in the name of the pope, as governor and guardian. The chancellor of Sicily, however, with a great party, refused to take the oath prescribed by the legate, who, finding his authority opposed, soon after returned to Rome [g]. A great party in Apulia likewise disrelished the administration

*Pope Innocent acts as regent of the kingdom of Sicily.*

[f] Spond. Annal. ad an. 1198. Giannone ut supra. [g] Giannone, ibid.

of the pope, and invited Marcoaldus to assume the government, who, being defeated in Romaniola by the Bolognese and papal troops, marched with all his Germans to the county of Molise; and pretending that the emperor had left him as guardian of his son, and governor of the kingdom, he began to attack those that adhered to Innocent. In the beginning of the following year, he burnt several castles belonging to the monastery of Cassino, in order to prevail with the abbot to acknowlege him as governor, upon which Innocent sent two cardinals, with a considerable body of forces, to the defence of the monastery. Marcoaldus, however, being joined by Diepold, and other Germans, to whom Henry had given estates and baronies in Apulia and Sicily, took St. Germano, which he pillaged and burnt, exercising great cruelty upon the miserable inhabitants. He then besieged the monastery of Cassino, whither the two cardinals, and many of the principal inhabitants of St. Germano, had retired. But as his camp was much incommoded by hail and snow, he agreed to raise the siege, upon receiving a considerable sum of money from the abbot; and marching with his army against Avellino, obliged that city to purchase its security by the payment of a large contribution. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the pope, he continued his hostilities for more than a year against the nobles of the opposite faction, many of whom condescended to buy their peace by base submissions. Richard, count of Fondi, particularly, gave his daughter in marriage to Sigisfrid, the brother of Diepold, whose daughter was likewise married to William, count of Caserta. Innocent, in the mean time, excommunicated Marcoaldus and his adherents, sent money to the counts of Apulia to raise forces against him, ordered all the prelates of the kingdom to curse him and his followers every Sunday and holiday, and even proposed a crusade against him.

A.D. 1199.

*Is opposed by Marcoaldus;*

*who aspires to the crown.*

Marcoaldus, being sensible that the spirit and activity of the pope was the greatest interruption to his ambitious designs, endeavoured, by several embassies and great promises, to make him his friend. By means of Conrad, archbishop of Mentz, who about this time arrived at Apulia from the Holy Land, he proposed to the pope, that if he would only not oppose him in his intended conquest of Sicily, he would immediately give him twenty thousand ounces of gold, and after he had established himself in Palermo, pay him as much more; that he would swear allegiance to him as his sovereign; would double the yearly

ly tribute, and allow the apostolic see greater prerogatives than it had ever yet enjoyed in Sicily[h]; he added, that the pope ought not to make any scruple to agree to his proposal, because he was guardian of the young Frederic, as he was ready to prove that boy a supposititious child, and not the son of the late emperor and empress. Innocent paying no regard to these proposals, and not allowing the birth of the prince to be called in question, because his predecessor had declared himself satisfied with the oath of Constantia, Marcoaldus had recourse to another expedient; and pretending a great desire to be restored to the communion of the church, prevailed with the pope to send three cardinals to treat with him at Veroli. Though nothing was concluded at the conference, yet Marcoaldus, having treated the cardinals with great respect, upon their departure, immediately published by letters through the kingdom, and in Germany, that he was reconciled to the pope, who had appointed him governor of the kingdom, and had sent two cardinals to exhort the Apulians to submit to his administration.

This imposture, however, being soon discovered by the letters of Innocent, Marcoaldus resolved not to waste more time in Apulia, but to make an attempt upon the capital. Accordingly, having left Diepold, with his two brothers, Otho and Sigisfrid, Conrad of Sorella, Otho of Laviano, Frederic of Malento, and many other Germans, to support his party in Apulia, he embarked, with a considerable army, at Salerno for Sicily. The guardians and preceptors of the young prince immediately wrote to the pope for assistance, who sent them two hundred horse, under the command of James, his cousin and marshal, who was accompanied by a cardinal legate, together with the archbishops of Tarento and Naples. These troops, in their march through Calabria, defeated Frederic of Malento; and afterwards, passing the Faro, landed at Messina, while Diepold with his Germans made a second incursion into the territories of Cassino, and ravaged several places in that neighbourhood.

*Marcoaldus passes over into Sicily.*

A. D. 1200.

During these transactions, Sibilla, the widow of the late king Tancred, arrived at Rome. After the death of the emperor Henry, she had escaped from her imprisonment to France, where her eldest daughter Abinia had married Walter, count of Brienne, a French nobleman. As the young king William died in prison, the count of

[h] Vita Innocent. ap. Murator. tom. iii. p. 491.

*Walter, count of Brienne, claims the principality of Tarento.*

Brienne demanded of the pope the principality of Tarento and the county of Lecce, in right of his wife Albinia, according to the stipulation made with the emperor Henry. Innocent was greatly embarrassed by this demand; being apprehensive, that, if the count met with a refusal, he would join the Germans; and dreading likewise, that, if he should acquire any power and authority in Apulia, he would revenge the injuries his wife and her friends had suffered from Henry upon his son Frederic. At last he consented to his request; and having taken an oath from him in a public consistory, that, on no pretence, he would do any prejudice to Frederic, or disturb the kingdom, he wrote to the governors of the king in Sicily, informing them of what he had done. Walter, the chancellor of the kingdom, and bishop of Troja, was greatly alarmed at the proceedings of the pope. As he and all his party had been the greatest enemies of Tancred, he dreaded the resentment of the count of Brienne; therefore, assembling the people of Messina, he condemned the grant in a vehement discourse, censuring the pope with great freedom, as usurping a power to which he had no right. The count, however, having secured the favour of the pope, resolved to prosecute his design; and for that purpose returned to France, to raise a body of troops.

Marcoaldus, in the mean time, having prevailed with the Saracens in Sicily to espouse his cause, reduced a great many cities and castles, and at last invested Palermo. The papal army immediately marched to the relief of the place; and being joined by the loyal party, under the command of the chancellor, and several other bishops, encamped before the city. Marcoaldus, upon their arrival, raised the siege; and, to gain time till he should be joined by some reinforcements, endeavoured to amuse them by a negociation for peace, which the chancellor and the archbishops of Messina, Monreale, and Ceffalu, had even agreed to: but the majority of the army declaring with great warmth against an accommodation, the conferences were broke off, and four days after a battle ensued, in which Marcoaldus was entirely defeated, with the loss of his camp and all his baggage. As the victory was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of the marshal James, the governors of the young king conferred upon him the county of Andria. However, from a mean jealousy, they soon after began to deny his soldiers common necessaries; so that, many of them falling sick and dying, the marshal was obliged, about the end of August,

*Marcoaldus is entirely defeated in Sicily.*

to

to return to Apulia [i], where, during his expedition in Sicily, Diepold had gained a victory over the count of Celano, near Venafro [k].

About the ſame time a new difference happened betwixt the pope and the chancellor, who, upon the death of the archbiſhop of Palermo, had got himſelf elected his ſucceſſor, and obtained the confirmation of the legate without the knowlege of the pope. Innocent reprimanded his legate very ſeverely, but at the ſame time offered to allow the chancellor to retain the archbiſhoprick under the title of procurator, or miniſter. The chancellor re- A.D. 1201.
jected that favour with diſdain, and both ſpoke and wrote againſt the pope with great bitterneſs and malice, particulary with regard to his grant in favour of the count of Brienne. The count mean while had arrived at Rome with a ſmall body of Frenchmen, on which account his intended enterprize became the ſubject of public ridicule. The pope, however, writing to the counts, barons, and caſtellans of Apulia, in his favour, and giving him five hundred ounces of gold to levy more troops, he boldly entered Terra di Lavora, and was received by the inhabitants of Teano, where he was joined by the abbot of Caſſino, with a good number of men, and Richard, archbiſhop of Capua. From thence he marched to Capua; *The count of Brienne conquers a great part of Apulia.*
and having reduced the citadel, on the 10th of June, Brienne engaged and entirely defeated Diepold. He then entered into an alliance with the count of Celano; and having aſſiſted him in reducing the county of Moliſe, marched without oppoſition to Apulia, where Melphis, Veroli, Monte Piloſo, and ſeveral other cities, put themſelves under his protection. He likewiſe, in the begin- A.D. 1202.
ning of the following year, reduced the caſtle of Lecce; and alſo Matera, Otranto, Brindiſi, and many other cities of the principality of Tarento.

His ſurpriſing progreſs greatly alarmed the chancellor, who, notwithſtanding the mandates of the pope, exerciſed a moſt deſpotic authority. He diſpoſed of the whole revenues of the kingdom, raiſed a powerful faction to countenance all his proceedings, by conferring counties, baronies, the government of cities and caſtles, and other offices and dignities, upon his creatures. Sending for his brother Gentile, count of Manopello, he appointed him one of the king's council, and is ſaid to have deſigned to have raiſed him to the throne. In order to check the pro-

[i] Vide auct. ſup. citat. [k] Richardi Chron.

*The chancellor makes peace with Marcoaldus, in order to oppose the count.*

gress of the count of Brienne, he, with his brother Gentile, concluded a peace and alliance with Marcoaldus, who was still excommunicated. Gentile's son having married a niece of Marcoaldus, it was agreed betwixt them that the whole administration should be divided betwixt Marcoaldus and the chancellor; the one to govern in Sicily, and the other in Apulia. This convention, however, never took effect; for both parties suspecting each other's treachery, their former enmity revived. The chancellor, in the mean time, who had dissipated the revenues of Sicily, trusted the care of the king and palace to his brother; went over into Apulia, where he raised large sums by extortion and exactions, robbing the churches of all their wealth and plate, not sparing even the shrines and images. As he still continued to rail against the pope, and endeavoured to raise an association against the count of Brienne, Innocent at length, provoked by his proceedings, thundered a sentence of excommunication against him, and deposed him from both his churches, which he conferred on other prelates.

*He is excommunicated by the pope.*

In consequence of this anathema, the chancellor immediately lost all credit with the people, who treated him with contempt and insult; so that he was fain to join Diepold, who still commanded an army to oppose the count of Brienne. Innocent soon after, having written a long letter to the young king, justifying his transactions with regard to the count of Brienne, sent a cardinal legate into Apulia, charging the counts and barons to join him and the count against Diepold. The chancellor, hearing of the arrival of the legate, came to him, and begged to be restored to the communion of the church; but the legate insisting upon his agreeing not to oppose the count, he broke out into blasphemous expressions, and returned to Diepold, who soon after marched against the count, and surprised him in the neighbourhood of the famous Cannæ. Though the count was greatly inferior to him in numbers, yet he attacked him with such fury, that he gained a complete victory, and took a great number of prisoners of note, among whom were the two brothers of Diepold, the chancellor's cousin, and the archbishop of Salerno.

*The count defeats Diepold.*

Gentile, in the mean time, who had been left governor in Sicily, renewed his friendship with Marcoaldus, and was perfuaded by him to resign the whole administration to him, and to retire to Messina. Marcoaldus found means to have his authority acknowleged almost over the whole

whole iſland, and endeavoured, by large offers to the pope and the count of Brienne, to perſuade the count to renounce his claim. It was generally ſuppoſed that he would then have put the young king to death and uſurped the kingdom, if it had not been for his apprehenſions of the count, who looked upon him as heir apparent of the crown. All his ſchemes, however, were interrupted by death, which overtook him towards the end of the year. A.D.1203.

*Marcoaldus dies.*

Upon the death of Marcoaldus, William Capparo, or Capparore, a German, immediately ſeized the palace and the king, and aſſumed the title of governor of Sicily, and guardian of the king. The greateſt part, however, of the followers of Marcoaldus refuſed to obey him, and formed a party in oppoſition to his deſigns. The chancellor, thinking this a fit opportunity of recovering his former authority, made a new offer of implicit ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee; and obtained abſolution from Innocent. Then he paſſed over into Sicily, declared againſt Capparo, reaſſumed theoffice of high-chancellor, and wrote to the pope, preſſing him to ſend a legate into the iſland to overawe the different factions. Innocent immediately ſent his nephew, cardinal Gerardo, thither, who, upon his arrival, received the ſubmiſſion of Capparo, and granted him abſolution. He could not, however, reconcile Capparo to the chancellor; Capparo ſtill retaining his power and authority, and neglecting to fulfil his promiſes, Gerardo left Palermo, and retired to Meſſina.

*The chancellor recovers his authority.*

Innocent, in the mean time, ſent his couſin the marſhal to the aſſiſtance of the count of Brienne, appointing them both high-juſticiaries of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro. Towards the end of the campaign, it being reported that the pope was dead at Anagni, whither the count and the marſhal had gone to viſit him, ſeveral cities, particularly Matera, Brindiſi, and Otranto, revolted from the count; ſome of them maſſacring, and others expelling his garriſons. Innocent, however, ſoon after recovering from a ſevere illneſs, that had occaſioned the report of his death, they returned to Apulia, and reduced ſeveral caſtles; but were not able to recover the above mentioned cities. The marſhal reduced Adria, and took the title of count of that city. James, count of Tricarico, and Roger, count of Chieti, joining him and the count of Brienne with their forces, they ſo harraſſed the Germans, that they were obliged to abandon the field, and ſhut themſelves up in their forts. The count of Brienne, however, becoming too ſecure and confident, from the great ſucceſs of his A.D.1204.

AD. 1205. arms, was surprised next summer[l] by Diepold, whom he was besieging in Sarno. The Germans, being informed of the great security of the besiegers, sallied out upon them at break of day; and, having forced their camp, attacked the count, who, after defending himself for a long time, and receiving a great many wounds, was at last taken prisoner and carried into the city, where he died a few days after, leaving his wife Albinia big with child[m]. She was soon after delivered of a son, named Walter, and then married to the count of Tricarico.

*The count of Brienne is attacked by surprize, and dies of his wounds.*

*Diepold is reconciled to the pope.*

The unfortunate death of the count of Brienne so animated the opposite faction, that Innocent was obliged to conclude a peace with Diepold. Upon his swearing solemnly to submit to the mandates of the holy see in every thing for which he had been excommunicated, to acknowlege the pope as regent of the king and kingdom, and not to favour the pretensions of Philip, duke of Suabia, to the prejudice of Frederic, he absolved him and all his followers from the sentence of excommunication, and the year following received him very graciously at Rome[n], Diepold, after several conferences with the pope, who continued him in command, returned to Salerno, from whence, in the month of November, he sailed over to Palermo. Soon after his arrival, he prevailed with Capparo to deliver the king to the chancellor and the legate, and to promise likewise to deliver the palace. Having conducted the young king to Palermo, he invited the chancellor and legate to an entertainment; but a rumour arising, that he intended to seize them, they surprised him and his son, and imprisoned them both. He soon after escaped from prison, and returned to Salerno; from whence, going to Terra di Lavoro, he assembled an army, and in the month of May gained a victory over the Neapolitans, and took their general, Goffredo di Montefusculo[o].

A.D. 1206.

Conrad di Morlei, who was in possession of Sora, Sorella, Rocca d'Arce, and several other places near the Garigliano, ravaged all the country round with great barbarity, and made frequent incursions into the Campania di Roma. The pope, having in vain admonished him for a long time, at length ordered the cardinal legate of Campania to attack him. He, being assisted by the pope's

[l] Peregrin. ad Chron. Cassin. anno 1205. Vita Innocent. ap. Murator. tom. iii. Richardi Chron.
[m] Idem ibid.
[n] Chron. Cassin. anno 1207. Richard. Chron.

brother

brother Richard, and Roffred, abbot of Monte Caſſino, whom the inhabitants of Sora had privately admitted into their city, in the beginning of January took Sora, Blanello, a fort that overlooks the city, and Sorella, whither Conrad had retired. An accommodation was then agreed to, whereby Conrad, upon receiving a thouſand ounces of gold, and twenty horſes, promiſed to deliver up Rocca d'Arce, with all the places he poſſeſſed upon the confines of the kingdom. This ſervice was ſo agreeable to the king, that he immediately granted the inveſtiture of all theſe places to the pope's brother Richard and his heirs, with the title of count of Sora [p]. A.D.1208.

*The pope's brother is created count of Sora.*

Great diſturbances, in the mean time, happened in Sicily. The chancellor continued at open enmity with Capparo, who ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the palace, and had again got the king in his power. The Saracens in the mountains, encouraged by theſe diſſenſions, openly renounced their allegiance to the king, and began hoſtilities againſt the Chriſtians. To put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, Innocent, a few weeks after the accommodation with Conrad di Marlei, went, attended with a great many cardinals and prelates, to Palermo [q]. After ſome conferences with the king, to whom he propoſed an alliance with Conſtantia, the ſiſter of the king of Arragon, he left Sicily, and on the 23d of June arrived at St. Germano. There he aſſembled the counts and barons of Apulia, with the deputies of the cities, and prevailed with them to enter into an aſſociation for the defence of the king, to furniſh him with two hundred horſe at their own charge, and to refer all their private quarrels to the determination of the two chief juſticiaries; namely, the count of Celano and the count of Fondi [r].

Innocent after this tranſaction ſeems not to have intermeddled in an authoritative manner in the adminiſtration of the kingdom; Frederic, though only thirteen years old, being declared of age, as the moſt probable expedient for putting an end to thoſe factions, which had involved the nation in ſo many calamities. The pope, however, ſtill continued his negociations for the marriage of the king with Conſtantia, which was at laſt concluded, and celebrated in the following ſpring, at Palermo, with great pomp and magnificence. Mean while the two juſticiaries

*Frederic aſſumes the adminiſtration, and marries the ſiſter of the king of Arragon.*

[p] Vita Innocent, ut ſupra. Chron. Caſſin. Richard. Chron.
[q] Giannone ut ſupra.
[r] Vit. Innocent Chron. Richard. & Caſſin. Chron.

in

in Apulia, by their mutual animosities, still kept alive the
A.D.1209. disturbances in that province. A few months after the convention held at St. Germano, the count of Fondi, by the assistance of Diepold, had expelled the count of Celano from Capua, being even assisted by the Capuans, who had an aversion to his government on account of their hatred to his son, who was their archbishop. The count of Celano, however, by means of the archbishop his son, recovered the city of Capua, obliged the count of Fondi to retire, and entered into a good correspondence with Diepold, who was then governor of Salerno.

*Otho IV. is crowned emperor.*

During these disturbances, Otho IV. who, by the death of his competitor Philip of Suabia, had succeeded to the German empire, entered Italy with a powerful army, and received the imperial crown from the pope, in the church of St. Peter, on the 2d of October. As Innocent had been his constant friend during his ten years struggle for the empire, Otho made very large promises to him in behalf of the Roman see; but after his coronation, whether from ambition, or perceiving his engagements to the empire and the holy see were inconsistent, he declared his intention of maintaining the imperial rights in Italy; and marching from Rome, immediately seized several cities in Tuscany belonging to the estates of Mathilda[s]. He likewise laid claim to Apulia, in consequence probably of the conquest of the emperor Lotharius; for the pretensions of the German emperors to this province could not be founded on the conquest of Charlemagne, who never was able to reduce the duchy of Benevento. Otho was invited to invade Apulia by the count of Celano and Diepold, who, in the end of the following year conducted him to Capua, when, according to Richard of St. Germano, he created Diepold duke of Spoleto. All the country, from Sora to Capua, immediately submitted to him, except Aquino: almost all the cities of Apulia likewise surrendered to him without opposition. The Neapolitans, from their hatred to the Aversans, opened their gates to him, and pressed him to besiege Aversa; which city, however, contrary to their expectation, surrendered upon capitulation, and agreed to pay him a large sum of money.

*Invades Apulia.*

The pope, greatly provoked by these proceedings of Otho, endeavoured by several embassies to persuade him to desist from his hostilities; but finding his remon-

[s] Apolog. pro Othone ap. Meibom. tom. iii. p. cxx.

strances

monſtrances had no effect, in the end of this year he denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him and all his adherents, abſolved all his ſubjects from their allegiance to him, and wrote to the princes of Germany, exhorting them to elect another emperor. Otho paid no regard to this ſentence. Many of the princes of Germany, however, at the perſuaſion of the pope's legates and prelates, renounced their allegiance to the emperor; and on the 15th of December the king of Bohemia, the dukes of Auſtria, Bavaria, the landgrave of Thuringia, and the archbiſhops of Mentz and Triers, elected young Frederic king of Sicily, who had been declared heir to the empire when an infant, even before the death of his father Henry VI. Frederic willingly accepted of the imperial dignity, contrary to the perſuaſions of Conſtantia and the Sicilian barons; and leaving his queen, and her infant ſon, at Palermo, embarked for Gaeta, from whence he ſailed to Rome. After ſome conferences with the pope, he again embarked, and arrived at Genoa on the 1ſt of May; from whence he was eſcorted through Lombardy by the inhabitants of Padua, Cremona, and Mantua, who protected him againſt the Milaneſe, and other partizans of Otho. The revolt in Germany in favour of Frederic obliged Otho to leave Italy; but the wealth of the king of Sicily, and the excommunication of the pope, had ſuch an influence, that he ſoon found himſelf entirely abandoned. In the ſecond year of the war almoſt all Germany acknowleged Frederic as emperor, who was accordingly crowned at Aix la Chapelle by the archbiſhop of Mentz, having, before his coronation, promiſed by an oath to allow the elections to churches to be made canonically; not to oppoſe appeals to the apoſtolic ſee; not to ſeize the effects of deceaſed prelates, nor the revenues of vacant churches; to defend and maintain the ſuperiority of the Roman ſee over both Sicilies, and the iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia; and to reſtore all the territories claimed by the popes in Italy[t]. Frederic, about two years afterwards, was again crowned at Aix la Chapelle by the pope's legate, when, with a great many ſecular and eccleſiaſtical princes, he made a vow of going to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land; and, as a teſtimony of his gratitude to the pope, granted the county of Fondi to the Roman ſee in perpetuity. His election was alſo confirmed in the famous Lateran council, and

A.D. 1210.

*He is excommunicated by the pope.*

*Frederic, king of Sicily, is elected emperor.*

[t] Vide Spond. Annal. ad ann. 1213.

not

not many months after he loſt his guardian and patron pope Innocent, who died the following year at Perugia [u].

## SECT. IV.

*Frederic is excommunicated and depoſed by a Succeſſion of Popes; Charles, count of Anjou, receives the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom from the Pope; defeats Conradin, and orders him to be beheaded at Naples.*

FREDERIC, about the ſame time, ſent for his young ſon Henry to Germany, and ſoon after received a letter from Honorius III. the ſucceſſor of Innocent, who, during his minority, had been his tutor four years in Palermo. Honorius exhorted the emperor to continue in his obedience to the holy ſee, and deſired him to reſign the kingdom of Sicily, to be diſpoſed of by the apoſtolic ſee, that it might appear that it depended upon the church, and not upon the empire. Frederic anſwered this extraordinary letter in terms of honour and reſpect; and to remove all grounds of jealouſy, offered, upon receiving the imperial crown at Rome, to declare his ſon Henry king of Sicily [w]. Next year, his rival Otho dying at Hartzburgh, Frederic cauſed an aſſembly of all the princes and prelates of the empire to be convened in Mentz, to regulate the affairs of Germany, as he was determined to return to Italy to receive the imperial crown. While he was aſſembling his army for that purpoſe, he ſent for his queen Conſtantia to Germany, and ordered the count of St. Severino to ſeize and impriſon his father-in-law Diepold, who was endeavouring to raiſe diſturbances in Apulia.

*Honorius deſires him to reſign the kingdom of Sicily.*

A.D.1217.

After Conſtantia had continued upwards of a year in Germany, Frederic ſet out on his expedition to Italy, and at St. Leo, in the duchy of Urbino, was met by the pope's legate, where he ſwore to preſerve the rights of the church, and to yield the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia to his ſon Henry; and likewiſe confirmed his donation of the county of Fondi to the apoſtolic ſee [x]. He then proceeded to Rome, where, on the 22d of November, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and renewed his vow of an expedition to the Holy Land,

A.D.1220.

*He is crowned at Rome.*

[u] Richard Chron. ut ſupra.
[w] Spond. Annal. ad an. 1216.
[x] Vide auct. ſup. citat. Giannone.

which

which he promiſed to undertake whenever his holineſs ſhould think proper. After his coronation, Frederic ſent his chancellor, the archbiſhop of Spire, with full power to Lombardy, to prevail with Milan, and ſome other cities, which, from their averſion to the family of Barbaroſſa, had eſpouſed the cauſe of Otho, to acknowlege him as emperor. Many of theſe cities had long diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the diſputes betwixt the emperors and popes, by their attachment to the latter; and though Frederic had hitherto ſhewn ſo much condeſcenſion to the pope, yet Honorius is accuſed at this time of privately preventing the emperor's orders from being received and executed by the Guelph faction, in order to depreſs, or at leaſt balance, his power.

The emperor, however, not ſeeming to mind the pope's proceeding, left Rome, and went to St. Germano, where he was received with great honour and reſpect by the abbot of Monte Caſſino. From thence he repaired to Capua, where he called a general parliament, in which he publiſhed ſeveral new regulations, which are contained in twenty chapters[y]. He particularly ordered all the forts and caſtles lately built by the barons to be demoliſhed; and by the advice of Andrea Bonello, a famous lawyer, and his attorney-general, he eſtabliſhed a new tribunal in Capua, called Corte Capuana. He commanded the barons, the corporations of the cities and towns, and all other perſons, to produce the grants and privileges of their caſtles, and other things which they held of him and his predeceſſors, to be inſpected by this court, whether they were valid, or had been illegally granted in time of troubles; declaring, that thoſe who did not produce their charters, ſhould forfeit their grants and privileges. In conſequence of this order, ſeveral grants, that had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained, were revoked, and others were afterwards declared invalid, for not being produced in time; proceedings which occaſioned a general murmuring through the nation, and prompted many of the prelates and barons to refuſe obedience to the king's orders. Frederic went, in the beginning of the following year, to Seſſa, where he revoked the grant of the county of Sora, which for ſome years had been in poſſeſſion of Richard, the late pope's brother. He afterwards viſited Bojano, where by force he compelled the count of Moliſe, and ſome other barons, to ſubmit to his new regulations. He

*Holds a parliament at Capua.*

A.D. 1221.

[y] Richard. Chron.

likewiſe

*Banishes several prelates and barons.*

likewise set Diepold at liberty, upon receiving some towns which were in possession of his brother Sifrid; and making a progress through Apulia and Calabria, he expelled many refractory and rebellious prelates and barons, who retired to Rome under the protection of the pope.

*Holds another parliament at Messina.*

Upon his arrival at Messina, Frederic called a parliament of Sicilian barons, in which he published several regulations. As a subsidy for the Christians in the Holy Land and in Egypt, he ordered the twentieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues, and the tithes of secular possessions, to be raised; which money, with forty-three gallies, he sent under the command of Walter de Palear, the chancellor, and the count of Malta, to Damiata, which was then besieged by the soltan of Egypt. He himself, in the mean time, was engaged in reducing the Saracens in Sicily; on which account he excused himself from going in person to the Holy Land, though he was continually urged and sollicited by the pope to fulfil his vow. Honorius, being jealous of the emperor's power, was very desirous that he should leave Europe. He therefore inveighed bitterly against him for delaying his expedition; at the same time he accused him of oppressing the church, and violating the ecclesiastical liberty, by taxing the clergy, expelling prelates, and substituting others in their place. Frederic, in his own justification, alleged, that, from the time of Charlemagne, it had been lawful for the emperors to give the investiture of bishopricks; that all princes might expel disaffected prelates out of their dominions; and that, as king of Sicily, he had enjoyed the prerogative of giving investitures to prelates, and of confirming their election by his assent, which right he was resolved not to part with, though Innocent III. had violated it during his minority [z].

*Difference betwixt him and the pope.*

Frederic, however, to give some satisfaction to the pope, who, upon the news of the loss of Damiata, renewed his complaints against him, published some severe edicts against heretics; made a formal renunciation of the estates of Mathilda into the hands of the apostolic nuncio; and conferred the kingdom of Sicily upon his son Henry [a]. Notwithstanding these concessions, the misunderstanding betwixt him and the pope still increased. As he continued to raise the twentieth penny upon the ecclesiastics, and turned out several prelates in Sicily and Apulia,

A.D. 1222.

[z] Fazzel. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. 2.

[a] Spond. Annal.

whose

whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, Honorius made loud complaints againſt him, and even threatened him with excommunication and depoſition. Frederic, to appeaſe the pope, impriſoned the count of Malta, and ſtripped him of all his lands and offices, the chancellor having fled to Venice, where, as there is no farther mention made of him, it is probable he died in exile. The king likewiſe, to prevent a rupture, left Sicily, and had a conference for fifteen days with the pope, who, in the month of February, had come to Veroli. He publiſhed an edict in that city in favour of the eccleſiaſtical liberty; and having obtained leave to put off his ſacred expedition ſome time longer, a general conference was appointed to be held, in the month of November, at Verona, to which all Chriſtian princes were invited. Frederic then, taking leave of the pope, returned to Apulia; and having ordered the count of Acerra to beſiege the rock of Magenul, held by the count of Celano, he haſted over into Sicily, to oppoſe Mirabet the Saracen prince, who ſtill continued his incurſions againſt the Chriſtians[a]. While Frederic was employed in defeating the infidels, his queen Conſtantia died in the city of Catanea.

*The queen Conſtantia dies in Sicily.*

The emperor entirely reduced the Saracens; and returning to Apulia, propoſed another conference with the pope, which was prevented by the ſickneſs of his holineſs. A few months afterwards, however, the conference, which ſhould have been held at Verona, was transferred to Ferentino, where, in the beginning of the following year, Frederic, at the ſollicitation of the pope, John de Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem, Hermannus Salza, grand-maſter of the Teutonic order, and ſeveral others, renewed his engagements of going to the Holy Land within two years. As a motive to intereſt him in that expedition, the pope negociated a marriage betwixt him and Jolanta, or Violanta, the only daughter of John de Brienne, who, in right of her mother, was heireſs of the crown of Jeruſalem (Z). The emperor, who had been ſome months a widower, willingly agreed to the match, upon condition that John de Brienne, as a portion for his daughter, ſhould immediately reſign his rights to the kingdom of Jeruſalem. As to the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, that was

A.D. 1223.

*Frederic marries the daughter of the king of Jeruſalem.*

[a] Richard. Chron.

(Z) This John de Brienne was brother of Walter, who married the eldeſt daughter of Tancred king of Sicily.

afterwards

afterwards to be disputed with the soltan, who, about thirty years before, had recovered the whole from the Christians, excepting a few places on the sea-coast.

Upon the conclusion of the conference, the young bride was immediately sent for from Ptolemais; and Frederic, returning to Apulia, made great preparations by sea and land for the conquest of his new kingdom. Mean while, by the mediation of the pope, he allowed the count of Celano to depart the kingdom; and having got possession of all his cities and castles, ordered Celano to be entirely destroyed. He likewise caused forts to be built in Gaeta, Naples, Aversa, and Fogia; and returning to Sicily against the Saracens, who had again revolted, he conquered a great part of them, whom he transported to the continent, and allowed them to settle in Lucera and its neighbourhood. As the others had fled to the mountains, he sent for several Apulian barons to come to his assistance; but upon their arrival in Sicily, he ordered them to be imprisoned, and their lands on the continent to be seized. These barons, however, in the following year, at the intercession of the pope, and upon leaving their sons as hostages, were set at liberty, and went to Rome. Frederic, about the same time, sent the late inhabitants of Celano to Malta, exempted the clergy of Apulia from all taxes and impositions, and being greatly delighted with the situation of Naples, resolved to make it the chief place of his residence. For this purpose he enlarged and embellished the city, and this year erected the private schools, which had long flourished there, into an university.

A.D.1224.

*Frederic embellishes Naples.*

As the war with the Saracens in Sicily still continued, he renewed the taxes upon his subjects; but, to avoid disputes with the pope, he raised three hundred ounces of gold from the lands belonging to the monastery of Monte Cassino, under the name of a loan. Soon after the titular king of Jerusalem arriving at Capua, with his young queen, the sister of the king of Castile, he sent him and the patriarch of Jerusalem to the pope to ask a prolongation of the time for his expedition to the Holy Land, urging the necessity of his continuance in Italy, on account of the rebellion of the Saracens, and the mutinous spirit of the Lombards, who, at the instigation of the inhabitants of Milan and Bologna, threatened a general revolt. His ambassadors receiving a favourable answer from the pope, in the end of July, he went to St. Germano, where he entered into new engagements to the pope's legates; and being

being absolved by them from the vow he had made at Veroli, he promised, under pain of excommunication, to go to Palestine within two years, counting from the month of August. The emperor soon after caused another loan to be raised from the clergy, by which he received one thousand three hundred ounces of gold from the monastery of Monte Cassino; and, at the same time, refused to admit five prelates, whom the pope, without his knowlege, had nominated to some vacant benefices in Apulia. A few weeks after, the empress Jolante, arriving at Brindisi, Frederic solemnized his marriage with great pomp and magnificence; and, in the beginning of the following year, he ordered his barons and knights to assemble at Pescara, and to accompany him to the diet of Cremona, having written to his son Henry, king of the Romans, to pass the Alps with an army, and join him in Lombardy.

A.D. 1225. *Marries Jolante.*

Henry, who had married a daughter of the duke of Austria, was prevented from advancing into Italy by the Lombards, who had seized the passes of the Alps; and Frederic, upon his arrival at Cremona found no deputies from the cities of Milan, Verona, Placenza, Vercelli, Lodi, Alexandria, Trevisо, Padua, Vicenza, Turin, Novara, Mantua, Brescia, Bologna, and Faenza, which cities had entered into a new association for twenty-five years, in defence of their liberties[b]. The emperor, in resentment of this confederacy, put them to the ban of the empire. Having prevailed with the pope's legate to lay them under an interdict, he returned with his army to Apulia, and in his march had a conference with the pope at Reate. Though the pope and the emperor, during the whole summer, had been upon bad terms, on account of the five prelates, who were kept out of the possession of their churches, and because Frederic had not only levied money upon the clergy, but had published an edict, ordering monks and priests guilty of homicide and other enormous crimes to be punished by the secular magistrate, yet at this conference they were again reconciled. Frederic consented to admit the prelates nominated by the pope, and Honorius, who was suspected of having promoted the association of the cities of Lombardy, promised to act as mediator betwixt them and the emperor. An accommodation was accordingly concluded with the Lom-

A.D. 1226. *The cities of Lombardy enter into an association against him.*

[b] Richard. Chron. Sigon. de Regn. Ital.

bard cities, by which Frederic engaged to forgive all past injuries, and revoke all edicts to their prejudice, on condition that they should send four hundred knights to the Holy Land, and live in friendship with the imperial cities

Honorius died in March following; and his successor, Gregory IX. immediately after his election, reminded the emperor of his vow. Frederic appeared as earnest for
A.D.1227. the expedition as the pope; and in the month of August embarked at Brindisi. However, three days after he had
*He omits his voyage to the Holy Land.* set sail, returning to Italy, under pretence of sickness, he
*Is excommunicated by the pope.* was solemnly excommunicated by the pope at Anagni. Gregory excommunicated him a second time at Rome, and interdicted his kingdom. Frederic, who had gone to the baths of Pazzuolo, and sent several ambassadors to the pope, to plead the excuse of his illness, finding that Gregory would not except of his vindication, wrote to all the Christian princes, in his own justification. He likewise ordered all the justices of Sicily and Apulia to oblige the priests and monks in their provinces to celebrate divine service as usual; and afterwards holding a general meeting of the barons of the kingdom at Capua, he required from them a tax of eight ounces of gold for every fief they held, and a soldier for every eight fiefs, to be ready against the month of May, when he intended to sail for the Holy Land.

By the influence of his money, he raised a strong faction in Rome, which obliged Gregory to quit the city, and retire to Perugia. He likewise sent an army into the duchy of Spoleto, and the March of Ancona; and, notwithstanding the rigorous prohibition of the pope, raised a large sum of money from the clergy in his dominions.
A.D.1228. In the mean time the empress Jolante, after having been
*Jolante dies.* delivered of a son, who was named Conrad, died at Andria. Soon after her death, Frederic held a parliament at Barletta, and having regulated the succession of his kingdom, in case of his death, and appointed Rainald, duke of Spoleto, regent during his absence, on the 11th
*Frederic proceeds to the Holy Land.* of August he sailed from Otranto, with twenty gallies and a great number of transports, for the Holy Land.

Gregory, exasperated upon hearing that Frederic had presumed to depart for the Holy Land before he had made his peace with the church, wrote to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the master of the holy sepulchre, to have no communication with the emperor, and to give him no assistance.

assistance [c]. He likewise excited the associated cities of Lombardy to violate the late pacification, and to attack those of the imperial faction. In order to force the imperialists to evacuate the March of Ancona, he assembled a large army, which he sent against the kingdom, under the command of his legate Pandulph, and the exiled barons, Roger, count of Fondi, and Thomas, count of Celano. The army, which was distinguished by the name of the Militia of Christ, quickly reduced several strong castles on the frontiers. The soldiers, instead of a cross, wore two keys upon their cloaths. Having but an inconsiderable army to oppose them, they reduced many cities and towns; and, in imitation of the Saracens of the imperial army, burnt several places, and pillaged the inhabitants. A.D 1229. *The pope invades Apulia.*

Frederic finding it impossible to act with vigour against the infidels, as the crusards refused to obey him, and being informed that the papal army had conquered a great part of his dominions in Italy, concluded a peace with the soltan for ten years, and in the end of May returned with two gallies to Brindisi. Upon his arrival he immediately proposed an accommodation to the pope, and wrote to all his faithful subjects, promising to march directly to their assistance. His proposal being rejected, he immediately began his march for Terra di Lavoro, and having many German crusards in his army, who had followed him to Italy, in less than three months recovered almost all his dominions, with little or no opposition. His quick progress alarming the pope, he at last consented to treat of peace; and the negociations being begun in the end of November, a cessation of hostilities in some measure took place. The principal negotiators were the archbishop of Reggio, and the master of the Teutonic order, who, after several journies betwixt the emperor and the pope, composed certain articles for the treaty, which Frederic would by no means agree to, as the church pretended to retain Gaeta and St. Agatha. On this account the peace was retarded several weeks; however, that article being left in suspence, the emperor at length, by the persuasion of Walo or Qualdo, a Dominican, accepted of the treaty, and on the 22d of July swore in the church of St. Germano, to satisfy the pope in all the points for which he had been excommunicated. He was solemnly absolved from the sentence of excommunication by the bishop of Sa- *Frederic returns to Italy.* A.D. 1230. *Concludes a peace with the pope;*

[c] Giannone ut supra.

binæ; and on the firſt of September entered Anagni, where he had ſeveral conferences, for three days, with the pope, who entertained him with great kindneſs, and invited him to dine at the ſame table with himſelf.

Frederic having made peace with Gregory, publiſhed a volume of laws for the government of his hereditary dominions; which conſtitutions for a long time after were held in great eſteem. About the ſame time he ſent a ſmall reinforcement of troops to the Holy Land: ordered ſtrict inquiſition to be made after a ſect of heretics called Patareni, who held private conventicles, and were very numerous over all Italy, particularly in Naples; and ſeized all the poſſeſſions of the knights Templars and Hoſpitalers in his kingdom for his own uſe [d]. As the pacification betwixt him and the pope had not reſtored tranquillity to Lombardy, but the two oppoſite factions ſtill continued their hoſtilities againſt each other with great animoſity, he prevailed on the pope to ſend two legates thither, to perſuade the rebellious Guelf cities to return to his obedience. He likewiſe appointed a general diet to be held ſoon after at Ravenna, whither he went, attended only by his courtiers; that he might give no cauſe of ſuſpicion to the Lombards, and having written to his ſon Henry to come to the diet, celebrated his Chriſtmas with great magnificence. Though the pope ſeemed to intereſt himſelf for the repoſe of Italy, yet the negociations of his legates were ineffectual: the aſſociated cities not only neglected to appear at Ravenna, but aſſembling an army, oppoſed the paſſage of Henry, and attacked the cities of the imperial party. Frederic, on this account, laying aſide all thoughts of peace, went from Ravenna to Venice, and from thence to Aquileia, where, in a conference with his ſon Henry, and the German nobles, he ſettled a plan for the operations of the war [e].

A.D. 1232.

*who endeavours to reconcile the aſſociated cities of Lombardy to the emperor.*

From Aquileia he returned by ſea in the month of April, to Apulia; and ſuſpecting, from the diſpoſition of the Lombards, that the peace with the pope would not be of long continuance, he cauſed all the cities on the borders of Campania to be ſtrongly fortified. In the mean time the city of Meſſina in Sicily revolted, on account of the oppreſſion of the chief juſticiary, and his army in Paleſtine was defeated by John de Baruch, who likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Acon. Frederic wrote to the pope, deſiring him to order the maſters of the knights Templars and Hoſ-

[d] Richard. Chron. [e] Sigon. ut ſupra. Spond. Annal.

pitalers

pitalers to aſſume the chief command in Paleſtine, promiſing to reſtore all the poſſeſſions of theſe two orders that he had lately ſeized [f]. To quiet the diſorders in Sicily, he went thither, and after having puniſhed the chiefs of the ſedition in Meſſina with death, he reduced the caſtle, whither the rebels had retired, which he entirely deſtroyed. He cauſed the caſtles in Frani, Bari, Naples, and Brindiſi, to be fortified; ſent a governor to the city of Gaeta, which at laſt conſented to take the oath of allegiance to him and his ſon Conrad. As the Saracens of Lucera had ſerved him with great fidelity in his war with the pope, he ordered that city to be enlarged and fortified, and even connived at ſeveral outrages which the infidels committed, ſo far as to allow them to pull down a church, and carry off the materials, on which account he received a threatening letter from Gregory [g]. During his reſidence at Meſſina, he publiſhed ſeveral edicts for the encouragement of commerce: he alſo ordered general courts and aſſizes to be held twice a year in certain provinces of the kingdom, when it ſhould be lawful for any one to lay his complaints againſt the judges, or any other magiſtrate, before the king's deputy.

A.D. 1233. *Frederic puniſhes ſome rebels in Sicily.*

Having ſettled the affairs of Sicily, he returned in the month of February to Italy, where he applied himſelf to re-eſtabliſh the univerſity of Naples, the flouriſhing ſtate of which had been greatly interrupted by his war with the pope. About the ſame time, Gregory being expelled by the Romans, who had aſſembled a numerous army, and attacked ſome cities in the pope's intereſt, Frederic marched in perſon to his aſſiſtance; and having left a garriſon in Viterbo, inveſted the city of Raſpampano, which was held by the rebels. Two months after, however, he raiſed the ſiege, and returned in September with great part of his army to Apulia, and he is accuſed by ſome writers of having entered into a private correſpondence with the rebels [h]. Great numbers of Germans, nevertheleſs, continuing in the pay of Gregory, they ſurpriſed the Roman army, and gaining a complete victory, obliged the rebels to ſubmit.

*He aſſiſts the pope againſt the Romans.*

Frederic, in the mean time, hearing of the rebellion of his eldeſt ſon Henry, went the following ſpring with his ſon Conrad into Germany. Having quickly obliged his ſon to ſubmit, he carried him priſoner to Worms, where,

A.D. 1235. *Reduces his rebellious ſon Henry in Germany.*

[f] Richard. Chron. Bos. Hiſt. Hoſpital. lib. xvii. Annal. [g] Spond. [h] Blond. dec. vii. lib. ii. Platin. in Greg. IX.

in the month of July, he married Isabel, the daughter of the king of England. Soon after he sent Henry prisoner into Apulia. Having caused Conrad to be elected king of Germany, and to be crowned in Cologn, he returned with him to Italy, and presented him to the pope at Rieti, where he endeavoured to persuade Gregory to assist him against the associated cities of Lombardy. The pope's views were very different from those of the emperor; he therefore dissuaded him from bringing a German army into Italy, by promising to use his utmost endeavours for an accommodation, at the same time reminding him that the truce with the soltan was near expired, and that he intended another general crusade to the Holy Land. Frederic, not satisfied with this discourse, returned immediately to Germany, and in the beginning of the following year published a letter, appointing a general diet to be held in the month of July at Parma. Having assembled a formidable army at Augsburgh, in the month of June, he passed the Alps, notwithstanding the opposition of the confederate army, and arrived at Verona; from whence he proceeded to Cremona. He then held the diet at Parma; and the confederates still refusing to submit, it was resolved to prosecute the war against them with vigour. After having dismissed the assembly, the imperialists ravaged the territories belonging to the allies; and on the first of November took Vicenza, which was pillaged and burnt. Frederic, duke of Austria, in the mean time raising a rebellion in Germany, the emperor repassed the Alps, and having reduced the duke, returned in the following autumn to Italy; when being joined by ten thousand Saracens, he gained a complete victory over the allies at Cortenuovo; in consequence of which all the associated cities surrendered to him, except Milan, Bologna, Alexandria, and Brescia [1].

A.D. 1236.

*Returns to Lombardy with an army.*

The emperor after this victory returned in triumph to Cremona. The war, however, still continued; for Gregory, who had long been jealous of the emperor's power, now openly attached himself to the associated cities, and next year sent legates to the king of Arragon, inviting him to come to the relief of Italy, offering him one hundred and fifty thousand imperial pounds, and to declare him lord of Lombardy, if he would engage in the war against Frederic. This embassy proving ineffectual, and Frederic growing still more formidable in Italy, Gregory

[1] Sigon. in Regn. Ital. Epist. Petr. de Vin. Richard. Chron.

denounced

denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, on Holy Thursday, under pretence that he had violated the rights of the church, by giving the island of Sardinia, with the title of king, to his natural son Hentius, though that island was known to be a fief of the see of Rome [k]. Frederic immediately wrote to the princes of Europe in his own justification, and published several other letters against the pope, whom he accused of many crimes. At the same time he renewed the war in Lombardy with great fury, and recalling Hentius from Sardinia, ordered him to invade the March of Ancona. Having ravaged the March of Treviso and the Milanese, he left strong garrisons in Lombardy, and marched, in the beginning of the year, towards Rome; but being prevented by the Romans from making himself master of the city, he laid waste their territory, and proceeded to Apulia. A.D. 1239. *He is excommunicated by the pope.*

Both parties still continued to reproach each other with great bitterness in their public manifestoes; but Gregory, not receiving that assistance from the kings of France and England which he expected, published letters for convoking a general council the following Easter at Rome, as the most proper means for procuring a peace. Frederic, who had ordered Benevento to be besieged, and was then investing Faenza, consented to the calling of a council, and agreed to a truce with the pope till the conclusion of that assembly [l]; but refused to grant a cessation of arms to the confederates. A few weeks after, however, he thought proper to revoke his assent, and declared publicly, by letters, that he would not grant his safe-conduct to any bishops coming to the council, but would treat them as his enemies. This threat he effectually fulfilled the following year, by taking three cardinal legates, and a great number of French and English archbishops and bishops prisoners, who were going, on board thirty Genoese gallies, to Rome. About the same time he made himself master of Faenza, and likewise reduced Benevento, the fortifications of which he ordered to be destroyed. Not contented with taxing the ecclesiastics, he seized on the treasure of all the churches of his kingdom, expelled all foreign monks, and ordered those that should be found carrying letters from the pope into his dominions to be put to death. After the reduction of Faenza, he ravaged the territories of Fano, Assisi, and Pe- A.D. 1240.

[k] Sigon. [l] Idem ibid. Math. Paris.

saro, took possession of Spoleto and Narni, and, at the desire of cardinal Colonna, who had revolted from the pope, advanced towards Rome, putting a garrison in Tivoli, and seizing several castles in the neighbourhood of the city.

A.D. 1242. His enemy Gregory in the mean time was so affected with the captivity of the prelates, and the bad success of the war, that he died, at Rome, on the 21st of August, being near a hundred years of age. His successor Celestin IV. survived his election only eighteen days. A few weeks after his death, the empress Isabel died at Foggia; and, about two months after, Frederic lost his eldest son Henry, who, according to Richard of St. Germano, died in prison; but, if we may believe Boccace, he threw himself over a bridge, while he was on his journey to see his father, not knowing that he had sent for him with the intention of being reconciled. The cardinals at Rome, in the mean time, from mutual ambition, delayed the election of a pope, throwing the blame on Frederic, who still detained two legates prisoners. The emperor would not allow the justness of their excuse; and, being in the neighbourhood of Rome, pressed them earnestly, by letters, to proceed to the election. As they assumed the supreme administration of ecclesiastical affairs, he sent the master of the Teutonic order, and another ambassador, to them, to treat of peace. The cardinals paying no regard to his proposals, he ravaged the territory of Rome, while his army, in the March of Ancona, took Ascoli, and the army from Naples ravaged the territory of Rieti. At last he consented to set the legates at liberty; but the cardinals still delaying the election, he assembled an army in the spring, and invested the city of Rome. He ravaged its territory, and destroyed the country seats and estates belonging to the cardinals, who, alarmed at their particular losses, intreated him to withdraw his army, and promised to proceed immediately to the election. Accordingly, on the 24th of June, they chose Innocent IV. a Genoese, who, immediately after his election, received an embassy from the emperor to treat of peace.

*The death of Gregory and of the empress.*

A.D. 1243. *Innocent IV. is elected.*

By the pope's answer to Frederic's ambassadors it was generally expected that a peace would soon be concluded; however, after Innocent had published his preliminary articles, the hopes of a negociation vanished, as they were absolutely rejected by the emperor. By this inflexibility, having lost a great many of his friends, and disgusted several cities, which deserted his party, and declared

clared for the church, he renewed his propoſals for peace; and, on Holy Thurſday, his ambaſſadors ſwore in his name, that he would refer himſelf entirely to the judgment of the pope, as to all the injuries that he had done to the church and the clergy. Reflecting, however, ſoon after, upon the extenſiveneſs of this conceſſion, and that he thereby put himſelf wholly under the power of the pope, he refuſed to be bound by the oath of his plenipotentiaries, and endeavoured to ſurpriſe and ſeize Innocent, who, being informed of his deſign, left Rome, and went by ſea to Genoa, from thence, in the end of the year, he paſſed through Savoy to Lyons, where he appointed a general council, to be held the following year, at Midſummer [m]. The council was very numerous, and Thaddeus de Seſſa, one of the emperor's deputies, juſtified his maſter with great ſpirit and reſolution. Nevertheleſs, Innocent, in the end of the third ſeſſion, with great formality, denounced a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt Frederic, and ordered the electors of the empire to proceed to a new election, declaring that he reſerved to himſelf the diſpoſal of the kingdom of Sicily. A D. 1245. *Excommunicates and depoſes the emperor.*

Frederic, nevertheleſs, was ſtill acknowledged as emperor by the Chriſtian princes. A ſmall party in Germany, indeed, elected the landgrave of Thuringia as emperor, who was killed in leſs than a year; and, by the intrigues of two cardinals, whom the pope ſent into Apulia, ſeveral barons had revolted, and taken poſſeſſion of Capaccio, and other caſtles in that kingdom. Frederic, on that account, left his ſon Hentius in Lombardy, and marched into Apulia. The barons, who had conſpired againſt him, had formerly been his moſt intimate friends; but being corrupted by the pope, they had formed a conſpiracy in the ſpring of aſſaſſinating him at Groſſeto, on the coaſt of Tuſcany. Their plot, however, being diſcovered, many of them were immediately ſeized, and others fled to their aſſociates in Apulia. Though they made a vigorous defence againſt the emperor's forces, yet about the end of July they were forced to ſubmit; when many of them were put to cruel deaths, and even their relations, within the fourth or fifth degree, were puniſhed as traitors [n]. Frederic immediately publiſhed an account of the conſpiracy, which he attributed to the in- A.D. 1246. *Encourages a conſpiracy againſt his life.*

[m] Id. ibid. [n] Math. Paris. hoc an. Collenut. Hiſt. Neap. lib. iv.

trigues

rigues of the pope [o]; and, in return, according to Matthew Paris, hired two assassins to murder Innocent.

Having quieted the insurrection in Apulia, he returned the following year to Pisa, and went afterwards to Turin, with the design of proceeding to Lyons, to be reconciled to the pope, according to Sigonius and Collenutius [p]. But Matthew Paris, Blondus, Naucletus, and other Italian and German authors affirm he intended to attack the pope, as the duke of Burgundy, and many French nobles, had then entered into an association in defence of their privileges, against the pope and clergy [q]. He had hardly arrived at the foot of the Alps, when being informed that the Guelph exiles had recovered Parma, he immediately returned to besiege that important place. The confederates, sensible of its importance, had repaired its fortifications, and strengthened it with a numerous garrison. The emperor invested the place about the middle of August, with an army of sixty thousand men, and being fully bent upon ruining the besieged, he fortified his camp like a city, and gave it the name of Victoria. Next year, however, on the 18th of February, his new city was surprised and taken by the besieged, who having killed or taken prisoners the greatest part of his army, enriched themselves with immense booty.

*Parma is surprised by the Guelphs.*

*The affairs of the emperor decline.*

The affairs of Frederic after this defeat sensibly declined, for the pope and his confederates were every day strengthened by new allies; his competitor in Germany, William, count of Holland, took Aix la Chapelle from his son Conrad, where, on the 1st of November, he received the imperial crown; in the month of May, of the following year, his son Hentius was entirely defeated and taken prisoner by the Bolognese, who, after the victory, reduced several cities and castles of Lombardy and Romagna, particularly the city of Modena. In order to repair these losses, Frederic made great preparations for attacking the Bolognese. He called over a large body of Saracens from Barbary, and laid a heavy poll-tax upon his subjects, which they were obliged to pay under pain of being sent to the gallies. He was prevented, however, from executing his intended expedition by his death, which happened on the 13th of December, at Fiorentino,

A.D. 1250.

*He dies in Apulia.*

[o] Petr. de Vin. lib. ii. epist. 10. 20. 51, 52. lib. iii. 18. 62, &c. [p] Sigon. ut supra. [q] Hoc an. Blond. dec. ii. lib. vii. Naucler. Gener. 42. Fazel. dec. ii. lib. viii.

a castle

a caſtle near Lucera[r]. According to Cuſpinianus and others, it was ſuppoſed that he was poiſoned by his natural ſon Manfred, who being afraid leſt he ſhould recover, ſmothered him with a bolſter in the night-time[s]. Upon his death-bed, he profeſſed his ſorrow for his breach with the church, and the injuries he had done to the eccleſiaſtics; having made a penitential confeſſion to the archbiſhop of Palermo, he received from him abſolution and the viaticum[t]; and, according to Matthew Paris, before his death he aſſumed the habit of a Ciſtertian monk[u].

*Conrad ſucceeds as ſovereign to all his dominions.*

Frederic by his laſt will left his eldeſt ſon Conrad heir of the empire, and of all his other dominions, particularly of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. If he ſhould die without iſſue, Henry his other ſon was to ſucceed; in caſe of whoſe death, it was to devolve upon his natural ſon Manfred; who, in the mean time, was to enjoy the principality of Tarento, with the counties of Monteſcaglioſo, Trecarico, Gravina, and Monte St. Angelo. The duchies of Auſtria and Stiria, with ten thouſand ounces of gold, were given to Frederic his grandſon, by his deceaſed ſon Henry. During the abſence of Conrad from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Manfred was declared bailie or regent, with ſupreme power, and till the ſucceſſion ſhould be open for Henry, he was to enjoy the kingdom of Jeruſalem[w].

Upon the death of Frederic, Conrad being abſent in Germany, Manfred immediately aſſumed the adminiſtration of the government. Being informed that the pope had ſent emiſſaries into the kingdom, deſiring all the cities and barons to pay their allegiance to the holy ſee, he ſent his brother Henry to govern Calabria and Sicily, and going in perſon towards Naples, deſired them to acknowlege Conrad[x]. The Neapolitans expreſly declared, that they were tired of the war, and would acknowlege no king that did not come with the papal benediction and inveſtiture. Their example was followed by the Capuans, A.D. 1251. ſome other cities, and many barons of the kingdom; ſo that immediately ſeveral parties appeared in arms for the pope, under the banner of the church. Manfred, however, making a progreſs through the kingdom, with a

*A great party in Apulia declare for the pope.*

r Spinell. Ephemerid. Neap. apud Murator. tom. vii. p. 1068.
s Cuſpinian. de Cæſar Villani. Richard. &c. t Albert. Studenſ.
u Math. Paris, ut ſupra. See the Hiſtory of the German Empire.
w Teſtam. Fred. apud Giannone.
x Nicolai de Jamſilla. Chron. apud Murator. tom. viii.

large

large body of Saracens, confirmed many cities in their allegiance to Conrad, took Nola and Aversa, ravaged the territories of Capua, and left Saracen garrisons in the cities of the Principato and Basilicata.

A few months after, the emperor Conrad arrived with a powerful army at Verona. Having continued some time in Lombardy, and held a diet of the cities in his interest in the neighbourhood of Mantua, he embarked with his army on board a Venetian fleet at Friuli, and in the end of the year arrived at the ancient city of Siponto, in Apulia, where he was met by his brother Manfred, whom he received in the most affectionate manner[y]. But, in a little time, he began to be jealous of his great abilities and authority. In order to lessen his power he published an edict, revoking all the grants made by the last will of his father, or since his death, and persuaded Manfred, as an example to other barons, to resign the city of Brindisi, and the counties of Monte St. Angelo, Gravina, Tricarico, and Montescaglioso. He likewise impoverished the principality of Tarento by a heavy tax, turned out the justiciary appointed by Manfred, and allowed the prince the supreme jurisdiction in the principality only in civil cases. Manfred, pretending not to perceive his design, submitted to these edicts without opposition, and with the same zeal as formerly assisted his brother in reducing the counts of Aquino, who had declared for the pope. The Germans and Saracens acting in conjunction, quickly reduced the rebels in those parts; and having taken and burnt Aquino, Sessa, St. Germano, and several other castles in the neighbourhood, they proceeded to Capua, which immediately surrendered without resistance. After the submission of Capua, Conrad marched against Naples, and according to Spinello, a contemporary writer, invested the city on the first of December. As the pope a few weeks after sent a nuncio to him, to intercede for the Neapolitans, Conrad, in contempt, desired him to concern himself with those who wore shaven crowns; and to encourage the Germans and Saracens to act with vigour, he promised three months pay extraordinary to that nation that should first enter the city. His army being reinforced by a great many Apulian barons, and the Neapolitans being disappointed of assistance from the pope, he at last made himself master of the city, in the end of September; when, contrary to the capitulation, he al-

*Conrad arrives with a German army in Apulia;*

A.D. 1252.

*and makes himself master of Naples.*

[y] Chron. Veron. ibid. Spinell. Ephemer. ut supra.

lowed

lowed it to be plundered by his soldiers, and ordered the fortifications to be entirely destroyed. After he had continued two months in the city, punishing the rebellious citizens with great severity, he appointed a parliament to be held in the following year at Melphis, and went to Barletta, where he received the submission of the barons of Terra di Bari.

Mean while Innocent, who upon the death of Frederic had immediately returned to Italy, used his utmost endeavours to suppress the Ghibelline faction, and oppose the pretensions of Conrad, both in Germany and Italy. He again excommunicated him and his adherents, ordered a crusade to be preached against him, in favour of William, count of Holland, with greater indulgences than that for the Holy Land; and, persuaded that it would be impossible to unite the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the possessions of the church, he resolved to oppose a powerful prince to him, and offered the investiture of the kingdom to Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England. His offer being rejected by that prince, he entered into a negociation with the count of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, who was then in the Holy Land; but though the count had ambitiously offered his service to the pope, he was prevented by his relations from concluding the treaty [z].

*The pope offers the kingdom to the earl of Cornwall.*

During these intrigues of the pope, Conrad, in the month of February, held a parliament at Melphis, when an edict was published for raising thirty thousand ounces of gold, which the subjects submitted to pay rather than be oppressed with quartering the Germans and Saracens [a]. Whilst he continued at Melphis, he was visited by his brother Henry, then about twelve years of age, who died soon after, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his means [b]. Upon the death of Henry, who was the son of the empress Isabel, sister of the king of England, his uncle Henry III. entered into a negociation with the pope, that if he would absolve him from his vow of a crusade, and confer Sicily on his son Edmund, he would employ all the forces of England against Conrad, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his nephew [c]. This second negociation, however, had no effect. Conrad in the mean time took and destroyed Ascoli, Garegnone, Celenza, and Bitunto; and if the prince of Tarento had not

A.D. 1253.

A.D 1254.

*Conrad reduces Apulia.*

[z] Vita Innocent. apud Murator. tom. iii. p. 592. [a] Spinell. ut supra. [b] Math. Paris. [c] Vita Innocent. ut supra.

inter-

interpoſed, would have ravaged all Calabria, Baſilicata, and Principato. Having forced the Apulians to ſubmit, in the end of the year he ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, with a propoſal for an accommodation with the pope; which was rejected by Innocent, who ſoon after renewed the ſentence of excommunication againſt him. Conrad ſurvived this fulmination but a few months, and died of a fever near Lavello, on the 21ſt of May, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age. Villani, and ſeveral other hiſtorians ſay, that he was poiſoned by his brother Manfred; but Spinello and Nicolas de Jamſilla, contemporary writers, are entirely ſilent as to that particular.

*His death.*

*His infant ſon Conrad is declared heir.*

Conrad, by his laſt will, left his infant ſon Conradin, or Conrad, then in Germany, his heir; and during his minority appointed Berthold de Honebruch regent of the kingdom, deſiring him to uſe all poſſible means to procure for the young prince the favour of the apoſtolic ſee. Manfred, before the emperor's death, declined the office of regent, which he obſerved was coveted by Berthold, who, though a man of ſmall abilities, was ſupported by the intereſt of all the Germans. The new regent immediately ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring the protection of the apoſtolic ſee for the young prince. Innocent imagining this embaſſy was owing rather to the weakneſs of the party than to the will of the deceaſed king, anſwered peremptorily that he would be maſter of the kingdom, which, by the ſentence of depoſition pronounced againſt Frederic at the council of Lyons, had devolved to the church; but that Conradin nevertheleſs, when he came of age, ſhould be heard as to his pretenſions to that fief [d]. As Innocent at the ſame time made great preparations for invading the kingdom, to which ſtep he was encouraged by many exiled barons, and other malecontents, Berthold in great terror reſigned the regency to Manfred, who at firſt made great difficulty of accepting of it; but being much intreated, and Berthold, with the Germans, and all the loyal party, taking the oath of fidelity to Conrad, and to him as regent, with this expreſs clauſe, that if Conrad ſhould die without children, they would acknowlege him as king, he conſented to aſſume the adminiſtration, and immediately prepared to oppoſe Innocent. But as he received little or no aſſiſtance from Berthold, was excommunicated by the pope, and a general ſpirit prevailed both among Sicilians and Apulians, of becom-

*The pope claims the kingdom as a fief devolved to the church.*

[d] Nicolai de Jamſill. Chron. ubi ſupra.

ing

ing subjects to the church, he thought it most prudent to make no opposition to the pope's army. He even invited Innocent to assume the guardianship of the young prince, and to enter the kingdom, without, however, doing prejudice to the rights of Conrad or of himself.

Innocent, upon his arrival at Naples, paid no regard to this stipulation, but immediately published briefs, ordering all the barons and deputies of the cities in the kingdom to come to him, and take the oath of allegiance to the church[e]. Manfred, however, still continued with him for some time; but at last, under pretence of going to meet the marquis of Honebruch, who was coming with some Germans from Apulia, he left the pope, and having on his journey killed Bunello di Anglone, who was waylaying him, and had obtained the investiture of part of his principality from Innocent, he fled to Lucera, where, on the 2d of November, he was received with great honour by the Saracens. He immediately began to assemble some troops; and great numbers of Germans flocking to him from all parts of Apulia, and even from the marquis Berthold, and from the army of the pope's legate, in a few weeks he found himself at the head of a small army, with which he attacked and defeated the papal forces in Foggia, and struck such a terror into the legate, who was then at Troja, that he abandoned that city in great confusion. Innocent dying at Naples a few days after this action, the papal party was thrown into great confusion; which Manfred taking the advantage of, reduced Rapollo, Bari, Trani, Melphis, and all Apulia, excepting some cities of Terra d'Otranto, which still held out for the church.

*Manfred attacks and disperses part of his army.*

At the intreaty of his friends he consented, in the beginning of the following year, to send ambassadors to Alexander IV. the successor of Innocent, to treat of peace. The conferences, however, had no effect. Alexander giving the command of his army to cardinal Octavian, who had distinguished himself as a general in the wars in Lombardy, and retiring to Anagni, denounced a sentence of excommunication against Manfred, who, in the mean time, was reducing the cities on the coast of Otranto, and endeavouring to quell a revolt in Calabria, occasioned by Peter Rosso, who had been governor of Calabria and Sicily several years, but had lately been expelled by the Sicilians on account of his insolence and oppression. Peter, who had hitherto refused to acknowlege Manfred as re-

A.D. 1255.

*He is excommunicated by Alexander IV.*

[e] Spinell. ut supra.

gent,

gent, now entirely abandoned the king's party; and in order to recover his former power, began to treat with the pope about putting Calabria into his hands. Manfred being informed of his deſign, ſent ſome troops to ſecure Calabria, and marched from the ſiege of Oria towards Melphis, to oppoſe Octavian, and endeavoured in vain to draw him to a general engagement. Though his army was greatly inferior to that of the pope, yet he prevented the legate from advancing in the kingdom; but at length agreeing to a truce for a ſhort time, Octavian, while the prince had withdrawn his army, ſurpriſed Foggia. Manfred immediately returned and inveſted the city, which was quickly reduced to ſo great diſtreſs, that Octavian conſented to a peace, which was accordingly concluded on theſe conditions; that Manfred ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom for himſelf and his nephew Conradin, except Terra di Lavoro, which was to be yielded to the pope; but if Alexander rejected the treaty, it ſhould be lawful for Manfred ſtill to claim that province [f].

Manfred, at the deſire of the legate, allowed all the baniſhed barons to return to the kingdom and enjoy their eſtates. Alexander, however, refuſed to ratify the treaty of his legate, and ſent the biſhop of Bologna to England, who, upon large promiſes of aſſiſtance from Henry, gave the inveſtiture of the kingdom to his ſon Edmund [g]. Manfred in the mean time, having obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, held a parliament in the following
A.D.1256. February at Barletta, when he conferred the principality of Salerno on his uncle Gualvano Lancia, gave the county of Squillace to another uncle, and condemned the marquis of Berthold and his brothers to perpetual impriſonment, on account of a conſpiracy they had formed againſt him, after they had been reſtored to their eſtates. The parliament being diſſolved, Manfred marched towards Naples, to recover Terra di Lavoro. The Neapolitans hearing of his approach, ſent meſſengers to him, inviting him to their city, and upon his arrival received him with great pomp and acclamation. The prince behaved to them with great generoſity, pardoned all thoſe who for ſeveral years paſt had been enemies to the houſe of Suabia, repaired the public edifices at his own expence, and conferred honours and places on many of the chief men of the city. He immediately after made himſelf maſter of all Terra di Lavoro, from whence he marched to Capitanata,

[f] Nicol. de Jamſill. ut ſupra. [g] Mat. Paris.

and

and then to Brindisi. Having quelled a sedition in this city, he took and destroyed Ariano, and then passed over to Sicily, which island, by means of one of his uncles, had been prevailed upon to declare for Conrad. A.D.1258.

*Manfred passes over to Palermo, where he is crowned.*

After Manfred had continued several months at Palermo, a report was published, that Conradin was dead in Germany. This report, though false, prevailing over all the kingdom, the Apulian barons and prelates immediately repaired to Palermo, and unanimously elected Manfred king, who was accordingly crowned on the 11th of August, in the cathedral church of that city. This is the account of Nicholas de Jamsilla, a contemporary writer; but Villani, and the authors of the Guelf faction say, that Manfred, having failed in several attempts to cause his nephew to be poisoned, employed pretended messengers to bring the false news of his death. However this be, immediately after his coronation he conferred offices and presents on the barons, and advanced many of them to the honour of knighthood. Upon his return to Apulia, finding all the provinces in perfect tranquillity, he held a parliament in Barletta, where he created several knights, and gave the investiture to some counts. Soon after he held another parliament at Foggia, when he promoted many others to honours, and entertained his nobles with magnificent feasts, games, and illuminations.

As he had now repulsed the papal army, and entirely quieted the kingdom, which seemed to acquiesce with pleasure under his government, as he had distinguished himself by his clemency, generosity, and love of justice, he resolved to transfer the seat of war into the territories of his enemy. For that purpose, in the following year, he sent a great part of his army to Lombardy and the March of Ancona, to support the Ghibelline faction, of which he openly declared himself the protector, appointing the marquis Pallavicini his vicar in Lombardy, Jordanus di Anglono, count of St. Severino, in Tuscany, and Percival d'Oria in Ancona. Alexander, in the mean time, incessantly urged the king of England to send an army into Italy; but finding it impossible to engage Henry to espouse his quarrel, and being exasperated at the prosperity of Manfred, he again excommunicated him, declared him a sacrilegious usurper of the rights of the church, and deposed him from all his honours. He interdicted all the cities and castles that should receive him, or acknowlege him as king, and excommunicated and deposed all those prelates that had assisted at his coronation. A.D.1259.

*Sends troops to Lombardy to the assistance of the Ghibellines.*

These thunderbolts, however, were not in the least regarded, either by Manfred or his subjects. He now lived at ease, and in great splendor, employing himself in embellishing his kingdom, and diverting himself in the maritime cities of Apulia, particularly at Barletta, where he received an embassy from the duke of Bavaria, and Margaret, the mother of Conradin. The German ambassadors informed him that Conradin was still alive, desired him to lay aside the title of king, and to punish those who invented the news of the young prince's death. Manfred received the ambassadors with great honour, and told them, that he himself had made a conquest of the kingdom from two popes, after it had been entirely lost as to Conrad; that to resign the title of king would be only strengthening the pope's party, as the Apulians had an aversion to the government of the Germans; that the queen ought to send young Conrad to be educated in Italy, and that upon his death he would leave him the kingdom. Manfred dismissed the ambassadors with rich presents for Conradin and the duke of Bavaria; and soon after he received a visit from his relation the despot of Morea, who, in the beginning of the following year, went to Rome, to offer his mediation for a peace betwixt the pope and Manfred. Alexander, finding the power and authority of Manfred daily increasing, offered peace, on condition that he would restore the exiles to their estates, and dismiss the Saracens; which terms were rejected with disdain by the king, who even brought over other Saracens from Barbary, whom, in the month of July, he sent to ravage the Campania di Roma[h]. He began not only to be respected in Italy, but by foreign princes. James, king of Arragon, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, entered into an alliance with him, and concluded a marriage betwixt his son Peter and Constantia, the king of Sicily's eldest daughter. Manfred married another of his daughters to the marquis of Monferrat, and, as a perpetual memorial of his name, founded a new city at the foot of Monte Gargano, on the Adriatic coast, which he called Manfredonia, ordering Siponto, on account of its unhealthy situation, to be destroyed, and its inhabitants to repair thither. About the same time his authority in Italy was more fully established, by a complete victory which his forces in Tuscany gained over the Florentine Guelfs, in consequence of which the city of Florence, then re-

*Manfred gains a signal victory in Tuscany.*

[h] Mat. Paris.

markably

markably rich and affluent, took the oath of allegiance to his Sicilian majesty.

The continual prosperity of Manfred greatly chagrined Alexander, who died next year, in the month of May, at Viterbo. His successor Urban IV. was a native of France, a man of great abilities, and a zealous promoter of the pretensions of the court of Rome, consequently a bitter enemy to Manfred and the Ghibellines. Soon after his promotion, he solicited the king of Arragon to break off the match already concluded betwixt his son and Manfred's eldest daughter. His endeavours, however, were fruitless; for as Manfred had no male issue, the king of Arragon hoped by the marriage to unite Sicily to his dominions; and sending his gallies to Naples, he conducted the bride to Montpellier, where, about the middle of May, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. Urban, in the mean time, was exerting himself to ruin Manfred. He summoned him to appear at the court of Rome, to answer for his many crimes. Though this citation was not notified to him, but only affixed to the doors of the churches of Civita Vecchia, where the pope then was, Manfred, nevertheless, sent ambassadors to the pope, to justify his conduct, and to ask a safe conduct for himself. Urban, without granting the demand of his ambassadors, or paying any regard to what they alleged in his vindication, solemnly excommunicated him, and published a general crusade against him; in consequence of which, a large body of French crusards entered Italy, and joining the Guelfs, defeated the marquis Pallavicini in Lombardy. Manfred advanced with his army to Campania di Roma, from whence, however, he soon retreated beyond the Garigliano, to avoid an engagement with the French, who were prevented from advancing by an insurrection at Rome, whither they were recalled by the pope. Upon their retreating, Manfred repassed the Garigliano with the Saracens, to the assistance of the rebellious Romans, a motion which obliged the pope to fly to Civita Vecchia and the crusards not receiving their pay, returned discontented to France[1].

A.D. 1262.

*Urban IV publishes a crusade against Manfred;*

Urban, in the mean time, had made an offer of the crown of Sicily to St. Lewis for one of his sons; but that conscientious prince refused to invade the right of another.

A.D 1263.

*and confers the kingdom of Sicily on the count of Anjou.*

[1] Summont. Hist. Neapol. lib. ii. Rainald. ad an. 1262. Costanzo Hist. Neap.

other. Upon this refusal, the pope ordered his legate to enter into a negociation with St. Lewis's brother, Charles, count of Anjou, who, in right of his wife, was in possession of Provence, Languedoc, and great part of Piedmont. This ambitious prince even prevailed with St. Lewis at last to countenance his expedition. This remarkable treaty was immediately published in Italy, and greatly alarmed Manfred and the Ghibelline party. Though Charles, with great ardour, prepared every thing for his Italian expedition, his march was delayed for some time by the death of Urban, which happened the following year, in the beginning of October. Clement IV. the successor of Urban, was born in the territories of the count of Anjou, and, before he had entered into sacred orders, had been privy counsellor to St. Lewis. He was therefore attached with great zeal to the French cause, and immediately after his coronation, pressed Charles to hasten his expedition; but at the same time clogged the bull of investiture with many articles and conditions, to the prejudice of the royal authority, and to the advancement of the prerogative of the apostolic see (D). Charles having celebrated his Easter with his brother St. Lewis, left Paris, and set out for Marseilles, where he embarked with a thousand French and Provençal cavaliers, having ordered his wife and his army to proceed by land into Italy. Though Manfred had fitted out a fleet of eighty gallies to intercept him, he was so fortunate as to pass unobserved, and, in the month of May, arrived at Rome, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and

A.D. 1265.

*Clement IV. concludes a new treaty with the count;*

*who arrives at Rome.*

(D) The chief of these articles, according to Summontes, Rainaldus, and Inveges, are the following: that Charles should do homage to the church of Rome for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which on no account should be divided; that during the minority of a prince, the pope should be regent and guardian; that the kingdom should never be united to the empire, nor governed by a prince that was emperor; that the king should pay yearly a quit-rent of eight thousand ounces of gold, and a white horse, besides five thousand marks sterling every six months to the church of Rome; that all statutes enacted against ecclesiastical immunity should be repealed; and that the king should enter into no alliance against the church (1).

(1) Summonte Hist. Neap. Inveges Annal. Palerm. Rainald. ad ann. 1265.

continued

continued several months waiting for the arrival of his army.

Manfred, in the mean time, was preparing, with the utmost diligence to oppose the invaders. He recalled his troops from Lombardy, made new levies in Apulia, sent immediately for two thousand horse from Germany, to whom he promised double pay for six months; and to secure the fidelity of the barons, assembled them at Benevento, where he represented to them that the French came not to save the nation, but to rob them of their property [k]. The barons promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but upon the dismission of the parliament, they entered into secret correspondence with count Charles, who had assumed the supreme authority at Rome in quality of senator, to which dignity he had been promoted the year before by the Romans, who at this time governed their state independently of the pope.

About the end of December, the French army arriving at Rome in a most miserable plight, to the number of sixty thousand men [l], Charles borrowed large sums from the Roman merchants for the relief of his troops, and likewise solicited the pope for farther subsidies, though Urban had already granted him considerable sums, which he had borrowed from the Florentine merchants, and raised by mortgaging the revenues and wealth of almost all the churches in Rome for three years. Charles, after having been solemlny crowned with his wife on the feast of Epiphany, in St. Peter's church, began his march for Naples. The count of Caserta, through treachery, abandoning the bridge of Ceperano, he entered the kingdom without opposition, and, advancing to St Germano, took the city by storm. From thence he proceeded to Benevento, and, on the 26th of Februarv, in the neighbourhood of the city, engaged Manfred, who, after a bloody and obstinate dispute, was entirely defeated and slain, the greatest part of the Apulian barons having treacherously deserted him during the action. As he died excommunicated, his body was thrown into a ditch, and covered with a heap of stones; however, pope Clement, at the persuasion of the archbishop of Cosenza, ordered the corpse to be dug up, and to be carried with extinguished

A.D. 1266.

*Is crowned king of Sicily.*

*Manfred defeated and slain by the French.*

[k] Nicol. de Jamsil. ut supra. Saba Malaspin. apud Murator. tom. viii. p. 818. [l] Saba Malaspin. ut supra. Chron. Parmens. ap. Murator. tom. ix. p. 780.

torches out of the kingdom to the banks of the Marino, where it was left expoſed to the weather [m]. Manfred, for his liberality, graceſulneſs, and courteſy, has been compared to Titus, the ſon of Veſpaſian [n]. Though he raiſed himſelf to the throne by unjuſtifiable means, yet afterwards, by his affability, generoſity, mildneſs, prudence, and courage, he acquired the love and eſteem of his ſubjects. He was a patron of the ſciences and arts, which he ſtudied himſelf with great aſſiduity, and is ſaid to have been ſkilled in philoſophy and mathematics. By his beneficence and love of juſtice he became extremely popular; ſo that he was able to ſtruggle againſt the reſentment and power of four ſucceſſive popes, who, piqued at the oppoſition he made to their uſurpations, endeavoured to repreſent him as the blackeſt monſter.

*The Apulians ſubmit to Charles.*

The death of Manfred was no ſooner publiſhed, then almoſt all the cities of both kingdoms declared for the conqueror, the people vainly imagining, that, under the French government, they would enjoy freedom and peace, and be exempted from taxes. Immediately after the battle Charles took poſſeſſion of Benevento, where the French committed all manner of exceſſes and cruelties, pillaging the churches, and filling the whole city with blood. He afterwards entered Naples, where he publiſhed a general pardon to all thoſe who would ſubmit, and ſent Philip de Montfort, with part of his army to Sicily, to overawe that iſland. After Eaſter he ſent new juſticiaries, and other officers, through all the provinces, who grievouſly oppreſſed the ſubjects with the rigorous exaction of a new tax, while the French ſoldiers, who were diſperſed through the whole kingdom, robbed and plundered the inhabitants. The poor people were ſo intimidated, that at firſt they only expreſſed their miſeries by their groans. At length they began to complain and murmur; and ſeveral counts and barons concerted meaſures with the Ghibellines in Lombardy for a revolution in favour of Conradin, the only ſurviving branch of Frederic's poſterity. Many counts repairing to Germany with the deputies of the Ghibellines and imperial cities in Italy, prevailed upon Conrad to undertake an expedition againſt king Charles; which negociation the pope was no ſooner informed of, than he publiſhed a mandate about the mid-

*Conradin aſſumes the title of king of Sicily.*

[m] Boccacio, Dante Canto iii del Purgat. Malaſpin. Villani, &c. [n] Ricciobald. ap. Summont.

dle

dle of April, prohibiting all perſons to acknowlege Conradin as king of Sicily, or to diſturb Charles in the poſſeſſion of that kingdom.

Charles, in the mean time, contracted alliances with Baldwin, the late emperor of Conſtantinople, now only in poſſeſſion of Eubœa, and with Willarduin, prince of Achaia. The emperor Baldwin, only ſon to Philip, who had the title of king of Theſſaly, married the daughter of Charles, and the only daughter of Willarduin eſpouſed Philip, Charles's ſecond ſon. The new king, about the ſame time, gave the title of prince of Salerno to his eldeſt ſon Charles, who had married Mary, the only daughter of the king of Hungary; and having eſtabliſhed his authority in Apulia, went to Tuſcany to aſſiſt the Florentine Guelfs [o]. Clement, to ſtrengthen his authority in that part of Italy, created him vicar of the empire, which was then without a head: but in Rome the ſenatorial dignity had been aſſumed by Henry, brother of the king of Caſtile, who had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Conradin. This Henry, with his brother Frederic, having been expelled Caſtile by their brother the king, on account of their frequent inſurrections againſt him, retired with a few Spaniards to Barbary, where they continued ſeveral years in the ſervice of the king of Tunis, and acquired great wealth. Henry had aſſiſted king Charles, who was his couſin, with large ſums of money; but being diſappointed in the rewards he expected for his ſervices, he went to Rome, where he ſo ſoothed the pope and the conſiſtory, that they even thought of creating him king of Sardinia. But being diſappointed in this ambitious view, he left the court of Rome, which was then at Viterbo, and prevailed on the Romans to elect him ſenator. A.D. 1267.

Conradin being preſſed by Henry to haſten his march into Italy, in the month of October arrived at Verona, with ten thouſand horſe, in contempt of the monitories and fulminations of the pope. Upon the news of his arrival in Italy, Capece, an Apulian baron, with Frederic of Caſtile, immediately ſailed over from Tunis with eight hundred men to Sicily, where they were joyfully received, and prevailed on almoſt the whole iſland, except Meſſina, Palermo, and Syracuſe, to declare for Conrad. About the ſame time the Piſan fleet gained a victory over the *Arrives with an army in Italy.*

[o] Spinel. ut ſupra. Villani. Spond. Annal.

gallies

gallies of Messina and those of Provence, off the coast of Sicily; the Saracens of Lucera, and a great many cities in Apulia, Terra d'Otranto, Capitanata, and Basilicata, declared for Conrad, and his standard was erected at Rome by Henry of Castile and the Ghibelline faction. Charles being informed of the revolt in Apulia and Sicily, immediately returned to Naples, and calling a parliament of the barons, ordered them to raise their forces and join his army.

A D. 1268. Clement, in the mean time, on Holy Thursday, denounced a sentence of excommunication against Conrad, who had now advanced to Pavia, and began hostilities against the Guelfs. From Pavia he marched to the coast of Genoa, from whence he was conducted by sea to Pisa, where he arrived in the month of May, and was received by the Pisans and Gibellines with the honours usually paid to an emperor. Having reinforced his army, and received large subsidies from the Pisans and Siennese, he proceeded to Rome, and, on the 25th of June, gained a victory near Arezzo over the Guelphs, who endeavoured to oppose his march. Don Henry and the Romans received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The army being reinforced with a considerable body of Romans, Conrad left Rome on the 10th of August, and advanced towards Naples in great confidence of success, as his army was greatly superior to that of king Charles. On the 23d of the same month a general engagement ensued, in the plains of Tagliacozzo. Charles divided his small army into three bodies, in consequence of which he gained a complete victory; for Conrad's troops, after having defeated the two first bodies, imagining they had entirely dispersed the enemy, laid aside their helmets, and began to pillage, when they were unexpectedly attacked by Charles, at the head of the third body, and wholly routed. Don Henry was taken prisoner at a monastery near Rieti, and delivered to the pope; and young Conrad, with Frederic, duke of Austria, were discovered and seized at Astura in Campania by Frangipani, who sold them to king Charles[q] (E).

*Is excommunicated.*

*He is entirely defeated by Charles, and taken prisoner.*

[q] Saba Malaspin. tom. viii. p. 850, 851.

(E) The Germans who survived the battle continued in a body, and conferring the command on one Sticho, a blacksmith of Wurtzburgh, made good their retreat to Germany, when Sticho, withdrawing himself privately from the army, returned to his forge.

The

The king having now his competitor in his power, satiated his cruel and revengeful disposition with the barbarous execution of his prisoners and rebellious subjects. Those cities which favoured Conrad were exposed without mercy to the insolence of the conquerors, who burned and destroyed Aversa, Potenza, Corneto, and almost all the villages of Apulia and Basilicata[r]. Many of the Sicilians were likewise put to death, and the inhabitants of the island were reduced in a manner to slavery, by new and oppressive taxes. The Saracens of Lucera were at last obliged to surrender: the widow of the late king Manfred, and her young son, being taken prisoners in that city, were sent to a castle near Naples, and put to death. Charles, however, not thinking himself yet secure in his throne, resolved to dispatch his competitor. As his ambition prompted him to think of making conquests in Africa and Greece, he was apprehensive lest, during his absence, his subjects, particularly the Saracens of Lucera, should make an insurrection in favour of Conrad; he therefore resolved upon his death; but as he was not his subject, but a prisoner of war, he cloked his inhumanity by the formality of a trial: he sent for two syndics from each of the chief cities of Terra di Lavoro and Principato, and desired them, with the French lords and barons of the kingdom, to give their opinion concerning the German prisoners. The count of Flanders, the king's son-in-law, with several other lords, advised to detain them in prison; but the majority, consulting their own security and the inclination of the king and the bishops, declared for their being put to death. Accordingly, on the 26th of October, the young prince, then but seventeen years of age, was conducted, with the duke of Austria, Girando da Pisa, and some others, to a scaffold, in the market-place of Naples, where they were publicly beheaded, to the eternal infamy of king Charles, and the general regret of the spectators[s]. Conrad, from the scaffold, justified his conduct to the people, and before he submitted to the fatal stroke, threw among them a glove, or, according to some, a ring, in token of investiture, which pledge, according to Æneas Sylvius, was taken up and carried to Peter, the son of the king of Arragon[t], though

A.D. 1269.

*Beheaded at Naples.*

[r] Spond. Annal. Gian. [s] Saba Malaspin. & Villani, ut supra. Barth. de Neocastr. Hist. Sicul. ap. Murator. tom. xiii. p. 1024. Costanzo Hist. Neap. lib. i. &c. [t] Æneas Sylv. Europ.

some,

ſome allege, that Conrad intended Don Frederic of Caſtile for his heir (F).

(F) The dead bodies were not allowed to be buried in ſacred ground, as the priſoners had died excommunicated. But ſoon after, the mother of Conrad, who arrived at Naples with a large ſum of money, and many jewels, for redeeming her ſon, finding him dead, cauſed his corpſe to be raiſed, and removed to a church of the Carmelites in Naples, to which ſhe left all the treaſure ſhe had brought with her (1).

truvius, and ſome other authors allege, that Clement adviſed king Charles to put Conrad to death (2) Villani ſays, that the judge had no ſooner read the ſentence againſt Conrad, than he was ſtabbed by the count of Flanders in the king's preſence (3).

(1) Gianone Hiſt. Neap. vii. p. 492. (2) Struv. Hiſt. German. ſect. (3) Villani, ut ſupra. Ricordan. Malaſpin. ap. Murator. tom. viii. p. 1014, 1015.

END OF THE TWENTY FOURTH VOLUME.

9233.

Author

Title Modern [part of] universal history. Vol. 24.

DATE

HMod
M6897

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU